ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

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ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

Vol. 2, pt. 1

BY

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK

FELLOW AND LECTURER OF QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
READER IN CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY TO THE UNIVERSITY
OF CAMBRIDGE

VOLUME II, pt. 1

ZEUS GOD OF THE DARK SKY
(THUNDER AND LIGHTNING)

χὠ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὗει

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PART I

TEXT AND NOTES

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ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα, τὸν οὐδέποτ' ἄνδρες ἐῶμεν
ἄρρητον· μεσταὶ δὲ Διὸς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγυιαί,
πᾶσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγοραί, μεστὴ δὲ θάλασσα
καὶ λιμένες· πάντη δὲ Διὸς κεχρήμεθα πάντες.
τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος εἰμέν· ὁ δ' ἤπιος ἀνθρώποισιν
δεξιὰ σημαίνει, λαοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ἔργον ἐγείρει,
μιμνήσκων βιότοιο, λέγει δ' ὅτε βῶλος ἀρίστη
βουσί τε καὶ μακέλῃσι, λέγει δ' ὅτε δεξιαὶ ὧραι
καὶ φυτὰ γυρῶσαι καὶ σπέρματα πάντα βαλέσθαι.
αὐτὸς γὰρ τά γε σήματ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξεν,
ἄστρα διακρίνας, ἐσκέψατο δ' εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
ἀστέρας οἵ κε μάλιστα τετυγμένα σημαίνοιεν
ἀνδράσιν ὡράων, ὄφρ' ἔμπεδα πάντα φύωνται.
τῶ μιν ἀεὶ πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστατον ἱλάσκονται.
χαῖρε, πάτερ, μέγα θαῦμα, μέγ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὄνειαρ,
αὐτός καὶ προτέρη γενεή. χαίροιτε δὲ Μοῦσαι
μειλίχιαι μάλα πᾶσαι· ἐμοί γε μὲν ἀστέρας εἰπεῖν
ἠδὲ θέμις εὐχομένῳ τεκμήρατε πᾶσαν ἀοιδήν.

ARATOS *phaenomena* 1—18.

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PREFACE

THE first volume of this treatise dealt with Zeus as god of the Bright Sky and traced his evolution in that capacity from early Hellenic to late Hellenistic times. It included therefore both the pre-classical change from Zeus the animate Sky to Zeus the anthropomorphic Sky-god and the post-classical connexion of the latter with Sun, Moon, and Stars. But, apart from incidental allusions, it devoted little space to the common classical conception of Zeus as god of Thunder and Lightning. To investigate this is the main purpose of my second volume. It will, I trust, be followed some day by a third (already planned and partly written), in which the relations of Zeus to other phaenomena—Clouds and Rain, Wind and Dew, Earthquakes and Meteorites—will find their appropriate place. I shall hope to conclude at long last with a general survey of the Sky-god and his cult as constituting one factor in the great fabric of Greek civilisation, indeed as in some sense a contribution to Christianity itself.

Meantime the subject of Zeus as god of Thunder and Lightning cannot be adequately discussed without taking into account a number of allied topics—the *Diosemía* or ominous 'Zeus-sign'; the *Dióbletos* or 'Zeus-struck' man; the 'road of Zeus' from earth to heaven; the sky-pillars of Greece and Italy; the central shrine of Delphoi, where Zeus was successively associated with Dionysos and Apollon; again, Kronos the 'Minoan' storm-god to whom Zeus was affiliated; the double axe inherited by Zeus from his predecessor; the origin, development, and decline of his own peculiar weapon the thunderbolt. With all of these themes I have attempted *pro meis viribus* to cope. But reviewers and others that may wish to get a quick insight into the contents of the present volume would do well to begin by reading pp. 840–858, in which I have tried to summarise the principal results of my investigation. They must, however, bear in mind that a summary statement proves nothing. Proof can be had only by a patient consideration of the evidence presented in the text and notes, which will, I hope, be found reasonably complete.

The footnotes, I admit, are heavy, perhaps too heavy for modern dyspeptic digestions, and I shall expect to have quoted against me the usual tags—'a thin stream of text' etc. and 'what's

worth putting into a book at all is worth putting into the body of it.' But in self-defence I may plead that I have made the footnotes serve three distinct purposes. First and foremost, I have used them for documentation. As a rule, I have been content with bare references, which I have, of course, always verified by actual perusal. But, where the precise wording of the authority, whether ancient or modern, was of importance, I have not scrupled to give it in full. I have also, with hardly an exception, cited all Greek and Latin inscriptions, these being less readily accessible to the general reader than the literary texts. Secondly, I have sometimes relegated to the notes extra details which, though themselves of interest, seemed more or less irrelevant to my immediate theme. I have repeatedly found such excrescences of ritual or myth to possess a significance unsuspected at first and only later appreciated when the other half of the indenture had been brought to light. In fact I have come to hold that in deciphering religious records irregular edges should not be hastily trimmed off. One should rather cherish a healthy distrust of over-neat hypotheses and explanations that leave nothing to be explained. Life is seldom so simple and symmetric as our interpretation of it. Thirdly, I use my notes deliberately for the mention or discussion of side-issues and subsidiary points, provided that these arise directly out of the text. I shall no doubt be told that I am pursuing hares. But hares, after all, may be caught and are worth the catching. Their pursuit is to be regretted only if it hinders the main march of the argument—only, that is, if the chase crosses the text. The footnote saves the situation.

Naturally, if these side-issues are too long, they must be handled in Appendixes. The Second Part of Volume II contains a dozen such, of which four belong by rights to Volume I, *viz.* **A** 'Kairos,' **B** 'The Mountain-Cults of Zeus,' **E** 'The Kyklops in Folk-Tales,' **F** 'The Dioskouroi and Helene in modern Folk-Tales.' Appendix **C** 'Korinthos son of Zeus' and Appendix **D** 'The Wheel as a Coin-type' have been again omitted through lack of space. The remaining eight Appendixes are properly attached to Volume II, *viz.* **G** 'Orphic Theogonies and the Cosmogonic Eros,' **H** 'Zeus *Ktésios*,' **I** 'Zeus *Agamémnon*,' **J** 'Zeus *Amphiáraos*,' **K** 'Zeus *Trephónios* or *Trophónios*,' **L** 'Zeus *Asklepiós*, **M** 'Zeus *Meilíchios*,' **N** 'Zeus *Phílios*.' Seven out of the eight discuss specialised forms of Zeus to which allusion is made in the text. Another case of the sort, Appendix **O** 'Zeus *Olýmpios*,' will be more conveniently postponed to Volume III.

The episodical character of the book with its sections and subsections is due, at least in part, to the circumstances in which it has been composed. I have throughout been in full work as College Lecturer in Classics and University Reader in Classical Archaeology, responsible therefore for a good deal of teaching, examining, and organisation. Such a life, however congenial, tends to produce a certain mental attitude, the habit of thinking in compartments. Term-time leaves but scanty scraps of leisure for research, and the mind is more or less jaded when vacation is reached. Under such conditions anything like sustained flight or long-continued effort becomes doubly difficult. And I do not doubt that a better book on the same subject will some day be written by a man with larger leisure and clearer outlook.

But I do not wish to leave the impression that I have found the writing of *Zeus* irksome or unduly fatiguing. On the contrary, it has been a perpetual delight to come back and back again to a central theme, which so obviously serves to illuminate a dozen departments of classical study and in turn receives much illumination from them. A task of this kind, though it can never be other than a financial failure, carries with it its own reward.

Not the least pleasurable part of the undertaking has been my growing sense of indebtedness to many friends. Some, alas, I can no longer thank as I should wish to do for their inspiration and their help. Of those whose names appeared in the Preface to Volume I six have since died. James Hope Moulton, a greater man even than Cambridge knew him to be, lived a life of self-sacrifice and in April 1917 died a heroic death—or rather, as he himself phrased it in those dark days, *εἰς τὴν λαμπρὰν ἀπῆλθεν*: I count myself lucky to be able to include a passing reference to his name. C. H. W. Johns, learned and lovable to the last, was taken from us in August 1920: I shall not soon forget how, shortly before the end, he sat propped in his study-chair and bidding me hold up the big folio—for his own arm was half-paralysed—read aloud to me a cuneiform text (p. 482 f.) and furnished it there and then with an ample commentary out of the depths of his knowledge. Otto Gruppe too is gone—a grave loss to learning—leaving as one of his latest writings a brief but masterly paper on 'Die Anfänge des Zeuskultus' (*Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1918 xli—xlii. 289—302). E. Babelon, J. R. McClean, A. Wright—the list lengthens. But it is a list which, happily, is balanced and more than balanced by an increasing number of scholars able and

willing to devote themselves to the serious study of ancient religion on one or another of its many sides. To not a few of them I am much beholden.

The bulk of my proofs has been read by Miss J. E. Harrison, and the whole of them by Dr J. Rendel Harris. Both are workers with books of their own half-written; and I appreciate the generous spirit in which they have hindered themselves to help me.

For matters outside my competence I have been able to cite the expert opinion of others. Chinese parallels to Greek mythology have been furnished by Prof. H. A. Giles; Japanese parallels, by my friend Mr H. G. Brand, long resident in Tokyo, and again by his friend Prof. Takeo Wada of Kyoto University. Mesopotamian texts have been explained to me, not only by the late Dr C. H. W. Johns, but also by my friend and former pupil Mr Sidney Smith, Assistant in the Assyriological department of the British Museum. On several points of Egyptology I have consulted Mr F. W. Green, Honorary Keeper of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and Mr F. Ll. Griffith, Reader in Egyptology at Oxford. For Phoenician names I have applied to my neighbour Mr N. McLean, University Lecturer in Aramaic, and to my colleague the Rev. Dr R. H. Kennett, Regius Professor of Hebrew; for Lydian names, to Mr W. H. Buckler, editor of the inscriptions found at Sardeis. On a few details of Indian cult I have been aided by Prof. E. J. Rapson and by Mr H. B. Thompson of Queens' College, Cambridge. In dealing with Celtic and Germanic deities I have been guided on occasion by Prof. H. M. Chadwick, while references to Icelandic sagas were collected for me by Miss N. Kershaw (now Mrs Chadwick). An important note on the Anglo-Saxon rune ᛉ (*ear* or *tir*) was sent me by Mr B. Dickins of Edinburgh University.

For Greek and Latin etymologies I have time after time used as a touchstone the wise judgment of my friend and colleague Dr P. Giles, Reader in Comparative Philology to the University of Cambridge. Mr J. Whatmough, a former pupil of us both, now Lecturer in Classics at Bangor, has revised my restoration of a ritual text in old Latin, the well-known but little-understood hymn of the Salii. Questions of Thracian and Illyrian phonetics have been considered for me by Mr B. F. C. Atkinson of Magdalene College, Cambridge, whose results, reached along the lines of strict philological method, have opened up a new vista of possibilities to the historian of early Greek religion. Here and there my

inadequate knowledge of Byzantine authors has been eked out by the wider experience of Prof. J. B. Bury; and in regard to the dialects of modern Greece Prof. R. M. Dawkins has more than once given me an authoritative decision.

Where the argument has trenched upon the domain of Science I have met with equal kindness and cooperation. An astronomical note was penned for me by my old college-friend Prof. E. T. Whittaker, late Astronomer Royal of Ireland. Mr C. T. R. Wilson, Jacksonian Professor of Natural Philosophy, has supplied me with interesting information on a point of electrical meteorology. Dr L. A. Borradaile, University Lecturer in Zoology, has brought his special knowledge of crustaceans to bear on the crabs of Agrigentum and Tenedos. Dr A. C. Haddon, Reader in Ethnology, with whom—since we go the same road—I am often privileged to discuss anthropological issues, has helped me over several problems of folk-lore and primitive art. The Abbé Breuil cleared up for me the long-standing puzzle of concentric cup-marks; and Mr M. C. Burkitt, Honorary Keeper of the Stone Implements in the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, noted for me sundry specimens of engraved neolithic celts.

One or two friends have undertaken special investigations on my behalf. Mr C. T. Seltman visited Delphoi and reported on the *omphalós* discovered there in 1913 by Monsieur F. Courby. Mr T. W. I. Bullock of Queens' College, when travelling in Spain, saw the Museum authorities at Madrid and consulted them as to the character of the tablet from Tarragona. Miss E. M. Douglas (Mrs Van Buren) went from Rome to Nemi and interviewed the peasants with regard to local traditions of Diana's tree, while Prof. P. J. Harding pursued the same quest in libraries at home and abroad.

Others have favoured me with the narrative of their own journeyings and discoveries. Mr T. Fyfe describes in detail the little church on the summit of Mt Ide in Crete and the night that he spent there at a height of 8060 ft above sea-level. Mr C. W. Blegen contributes an interesting account of the finds that he made in 1923–1924 on Mt Hymettos, where he was able to locate with much probability the votive deposit of Zeus *Ómbrios*. Mr R. Campbell Thompson sketches from personal observation the present condition of Eridu.

Particular criticisms and suggestions have been communicated by a large number of scholars including Mr C. D. Bicknell

Prof. R. C. Bosanquet, Mr F. M. Cornford, Mr G. G. Coulton, Prof. R. M. Dawkins, Sir J. G. Frazer, Dr J. Rendel Harris, Miss J. E. Harrison, Mr E. S. Hartland, Dr G. F. Hill, Prof. R. H. Kennett, Miss M. E. H. Lloyd, the Rev. H. E. Maddox, Mr A. D. Nock, Prof. A. C. Pearson, Mr T. Davies Pryce, Dr G. H. Rendall, Miss H. Richardson, Mr E. J. Seltman, Mr C. T. Seltman, and Mr C. M. Sleeman. I have been able to profit by them all.

For illustrations too I am under heavy obligation to others. Prof. R. M. Dawkins allowed me to publish for the first time a highly important seal-stone from Melos, now in his possession. Mr C. D. Bicknell gave similar permission in the case of a gem belonging to the Lewis Collection at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Mr A. H. Smith furnished casts of several gems in the British Museum. Mr B. Staes, by sending a cast of the inscribed serpentine celt in the Central Museum at Athens, enabled me to produce the first really accurate rendering of that famous object.

Mr S. C. Cockerell of the Fitzwilliam Museum has provided me with numerous casts of coins in the McClean and Leake Collections. Mr G. Macdonald supplied the cast of a rarity in the Hunterian Collection at Glasgow. But, above all, my numismatic friends at the British Museum, in particular Dr G. F. Hill and Mr E. S. G. Robinson, have for years past sent me a steady stream of well made casts, which—as the following text will abundantly prove—have served to throw valuable light on the Zeus-cults of the ancient world. The Keeper of the coins and his Assistants have also spared time to discuss with me many of the types. They have repeatedly verified points at my request, and in other ways have helped forward my project. To give but one instance, they reserved for me the right to publish the type of Zeus *Spátaxos*, which I had detected on a unique coin of Aphrodisias. In marshalling the evidence of coin-types I owe much also to the keen eyes and exact knowledge of my friend and former pupil Mr C. T. Seltman. He has procured for me rare specimens from foreign collectors or, where originals were not to be had, has obtained at least impressions of the coins that I needed. Moreover, he was the first to read the title of Zeus *Akraîos* on a *statér* of Praisos and—a matter of greater moment—the first to determine the true sequence and significance of the Zeus-types at Olympia.

A fine photograph of the profile of Zeus on Mt Juktas, taken by Mr A. Trevor-Battye, was sent me by Mr C. R. Haines. Photo-

graphs of statues and reliefs in marble or stone were supplied by Mr A. H. Smith of the British Museum, Mr S. C. Cockerell of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Mr L. D. Caskey of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and the Director of the Musée Lapidaire at Lyons. Mr W. H. Buckler with great generosity allowed me to publish a new and very interesting *stéle* of Zeus *Sabázios*, since presented by him to our national collection. Miss J. E. Harrison, on quitting Cambridge for Paris, put at my disposal her whole assemblage of photographs representing Greek votive reliefs and other religious monuments. Mr A. Munro, Fellow and Lecturer of Queens' College, photographed for me an unpublished relief on the Palatine. Mr R. B. Fleming, Mr W. H. Hayles, and Mr W. Tams did me the like service in various collections and galleries.

The Director of the French School at Athens was good enough to furnish me with three excellent photographs of the Delphic *omphalós*, here figured for the first time on English soil. And the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies supplied me with a photograph of the cistern-mosaic on Mt Kynthos.

Photographs of bronzes were kindly provided by Prof. P. N. Ure of University College, Reading, Mr K. Kourouniotes of the National Museum, Athens, and Miss G. M. A. Richter of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Others were taken for me in London by Mr W. H. Hayles and Mr R. B. Fleming, at Cambridge by the photographer to the University Press.

Photographs of vases etc. in the British Museum were taken by Mr C. O. Waterhouse and Mr R. B. Fleming, in the Louvre by Monsieur A. Giraudon, in the Fitzwilliam Museum and in the Lewis Collection by Mr W. H. Hayles.

Careful drawings of the Jupiter-column at Saverne, accompanied by minutely accurate measurements and a descriptive text, were sent me by Prof. L. Bachmeyer, Director of the local Museum.

Permission to reproduce various photographs, plates, or figures was kindly granted by Messrs F. Boissonnas of Geneva, F. Bruckmann and Co. of Munich, Kouchakji Frères of New York, and by Prof. C. Blinkenberg of Copenhagen, Sir A. J. Evans, Sir W. M. Ramsay, Mr C. Torr, Mr H. B. Walters.

But I have yet to acknowledge help from other sources, without which the success of my venture would have been seriously imperilled. Miss E. T. Talbot of Saint Rhadegund's House, Cambridge,—the artist who executed more than half the figures of Volume I—has again devoted her well-trained talent to the

illustration of Volume II. During the past ten years she has produced no fewer than 626 designs, all carried out with the utmost care under my immediate supervision. They include line-drawings or sketches in black and white of 75 sculptures, 26 bronzes, 12 objects in gold, silver, ivory, etc., 12 vases, 7 frescoes, 14 maps, plans, diagrams, etc., 41 engraved gems, and 439 coins. In addition to this great output Miss Talbot has made a tentative reconstruction of all the figures in the east pediment of the Parthenon (pl. xxxiii) together with coloured drawings of the central slab from its eastern frieze (pl. xliv), of Pheidias' chryselephantine Athena (pl. xlv), and of the same sculptor's chryselephantine Zeus (pl. xlvi). The evidence that may be adduced in support of these restorations is held over to appear in Volume III.

Slips for the two Indexes, which between them contain upwards of 30,000 entries and took well over a year to write, have again been arranged for me by my wife, to whose unfailing sympathy and encouragement this book owes more than its author can easily put into words. Towards the end, when the task began to try her eyes, she was assisted by Miss Michi Saito.

In the complicated business of turning out proofs, paged proofs, revises, and clean sheets, not to mention zincotypes, half-tone blocks, collotypes, and lithographic plates, the Printer to the University and the Staff of the Pitt Press have for more than a decade done all that was humanly possible to produce a satisfactory result. To them no less than to others that I have named I ought to be grateful, and I am.

In conclusion, I have once more to thank the Syndics of the University Press for the large-mindedness which led them to undertake the publication of an unremunerative work at a time when the cost of paper and printing was almost prohibitive. With much forbearance they twice extended my tether, and finally agreed to defray the expenses of a thousand pages for Volume II. In these days of enforced economy such generous treatment would be hard to parallel. If I have failed to reduce my subject within their liberal limits, that is due, not—I trust—to mere prolixity or diffuseness of style, but to the natural abundance of a great and vital theme.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

19 Cranmer Road, Cambridge.
22 *July* 1925.

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	I. Zeus *Agamémnon*	1069—1070
	J. Zeus *Amphiáraos*	1070—1072
	K. Zeus *Trephónios* or *Trophónios*	1073—1076
	L. Zeus *Asklepiós*	1076—1091
	M. Zeus *Meilichios*	1091—1160
	N. Zeus *Philios*	1160—1210
ADDENDA		1211—1230
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The design on the cover is from a bell-*kratér* at Palermo (no. 2557: Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 527 f. pl. 22, 10, *id. Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 28, b. Atlas pl. 1, 13), which represents Heos and Thetis supplicating Zeus and has recently been attributed to the 'Oreithyia painter' (J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 293 no. 3). I am indebted for the necessary photograph to the courtesy of Profs G. M. Columba and E. Gábrici.

ABBREVIATIONS

This List of Abbreviations has been drawn up in accordance with two principles. On the one hand, the names of Authors have not been shortened, save by the omission of their initials. On the other hand, the titles of Books and Periodicals have been cut down, but not—it is hoped—beyond the limits of recognizability.

The customary abbreviations of classical writers and their works (for which see Vol. I p. xiv) are not here included.

Abh. d. bayer. Akad. Philos.-philol. Classe = *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* München 1835— .

Abh. d. berl. Akad. Phil.-hist. Classe = *Abhandlungen der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* Philosophisch-historische Classe Berlin 1804— .

Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe = *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* Historisch-philologische Klasse Göttingen 1838— .

Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe = *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* Leipzig 1850— .

Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* = W. Amelung *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* i ii Berlin 1903, 1908.

Am. Journ. Arch. = *American Journal of Archaeology* Baltimore 1885— , Second Series Norwood, Mass. 1897— .

Am. Journ. Philol. = *American Journal of Philology* Baltimore 1880— .

Ann. Arch. Anthr. = *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* Liverpool 1908— .

Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. = *The Annual of the British School at Athens* London 1894–5— .

Ann. d. Inst. = *Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* Roma 1829—1885.

Anson *Num. Gr.* = L. Anson *Numismata Graeca* Plates and Index London 1910, Text i—vi London 1911—1916.

Ant. Denkm. = *Antike Denkmaeler* herausgegeben vom Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Institut Berlin 1886— .

Ant. du Bosph. Cimm. = *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien conservées au Musée Impérial de l'Ermitage* i ii St.-Pétersbourg 1854 with Atlas of pls.

Ant. Münz. Berlin = *Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Beschreibung der antiken Münzen* i—iii Berlin 1888—1894.

Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands = *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands* unter Leitung von F. Imhoof-Blumer herausgegeben von der kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften.

i. (Dacien und Moesien) bearbeitet von B. Pick. Halbband i von B. Pick. Berlin 1898. Halbband ii, Abteilung 1 von B. Pick und K. Regling. Berlin 1910.

ii. (Thrakien) bearbeitet von F. Münzer und M. L. Strack. Teil i, Heft 1. Berlin 1912.

iii. (Makedonia und Paionia) bearbeitet von H. Gaebler. Abteilung 1. Berlin 1906.

Ant. Skulpt. Berlin = *Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen mit Ausschluss der pergamenischen Fundstücke* Berlin 1891.

Arch. Anz. See *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.*

Arch.-ep. Mitth. = *Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn* Wien 1877—1897 Register Wien 1902.

Arch. Zeit. = *Archäologische Zeitung* herausgegeben vom Archäologischen Institut des Deutschen Reichs Berlin 1843—1885.

'Αρχ. Δελτ. = 'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον τοῦ Ὑπουργείου τῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ τῆς Δημοσίας Ἐκπαιδεύσεως Athens 1915—

'Αρχ. Ἐφ. See Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.

Archiv f. Rel. = *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* Leipzig 1898—

Ath. Mitth. = *Mittheilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archaeologischen Instituts: athenische Abtheilung* Athen 1876—

Babelon *Cat. Camées de la Bibl. Nat.* = E. Babelon *Catalogue des Camées antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris 1897.

Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* = E. Babelon *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* I Théorie et doctrine i Paris 1901, II Description historique i—iii Paris 1907, 1910, 1914 with Atlas of pls.

Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* = E. Babelon *Description historique et chronologique des monnaies de la république romaine vulgairement appelées monnaies consulaires* i ii Paris 1885, 1886.

Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* = E. Babelon et J. A. Blanchet *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris 1895.

Bartoli—Bellori *Admir. Rom. ant.* = *Admiranda Romanarum antiquitatum ac veteris sculpturae vestigia*, a Petro Sancti Bartolo delineata incisa. Notis Jo. Petri Bellorii illustrata. Romae 1693.

Baumeister *Denkm.* = A. Baumeister *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums zur Erläuterung des Lebens der Griechen und Römer in Religion, Kunst und Sitte* i—iii München und Leipzig 1885—1888.

Bekker *anecd.* = I. Bekker *Anecdota Graeca* i—iii Berolini 1814—1821.

Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe = *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig* Philologisch-historische Classe Leipzig 1848—

Berl. philol. Woch. = *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* Berlin 1885—

Boetticher *Baumkultus* = C. Boetticher *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen nach den gottesdienstlichen Gebräuchen und den überlieferten Bildwerken dargestellt* Berlin 1856.

Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* = É. Boisacq *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque étudiée dans ses rapports avec les autres langues indo-européennes* Heidelberg et Paris 1907—1916.

Boissonade *anecd.* = J. F. Boissonade *Anecdota Graeca* i—v Parisiis 1829—1833.

Bonner Jahrbücher = *Bonner Jahrbücher* (Continuation of the *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*) Bonn 1895—

Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes = H. B. Walters *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan, in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* London 1899.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Byz. Coins = W. Wroth *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* i ii London 1908.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins = *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum* London 1873—

Italy 1873 by R. S. Poole; *Sicily* 1876 by B. V. Head, P. Gardner, R. S. Poole; *The Tauric Chersonese, Sarmatia, Dacia, Moesia, Thrace, &c.* 1877 by B. V. Head, P. Gardner; *Seleucid Kings of Syria* 1878 by P. Gardner; *Macedonia, Etc.* 1879 by B. V. Head; *The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt* 1883 by R. S. Poole; *Thessaly to Aetolia* 1883 by P. Gardner; *Central Greece* 1884 by B. V. Head; *Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India* 1886 by P. Gardner; *Crete and the Aegean Islands* 1886 by W. Wroth; *Peloponnesus* 1887 by P. Gardner; *Attica—Megaris—Aegina* 1888 by B. V. Head; *Corinth, Colonies of Corinth, Etc.* 1889 by B. V. Head; *Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and the Kingdom of Bosporus* 1889 by W. Wroth; *Alexandria and the Nomes* 1892 by R. S. Poole; *Ionia* 1892 by B. V. Head; *Mysia* 1892 by W. Wroth; *Troas, Aeolis,*

and Lesbos 1894 by W. Wroth; *Caria, Cos, Rhodes, &c.* 1897 by B. V. Head; *Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia* 1897 by G. F. Hill; *Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria* 1899 by W. Wroth; *Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia* 1900 by G. F. Hill; *Lydia* 1901 by B. V. Head; *Parthia* 1903 by W. Wroth; *Cyprus* 1904 by G. F. Hill; *Phrygia* 1906 by B. V. Head; *Phoenicia* 1910 by G. F. Hill; *Palestine* 1914 by G. F. Hill; *Arabia Mesopotamia and Persia* 1922 by G. F. Hill.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems = A. H. Smith *A Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the British Museum* (*Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*) London 1888.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery = F. H. Marshall *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* London 1911.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps = H. B. Walters *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum* London 1914.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions = H. A. Grueber *Roman Medallions in the British Museum* London 1874.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep. = H. A. Grueber *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* i—iii London 1910.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Emp. = H. Mattingly *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* i— London 1923— .

Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture = A. H. Smith *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* i—iii London 1892—1904.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Silver Plate = H. B. Walters *Catalogue of the Silver Plate* (*Greek, Etruscan and Roman*) *in the British Museum* London 1921.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas = H. B. Walters *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* London 1903.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases = *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum* London 1893— .

i. 1 *Prehistoric Aegean Pottery* 1925 by E. J. Forsdyke; i. 2 *Cypriote, Italian, and Etruscan Pottery* 1912 by H. B. Walters; ii *Black-figured Vases* 1893 by H. B. Walters; iii *Vases of the Finest Period* 1896 by C. H. Smith; iv *Vases of the Latest Period* 1896 by H. B. Walters.

Brit. Mus. Guide Gk. Rom. Life = *British Museum. Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. A Guide to the Exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman Life.* London 1908.

Brit. Mus. Marbles = *A Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum; with engravings* Parts i—xi London 1812—1861.

Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* = C. F. H. Bruchmann *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Graecos leguntur* Lipsiae 1893.

Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* = *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur* unter Leitung von H. Brunn herausgegeben von F. Bruckmann 1. Serie (Tafeln 1—500) München 1888—1900; Brunn—Bruckmann's *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur* fortgeführt und mit erläuternden Texten versehen von P. Arndt i (Tafeln 501—550) München 1902, ii (Tafeln 551—600) München 1906, iii (Tafeln 601—650) München 1912, iv (Tafeln 651—) München —.

Bull. Arch. Nap. = *Bullettino archeologico Napoletano* i—vi Napoli 1843—1848, Nuova Serie i—viii Napoli 1853—1863.

Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma = *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Municipale* Roma 1872—1876 continued as *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* Roma 1877— .

Bull. Corr. Hell. = *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* Paris 1877— .

Bull. d. Inst. = *Bullettino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* Roma 1829—1885.

Carelli *Num. It. vet.* = Francisci Carellii *Numorum Italiae veteris tabulas CCII*, edidit Cœlestinus Cavedonius. Accesserunt Francisci Carellii numorum quos ipse collegit descriptio F. M. Avellinii in eam adnotationes. Lipsiae 1850.

Carter *Epith. deor.* = J. B. Carter *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Latinos leguntur* Lipsiae 1902.

Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* = *Musée de Sculpture antique et moderne* par le Cte F. de Clarac Texte i—vi Paris 1841—1853 Planches i—vi Paris 1826—1853.

Class. Philol. = *Classical Philology* Chicago 1906— .

Class. Quart. = *The Classical Quarterly* London 1907— .

Class. Rev. = *The Classical Review* London 1887— .

Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] = H. Cohen *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain communément appelées médailles impériales* Deuxième édition i—viii Paris 1880—1892.

Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* = M. Collignon *Histoire de la sculpture grecque* i ii Paris 1892, 1897.

Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* = M. Collignon et L. Couve *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes* Paris 1902, Index 1903, Table de Concordance 1904, Planches 1904.

Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* = *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* von F. Bechtel, A. Bezzenberger, F. Blass, H. Collitz, W. Deecke, A. Fick, G. Hinrichs, R. Meister. Herausgegeben von H. Collitz. Göttingen 1884— .

Com. Rom. frag. = *Comicorum Romanorum praeter Plautum et Syri quae feruntur sententias Fragmenta* tertiis curis recognovit Otto Ribbeck Lipsiae 1898.

Compte-rendu St. Pét. = *Compte-rendu de la commission impériale archéologique* avec un Atlas St. Pétersbourg 1859—1881.

Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres = *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres. Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Année* Paris 1859— .

Corp. inscr. Att. = *Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum*

i Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno vetustiores ed. A. Kirchhoff [*Inscriptiones Graecae* i] Berolini 1873.

ii Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis quae est inter Euclidis annum et Augusti tempora ed. U. Koehler [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ii] 1—3 Berolini 1877, 1883, 1888 4 Indices comp. J. Kirchner Berolini 1893.

iii Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis Romanae ed. W. Dittenberger [*Inscriptiones Graecae* iii] 1—2 Berolini 1878, 1882.

iv. 1. 1—3 Supplementa voluminis primi comp. A. Kirchhoff [*Inscriptiones Graecae* i Supplementa] Berolini 1877, 1887, 1891.

iv. 2 Supplementa voluminis alterius comp. U. Koehler, Indices conf. J. Kirchner [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ii. 5] Berolini 1895.

Appendix continens defixionum tabellas in Attica regione repertas, ed. R. Wuensch [*Inscriptiones Graecae* iii. 3] Berolini 1897.

Corp. inscr. Gr. = A. Boeckh *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum* i—iv Berolini 1828, 1843, 1853, 1856. Indices comp. H. Roehl Berolini 1877.

Corp. inscr. Gr. sept. = *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum Graeciae septentrionalis*

i Inscriptiones Megaridis et Boeotiae ed. W. Dittenberger [*Inscriptiones Graecae* vii] Berolini 1892.

iii. 1 Inscriptiones Phocidis, Locridis, Aetoliae, Acarnaniae, insularum maris Ionii ed. W. Dittenberger [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ix. 1] Berolini 1897.

Corp. inscr. Lat. = *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*

i Inscriptiones Latinae antiquissimae ad C. Caesaris mortem, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1863. Voluminis primi editio secunda: pars 1 cura Th. Mommsen, W. Henzen, C. Huelsen Berolini 1893, pars 2 cura E. Lommatzsch fasc. 1 Berolini 1918. Tabulae lithographae, ed. F. Ritschelius Berolini 1862.

ii Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae, ed. Aem. Huebner Berolini 1869. Supplementum Berolini 1892.

iii. 1—2 Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Europae Graecarum, Illyrici Latinae, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1873. Supplementi fasc. 1—5 Berolini 1889, 1891, 1893, 1902.

iv Inscriptiones parietariae Pompeianae Herculanenses Stabianae, ed. C. Zangemeister Berolini 1871. Supplementi pars 1—2 Berolini 1898, 1909.

v. 1—2 Inscriptiones Galliae Cisalpinae Latinae, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1872, 1877.

vi. 1—5 Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae, coll. E. Bormann, G. Henzen, C. Huelsen, I. B. de Rossi Berolini 1876, 1882, 1886, 1894, 1902, 1885.

vii Inscriptiones Britanniae, ed. Aem. Huebner Berolini 1873.

viii. 1—2. Inscriptiones Africae Latinae, coll. G. Wilmanns Berolini 1881. Supplementi pars 1—4 Berolini 1891, 1894, 1904, 1916.

ix Inscriptiones Calabriae, Apuliae, Samnii, Sabinorum, Piceni Latinae, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1883.

x. 1—2 Inscriptiones Bruttiorum, Lucaniae, Campaniae, Siciliae, Sardiniae Latinae, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1883.

xi. 1—2. 1 Inscriptiones Aemiliae, Etruriae, Umbriae Latinae, ed. E. Bormann Berolini 1888, 1901.

xii Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis Latinae, ed. O. Hirschfeld Berolini 1888.

xiii. 1. 1—2, 2. 1—2, 3. 1—2, 4 Inscriptiones trium Galliarum et Germaniarum Latinae, ed. O. Hirschfeld, C. Zangemeister, Th. Mommsen, A. Domaszewski, O. Bohn, Aem. Espérandieu Berolini 1899, 1904, 1905, 1907, 1901, 1906, 1916.

xiv Inscriptiones Latii veteris Latinae, ed. H. Dessau Berolini 1887.

xv. 1—2. 1 Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum, ed. H. Dressel Berolini 1891, 1899.

Corp. inscr. Sem. = *Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum* ab Academia Inscriptionum et Litterarum Humaniorum conditum atque digestum. Pars I— Tom. i— Parisiis 1881— .

Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* = E. Cougny *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et Appendice Nova* iii Appendix Nova Parisiis 1890.

Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* = J. A. Cramer *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecarum Oxoniensium* i—iv Oxonii 1835—1837.

Cramer *anecd. Paris.* = J. A. Cramer *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis* i—iv Oxonii 1839—1841.

Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* = *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines* d'après les textes et les monuments...ouvrage rédigé par une société d'écrivains spéciaux, d'archéologues et de professeurs sous la direction de Mm. Ch. Daremberg et Edm. Saglio i—v Paris 1877—1917. Tables Paris 1919.

Délos = Exploration archéologique de Délos faite par l'École française d'Athènes sous les auspices du Ministère de l'Instruction publique et aux frais de M. le duc de Loubat et publiée sous la direction de Théophile Homolle et Maurice Holleaux.

i Introduction. Carte de l'île de Délos au 1/10000e avec un commentaire explicatif par André Bellot. Paris 1909.

ii La Salle hypostyle par Gabriel Leroux. Paris 1909. Nouvelles recherches sur la Salle hypostyle par René Vallois et Gerhardt Poulsen. Paris 1914.

iii Introduction (suite). Cartographie de l'île de Délos par L. Gallois. Paris 1910.

iv. 1 Description physique de l'île de Délos (première partie) par Lucien Cayeux. Paris 1911.

vi L'Établissement des Poseidoniastes de Bérytos par Charles Picard. Paris 1921.

vii. 1 Les Portiques au Sud du Hiéron (première partie). Le Portique de Philippe par René Vallois. Paris 1923.

viii. 1 Le Quartier du Théâtre par Joseph Chamonard. Paris 1922.

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Kubitschek *Röm. Medaillons Wien* = *Ausgewählte römische Medaillons der kaiserlichen Münzensammlung in Wien* aus dem Illustrationsmaterial der Bände i—xi des Jahrbuches der Kunstsammlungen des a. h. Kaiserhauses neu herausgegeben von Wilhelm Kubitschek Wien 1909.

Laborde *Vases Lamberg* = A. de La Borde *Collection des vases grecs de M. le comte de Lamberg* i ii Paris 1813—1824, 1824—1828.

La Grande Encyclopédie = *La Grande Encyclopédie* Inventaire raisonné des sciences, des lettres et des arts par une société de savants et de gens de lettres... i—xxxi Paris s.a.

Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* = R. Lanzone *Dizionario di Mitologia Egiziana* i Testo ii Tavole Torino 1881.

L'Anthropologie = Matériaux pour l'histoire de l'homme—Revue d'anthropologie—Revue d'ethnographie réunis. *L'Anthropologie* Paris 1890— .

Lebas—Foucart *Péloponnèse* = Ph. Le Bas et W. H. Waddington *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure pendant 1843 et 1844* II. Partie: Inscriptions grecques et latines. ii. 2 Mégaride et Péloponnèse. 3. Béotie, Phocide, Étolie, Acarnanie, Épire, Thessalie, Macédoine, Thrace, Colonies du Pont-Euxine. 4. Iles. (Transcription and Commentary by P. Foucart) Paris 1847—1876.

Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* = *Bibliothèque des Monuments Figurés grecs et romains. Voyage Archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure sous la direction de M. Philippe Le Bas...(1842—1844).* Planches de topographie, de sculpture et d'architecture Gravées d'après les dessins de E. Landron publiées et commentées par Salomon Reinach... Paris 1888.

Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* = Ph. Le Bas et W. H. Waddington *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure pendant 1843 et 1844* II. Partie: Inscriptions grecques et latines. iii. 5 Asie Mineure. 6. Syrie proprement dite. (Transcription and Commentary by W. H. Waddington) Paris 1847—1876.

Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* = *Élite des monuments céramographiques* Matériaux pour l'histoire des religions et des mœurs de l'antiquité rassemblés et commentés par Ch. Lenormant et J. de Witte. Texte et Planches i—iv Paris 1844—1861.

Leroux *Cat. Vases de Madrid* = *Vases grecs et italo-grecs du Musée Archéologique de Madrid* (Bibliothèque des Universités du Midi Fascicule xvi) par G. Leroux Bordeaux 1912.

Lippold *Gemmen* = *Gemmen und Kameen des Altertums und der Neuzeit* in Vergrösserungen herausgegeben von Georg Lippold Stuttgart (1922).

Lobeck *Aglaophamus* = *Aglaophamus* sive de theologiae mysticae Graecorum causis libri tres. Scripsit Chr. Augustus Lobeck idemque poetarum Orphicorum dispersas reliquias collegit. i ii Regimontii Prussorum 1829.

Lübker *Reallex.*[8] = Friedrich Lübkers *Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums* Achte vollständig umgearbeitete Auflage herausgegeben von J. Geffcken und E. Ziebarth in Verbindung mit B. A. Müller unter Mitwirkung von W. Liebenam, E. Pernice, M. Wellmann, E. Hoppe, u.a. Leipzig—Berlin 1914.

Luynes *Descr. de vases peints* = *Description de quelques vases peints, étrusques, italiotes, siciliens et grecs,* par H. D. de Luynes,... Paris 1840.

Masner *Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien* = *K. K. Oesterreich. Museum für Kunst und Industrie. Die Sammlung antiker Vasen und Terracotten im K. K. Oesterreich. Museum. Katalog und historische Einleitung* von Karl Masner. Wien 1892.

Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* = *Antike Bildwerke in Rom mit Ausschluss der grösseren Sammlungen* beschrieben von Friedrich Matz, nach des Verfassers Tode weitergeführt und herausgegeben von F. von Duhn i—iii Leipzig 1881—1882.

L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* = *Handbuch der griechischen Etymologie* von Leo Meyer i—iv Leipzig 1901—1902.

Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* = *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques* par Charles Michel Paris 1900, Supplément—Fascicule i Paris 1912.

Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* = *Studi e materiali di archeologia e numismatica* pubblicati per cura di Luigi Adriano Milani i—iii Firenze 1899—1901, 1902, 1905.

Milet = *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Milet* Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899 herausgegeben von Theodor Wiegand.

i. 1 Karte der milesischen Halbinsel (1 : 50 000) mit erläuterndem Text von Paul Wilski Berlin 1906.

i. 2 Das Rathaus von Milet von Hubert Knackfuss mit Beiträgen von Carl Fredrich, Theodor Wiegand, Hermann Winnefeld Berlin 1908.

i. 3 Das Delphinion in Milet von Georg Kawerau und Albert Rehm unter Mitwirkung von Friedrich Freiherr Hiller von Gaertringen, Mark Lidzbarski, Theodor Wiegand, Erich Ziebarth Berlin 1914.

i. 4 Der Poseidonaltar bei Kap Monodendri von Armin von Gerkan Berlin 1915.

i. 5 Das Nymphaeum von Julius Hülsen mit Beiträgen von Hermann Dessau, Emil Herkenrath und Theodor Wiegand Text Berlin—Leipzig 1919. Tafeln Berlin 1919.

i. 6 Der Nordmarkt und der Hafen an der Löwenbucht von Armin von Gerkan mit epigraphischem Beitrag von Albert Rehm Berlin—Leipzig 1922.

i. 7 Der Südmarkt und die benachbarten Bauanlagen von Hubert Knackfuss mit epigraphischem Beitrag von Albert Rehm Berlin 1924.

i. 8 Kalabaktepe, Athenatempel und Umgebung von Armin von Gerkan Berlin 1925.

ii. 1 Das Stadion von Armin von Gerkan Berlin—Leipzig 1921.

iii. 1 Der Latmos von Theodor Wiegand unter Mitwirkung von Konrad Boese, Hippolyte Delehaye, Hubert Knackfuss, Friedrich Krischen, Karl Lyncker, Walther von Marées, Oskar Wulff Berlin 1913.

iii. 2 Die Befestigungen von Herakleia am Latmos von Fritz Krischen Berlin—Leipzig 1922.

Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* = *Description de médailles antiques, grecques et romaines, avec leur degré de rareté et leur estimation.* Ouvrage servant de catalogue à plus de vingt mille empreintes en soufre prises sur les pièces originales, par T. E. Mionnet i—vi Paris 1806—1813 vii Recueil des planches Paris 1808, Seconde édition Paris 1837, Supplément i—ix Paris 1819—1839.

Mnemosyne = *Mnemosyne* Tijdschrift voor classieke Litteratuur Leyden 1852— .

Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* = *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum*, geordnet nach attischem Kalender, von August Mommsen. Umarbeitung der 1864 erschienenen Heortologie. Leipzig 1898.

Mon. Ann. e Bull. d. Inst. = *Monumenti Annali e Bullettini pubblicati dall' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* nel 1854 Roma, nel 1855 Gotha—Lipsia.

Mon. d. Inst. = *Monumenti inediti pubblicati dall' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* Rome et Paris 1829-1833—1839-1843, Roma 1844-1848—1849-1853, 1857-1863—1884-1885. Supplemento Berlin 1891.

Mon. d. Linc. = *Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* Milano 1889— .

Mon. ed Ann. d. Inst. = *Monumenti ed Annali pubblicati dall' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* nel 1856 Lipsia.

Mon. Piot = *Fondation Eugène Piot. Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* Paris 1894— .

Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* = *Thesaurus Morellianus*, sive Familiarum Romanarum numismata omnia, Diligentissime undique conquisita, ad ipsorum nummorum fidem accuratissime delineata, & juxta ordinem Fulvii Ursini & Caroli Patini disposita, a Celeberrimo Antiquario Andrea Morellio. Accedunt nummi miscellanei, Urbis Romae, Hispanici, & Goltziani dubiae fidei omnes. Nunc primum edidit et Commentario perpetuo illustravit Sigebertus Havercampus i ii Amstelaedami 1734.

Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* = *Thesauri Morelliani* tomus primus (secundus, tertius), Sive Christ. Schlegelii, Sigeb. Haverkampi, & Antonii Francisci (Forii Commentaria In XII. Priorum Imperatorum Romanorum numismata aurea, argentea, & aerea, Cujuscunque Moduli, diligentissime conquisita, & ad ipsos Nummos accuratissime delineata, a Celeberrimo Antiquario Andrea Morellio...Cum Praefatione Petri Wesselingii i—iii Amstelaedami 1752.

Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* = *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* nach der Auswahl und Anordnung von C. O. Müller. Zweite Bearbeitung durch Friedrich Wieseler. i ii Göttingen 1854—1856.

Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* = *Antike Denkmäler zur griechischen Götterlehre.* Zusammengestellt von C. O. Müller und F. Wieseler. Vierte umgearbeitete und vermehrte Ausgabe von Konrad Wernicke. Denkmäler der alten Kunst von C. O. Müller und F. Wieseler. Teil II. Vierte umgearbeitete und vermehrte Ausgabe. Lieferung i—iii Text und Tafeln Leipzig 1899, 1900, 1903.

Mus. Capit. Cat. Sculpt. See Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome.*

Mus. Etr. Gregor. = *Museum Etruscum Gregorianum* Musei Etrusci quod Gregorius XVI pon. max. in aedibus Vaticanis constituit monimenta linearis picturae exemplis expressa et in utilitatem studiosorum antiquitatum et bonarum artium publici iuris facta i ii ex aedibus Vaticanis 1842.

Musée Belge = *Le Musée Belge* Revue de philologie classique Louvain 1897— .

Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe = *Nachrichten von der Georg-Augusts-Universität und der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* Göttingen 1856— , *Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität* Göttingen 1864— , *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.* Philologisch-historische Klasse Berlin 1906— .

Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum = *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum Geschichte und deutsche Litteratur und für Pädagogik* (Continuation of the *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*) Leipzig 1898— .

Nicole *Cat. Vases d'Athènes Suppl.* = *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes. Supplément* par Georges Nicole...avec une Préface de Maxime Collignon... Paris 1911 with an Atlas of pls.

Nilsson *Gr. Feste* = *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der attischen* untersucht von Martin P. Nilsson Leipzig 1906.

Not. Scavi = *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità,* comunicate alla R. Accademia dei Lincei per ordine di S. E. il Ministro della pubb. Istruzione Roma 1876— .

Nouv. Ann. = *Nouvelles Annales publiées par la section française de l'Institut archéologique* i ii Paris 1836, 1839 with Atlas of pls. (facsimile-reproduction 1905).

Num. Chron. = *The Numismatic Chronicle* London 1839—1841, *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society* London 1843—1859, New Series London 1861—1880, Third Series London 1881—1900, Fourth Series London 1901—1920, Fifth Series London 1921— .

Num. Zeitschr. = *Numismatische Zeitschrift* Wien 1869— .

Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* = *Kypros The Bible and Homer.* Oriental Civilization, Art and Religion in Ancient Times. Elucidated by the Author's own Researches and Excavations during twelve years' work in Cyprus. By Max Ohnefalsch-Richter. i Text ii Plates London 1893.

Olympia = *Olympia* Die Ergebnisse der von dem deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung im Auftrage des königlich preussischen Ministers der geistlichen Unterrichts- und Medicinal-angelegenheiten herausgegeben von Ernst Curtius und Friedrich Adler.

i Topographie und Geschichte von Olympia von Friedrich Adler, Ernst Curtius, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Paul Graef, Joseph Partsch, Rudolf Weil. Textband zur Mappe mit den Karten und Plänen Berlin 1897.

ii Die Baudenkmäler von Olympia bearbeitet von Friedrich Adler, Richard Borrmann, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Friedrich Graeber, Paul Graef. Textband Tafelband i ii Berlin 1892—1896.

iii Die Bildwerke in Stein und Thon bearbeitet von Georg Treu. Textband Tafelband Berlin 1894—1897.

iv Die Bronzen und die übrigen kleineren Funde von Olympia bearbeitet von Adolf Furtwängler. Textband Tafelband Berlin 1890.

v Die Inschriften von Olympia bearbeitet von Wilhelm Dittenberger und Karl Purgold. Berlin 1896.

Or. Lit. = *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung* Berlin 1898— .

Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* = *Inscriptionum Latinarum selectarum amplissima collectio ad illustrandam Romanae antiquitatis disciplinam accommodata ac magnarum collectionum supplementa complura emendationesque exhibens.* Cum ineditis Io. Casp. Hagenbuchii suisque adnotationibus edidit Io. Casp. Orellius. Insunt lapides Helvetiae omnes. Accedunt praeter Fogginii kalendaria antiqua, Hagenbuchii, Maffeii, Ernestii, Reiskii, Seguierii, Steinbruechelii epistolae aliquot epigraphicae nunc primum editae. i ii Turici 1828.

Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* = *Inscriptionum Latinarum selectarum amplissima collectio ad illustrandam Romanae antiquitatis disciplinam accommodata.* Volumen tertium collectionis Orellianae supplementa emendationesque exhibens edidit Guilielmus Henzen. Accedunt Indices rerum ac notarum quae in tribus voluminibus inveniuntur. Turici 1856.

Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* = *Gallerie heroischer Bildwerke der alten Kunst*, bearbeitet von Dr. Johannes Overbeck. Erster Band. Die Bildwerke zum thebischen und troischen Heldenkreis. Braunschweig 1853 with an Atlas of pls.

Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* = *Griechische Kunstmythologie* von J. Overbeck. Zweiter Band (Besonderer Theil). Erster Band. Erstes Buch: Zeus Leipzig 1871, Zweiter Band. Zweites, drittes und viertes Buch: Hera, Poseidon, Demeter und Kora Leipzig 1873—1878, Dritter Band. Fünftes Buch: Apollon Leipzig 1889. Atlas der griechischen Kunstmythologie herausgegeben von Johannes Overbeck Lieferung i—v: Tafel 1—26 Leipzig 1872—1888.

Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] = *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik* von J. Overbeck. Vierte umgearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. i ii Leipzig 1893, 1894.

Overbeck *Schriftquellen* = *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen.* Gesammelt von J. Overbeck. Leipzig 1868.

Pauly *Real-Enc.* = *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft in alphabetischer Ordnung.* Von...und dem Herausgeber August Pauly. i (Zweite völlig umgearbeitete Auflage) Stuttgart 1864, 1866 ii—vi Stuttgart 1842—1852.

Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* = Paulys *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* Neue Bearbeitung unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgenossen herausgegeben von Georg Wissowa i—vi Stuttgart 1894—1909, herausgegeben von Georg Wissowa und Wilhelm Kroll vii Stuttgart 1910—1912, begonnen von Georg Wissowa...herausgegeben von Wilhelm Kroll viii— Stuttgart 1912— , begonnen von Georg Wissowa...herausgegeben von Wilhelm Kroll und Kurt Witte (Zweite Reihe [R—Z]) i A— Stuttgart 1914— , Supplement i—iv Stuttgart 1903, 1913, 1918, 1924.

Pellegrini *Cat. vas. ant. dipint. Bologna* = *Museo Civico di Bologna. Catalogo dei vasi antichi dipinti delle collezioni Palagi ed Universitaria* descritti dal Dott. Giuseppe Pellegrini...Edito per cura del Comune di Bologna. Bologna 1900.

Pellegrini *Cat. vas. gr. dipint. Bologna* = *Museo Civico di Bologna. Catalogo dei vasi greci dipinti delle necropoli Felsinee* descritti da Giuseppe Pellegrini. Edito per cura del Comune di Bologna. Bologna 1912.

Pergamon = *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Altertümer von Pergamon* herausgegeben im Auftrage des königlich preuszischen Ministers der geistlichen und Unterrichtsangelegenheiten Berlin 1885— .

i Stadt und Landschaft von Alexander Conze, Otto Berlet, Alfred Philippson, Carl Schuchhardt, Friedrich Gräber mit Beiträgen von Johannes Mordtmann, Kurt Regling, Paul Schazmann, August Senz, Adam Zippelius. Text 1—3 with Atlas of pls. 1912—1913.

ii Das Heiligtum der Athena Polias Nikephoros von Richard Bohn mit einem Beitrage von Hans Droysen. Text with Atlas of pls. 1885.

iii, 1 Der grosze Altar. Der obere Markt. Von Jakob Schrammen. Text with Atlas of pls. 1906.

iii, 2 Die Friese des groszen Altars von Hermann Winnefeld. Text with Atlas of pls. 1910.

iv Die Theater-Terrasse von Richard Bohn. Text with Atlas of pls. 1896.

v, 2 Das Traianeum von Hermann Stiller mit einem Beitrage von Otto Raschdorff. Text with Atlas of pls. 1895.

vi Das Gymnasion von Paul Schazmann. Text with Atlas of pls. Berlin—Leipzig 1923.

vii Die Skulpturen mit Ausnahme der Altarreliefs von Franz Winter mit einem Beitrage von Jakob Schrammen. Text 1—2 with Atlas of pls. 1908.

viii, 1 Die Inschriften von Pergamon unter Mitwirkung von Ernst Fabricius und Carl Schuchhardt herausgegeben von Max Fränkel. 1—2. 1890, 1895.

Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art = Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*...par Georges Perrot... et Charles Chipiez... i— Paris 1881—

i L'Égypte 1881, ii Chaldée et Assyrie 1884, iii Phénicie—Cypre 1885, iv Judée —Sardaigne—Syrie—Cappadoce 1887, v Perse—Phrygie—Lydie et Carie—Lycie 1890, vi La Grèce primitive: l'art Mycénien 1894, vii La Grèce de l'épopée— La Grèce archaïque: le temple 1898, viii La Grèce archaïque: la sculpture 1903, ix La Grèce archaïque: la glyptique—la numismatique—la peinture—la céramique 1911, x La Grèce archaïque: la céramique d'Athènes 1914.

Philologus = Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Alterthum. Stolberg 1846, Göttingen 1847—1888, Neue Folge Göttingen 1889—1896, Leipzig 1897—

Poet. Lat. min. = Poetae Latini minores. Recensuit et emendavit Aemilius Baehrens i—vi Lipsiae 1879—1886.

Poet. lyr. Gr. = Poetae lyrici Graeci. Recensuit Theodorus Bergk. Editionis quartae i—iii Lipsiae 1878—1882.

Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre = Musée National du Louvre. Catalogue des vases antiques de terre cuite* par E. Pottier. Études sur l'histoire de la peinture et du dessin dans l'antiquité. i Les origines, ii L'école ionienne, iii L'école attique Paris 1896, 1899, 1906.

Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. = Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἑταιρίας Athens 1872—

Preller *Röm. Myth.*[1,2] = *Römische Mythologie* von L. Preller Berlin 1858, Zweite Auflage von R. Köhler Berlin 1865.

Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*[3] = *Römische Mythologie* von L. Preller. Dritte Auflage von H. Jordan i ii Berlin 1881, 1883.

Preller—Plew *Gr. Myth.* = L. Preller *Griechische Mythologie.* Dritte Auflage von E. Plew. Erster Band. Theogonie und Götter. Zweiter Band. Die Heroen. Berlin 1872, 1875.

Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* = *Griechische Mythologie* von L. Preller. Erster Band. Theogonie und Goetter. Vierte Auflage bearbeitet von Carl Robert. Berlin 1894. Zweiter Band. Die Heroen (Die griechische Heldensage). Vierte Auflage erneuert von Carl Robert. Erstes Buch. Landschaftliche Sagen. Berlin 1920. Zweites Buch. Die Nationalheroen. Berlin 1921. Drittes Buch. Die grossen Heldenepen. i. Abteilung. Die Argonauten. Der thebanische Kreis. Berlin 1921. ii. Abteilung. Erste Hälfte. Der troische Kreis bis zu Ilions Zerstörung. Berlin 1923.

Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] = *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache* von Prof. Dr. Walther Prellwitz...2. verbesserte Auflage. Göttingen 1905.

Priene = Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Priene Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895—1898, von Theodor Wiegand und Hans Schrader unter Mitwirkung von G. Kummer, W. Wilberg, H. Winnefeld, R. Zahn. Berlin 1904.

Rasche *Lex. Num.* = *Lexicon universae rei numariae veterum et praecipue Graecorum ac Romanorum* cum observationibus antiquariis geographicis chronologicis historicis criticis et passim cum explicatione monogrammatum edidit Io. Christophorus Rasche.

i—xi (Tomi I—VI, 1) Lipsiae 1785—1795, Supplementorum i—iii (Tomi VI, 2—VII, 2) Lipsiae 1802—1805.

Reinach *Bronzes Figurés = Antiquités Nationales. Description raisonnée du Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine* par Salomon Reinach ...Paris (1895).

Reinach *Pierres Gravées = Bibliothèque des monuments figurés grecs et romains. Pierres gravées* des collections Marlborough et d'Orléans, des recueils d'Eckhel, Gori, Levesque de Gravelle, Mariette, Millin, Stosch réunies et rééditées avec un texte nouveau par Salomon Reinach...Paris 1895.

Reinach *Rép. Art Quat.* = Salomon Reinach *Répertoire de l'art quaternaire* Paris 1913.

Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* = S. Reinach *Répertoire de Peintures Grecques et Romaines* (RPGR.) avec 2720 gravures. Paris 1922.

Reinach *Rép. Peintures* = Salomon Reinach *Répertoire de peintures du moyen âge et de la renaissance* (1280—1580) i—vi Paris 1905, 1907, 1910, 1918, 1922, 1923.

Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* = Salomon Reinach *Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains* i Les ensembles, ii Afrique—Îles Britanniques, iii Italie—Suisse Paris 1909, 1912, 1912.

Reinach *Rép. Stat.* = Salomon Reinach *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine* i Clarac de poche, contenant les bas-reliefs de l'ancien fonds du Louvre et les Statues antiques du *Musée de sculpture* de Clarac, avec une introduction, des notices et un index. ii Sept mille statues antiques, réunies pour la première fois, avec des notices et des index. iii Deux mille six cent quarante statues antiques, réunies pour la première fois, avec des notices et les index des trois tomes. iv Quatre mille statues antiques avec des notices et les index des quatre tomes. v. 1 Deux mille trois cent quatre-vingts statues. v. 2 Deux mille trois cent quatre-vingts statues. Paris 1897, 1897—1898, 1904, 1910, 1924.

Reinach *Rép. Vases* = Salomon Reinach *Répertoire des vases peints grecs et étrusques* i Peintures de vases gravées dans l'*Atlas* et le *Compte-rendu* de St.-Pétersbourg, les *Monumenti, Annali* et *Memorie* de l'Institut de Rome, l'*Archaeologische Zeitung*, le *Bullettino Napolitano*, le *Bullettino Italiano*, l'*Éphéméris* (1883—1894), le *Museo Italiano*, avec des notices explicatives et bibliographiques. ii Peintures de vases gravées dans les recueils de Millingen (*Coghill*), Gerhard (*Auserl. Vasenbilder*), Laborde, Luynes, Roulez, Schulz (*Amazonenvase*), Tischbein (Tomes I—V) avec des notices explicatives et bibliographiques, une bibliographie de la céramique grecque et étrusque, et un index des tomes i et ii. Paris 1899 (Deuxième édition 1923), 1900.

Reinach *Vases Ant.* = *Bibliothèque des monuments figurés grecs et romains. Peintures de vases antiques* recueillies par Millin (1808) et Millingen (1813) publiées et commentées par Salomon Reinach...Paris 1891.

Rendiconti d. Lincei = *Rendiconti della reale accademia dei Lincei* Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Serie Quinta. Roma 1892—

Rev. Arch. = *Revue archéologique* Paris 1844—1859, Nouvelle série Paris 1860—1882, Troisième série Paris 1883—1902, Quatrième série Paris 1903—1914, Cinquième série 1915—

Rev. Belge de Num. = *Revue belge de numismatique* (Continuation of the *Revue de la numismatique belge* Bruxelles 1841—1874) Bruxelles 1875—

Rev. Ét. Gr. = *Revue des études grecques* Paris 1888—

Rev. Num. = *Revue numismatique* (Continuation of the *Revue de la numismatique françoise* Blois 1836—1837) Blois 1838—1856, Nouvelle série Paris 1856—1874–1877, Troisième série Paris 1883—1896, Quatrième série Paris 1897—

Rev. Philol. = *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* Paris 1845—1847, Nouvelle série Paris 1877—

Rhein. Mus. = *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Geschichte und griechische Philosophie* Bonn 1827—1829, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* Bonn 1832—1839, Neue Folge Frankfurt am Main 1842—

Richter *Cat. Bronzes New York* = *The Metropolitan Museum of Art—Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes* by Gisela M. A. Richter. New York 1915.

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CHAPTER II

ZEUS AS GOD OF THE WEATHER.

§ 1. *Zeus lightens, thunders, rains, etc.*

IN the first volume of this work I endeavoured to show that Zeus, the Greek sky-god, was originally just the bright or day-light sky conceived as alive and operant; that already in Homeric times he had passed from the zoïstic to the anthropomorphic stage, being regarded as a divine king who dwelt in the azure brilliance of the upper air; and that subsequently he came to be associated with other manifestations of celestial light in the various solar, lunar, and stellar cults of the Hellenistic world.

Zeus, then, was primarily god of the bright sky. But the sky is not always bright. As the rustic Korydon remarks in an idyll of Theokritos:

> Ay, Zeus is sometimes fair and sometimes foul[1].

Hence the Greeks naturally extended the notion of Zeus as god of the bright sky to cover that of Zeus as weather-god in general. The poets from Homer downwards used such expressions as 'Zeus lightens[2],' 'Zeus thunders[3],' 'Zeus rains[4],' 'Zeus snows[5],' 'Zeus sends the hail[6].' The man in the street, with a reticence perhaps born of superstitious caution[7], preferred to say 'God rains,' 'God

[1] Theokr. 4. 43 *χὠ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὗει.*

[2] *E.g. Il.* 9. 236 f. *Ζεὺς δέ σφι Κρονίδης ἐνδέξια σήματα φαίνων | ἀστράπτει.*

[3] *E.g. Od.* 14. 305 *Ζεὺς δ' ἄμυδις βρόντησε καὶ ἔμβαλε νηὶ κεραυνόν.*

[4] *E.g. Il.* 12. 25 f. *ὗε δ' ἄρα Ζεὺς | συνεχές*, Hes. *o.d.* 415 f. *μετοπωρινὸν ὀμβρήσαντος Ζηνὸς ἐρισθενέος.*

[5] *E.g.* Babr. 45. 1 *ἔνιφεν ὁ Ζεύς.*

[6] *E.g.* Eur. *Tro.* 78 f. *καὶ Ζεὺς μὲν ὄμβρον καὶ χάλαζαν ἄσπετον | πέμψει δνοφώδη τ' αἰθέρος φυσήματα.*

Phrases of the type *Ζεὺς...ὄμβρον...πέμψει* are further removed from primitive zoïsm than phrases of the type *Ζεὺς...ὗει.* Transitional in character are such lines as *Ζεὺς δ' ἄμυδις βρόντησε καὶ ἔμβαλε νηὶ κεραυνόν*, of which the second half is more anthropographic than the first.

[7] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo pp. 318—391 discusses avoidance of names and *ib.* p. 387 ff. collects examples of 'Names of Gods tabooed.' See also F. C. Conybeare 'The Use of Sacred Names' in *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 358—361.

snows,' or 'He lightens,' 'He thunders[1],' but—if pressed for an explanation—would ascribe these actions to Zeus[2].

It was, therefore, a shock to old-fashioned piety, when philosophers and sophists insisted that such phaenomena were brought about by purely physical causes. A certain memorable scene in *The Clouds* of Aristophanes[3] represents Strepsiades, a member of the old school, as being instructed in the new learning by Sokrates:

Str. What! d'you mean that Zeus is not god, Zeus in heaven, on whom we call?
Socr. Zeus, d'you say? now don't talk drivel; Zeus does not exist at all.
Str. What! Who makes the rain then? tell me that, and I shall be content.
Socr. Why the Clouds: I'll prove it to you by convincing argument.
Have you ever seen rain falling, when the clouds weren't passing by?
If it's Zeus who rains, he ought to do it from a cloudless sky.
Str. That's a clever point, I grant you, neatly used to back your case.
Yet I thought once Zeus passed water through a sieve, when rain took place.
But who is it then that thunders, when I cower and hide my face?
Socr. Why, the rolling clouds make thunder.
Str. What d'you mean? that's blasphemy.
Socr. When they're teeming full of water and are forced across the sky,
Big with rain and bulging downwards, moving at a fearful rate,
Charging each against the next, they burst and crash with all their weight.
Str. But who is it drives them onwards? do you think it's Zeus, or not?
Socr. No, the atmospheric vortex.
Str. Vortex! yes, I quite forgot:
Zeus does not exist, but Vortex rules instead of him to-day.

Philosophers and would-be philosophers left the man in the street pretty much as they found him. His simple creed might be, and was, exploded scores of times; but he continued to believe in it, just because his father and his grandfather and his great-grandfather had done the same before him. He never took kindly to Vortex[4], and still talked in his unreasoning way of Zeus. If we

[1] Examples are given *infra* p. 3 n. 7.

[2] Apollon. Dysk. *de constr. or.* p. 101, 16 ff. *à propos* of ἀστράπτει and the like says ἡ τοιαύτη ἐνέργεια τῷ Διὶ ἀναπέμπεται, cp. *et. mag.* p. 211, 57 ff. οὐδὲ γὰρ βρέχω ἐγώ, οὐδὲ βρέχεις σύ, ἀλλὰ βρέχει καὶ χιονίζει καὶ ἀστράπτει ὁ θεός... ὅταν δὲ ἐρωτηματικῶς εἴπῃ βρέχει; ἢ βροντᾷ; διατί οὐ προστίθησι καὶ τὸ ἐπαγόμενον; διότι εἷς ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα ποιῶν, τουτέστιν ὁ θεός.

[3] Aristoph. *nub.* 366 ff. I quote the excellent rendering by A. D. Godley and C. Bailey (Oxford 1905), supplementing it by the addition of line 373.

[4] Mr F. M. Cornford, however, points out to me that the vortex-theory of the philosophers had at least some foundation in popular belief—witness the ancient and very remarkable tablet from Tarragona (*infra* Append. G). Aristophanes' words (*nub.* 380 f. ΣΩ. ἤκιστ', ἀλλ' αἰθέριος δῖνος. ΣΤ. Δῖνος; τουτί μ' ἐλελήθει, | ὁ Ζεὺς οὐκ ὤν, ἀλλ' ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Δῖνος νυνὶ βασιλεύων) are meant to suggest not only δίνη or δίνησις, cosmic rotation, but also the name of Zeus (schol. *ad loc.* ἐγγύθεν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ὄνομα), with a sly hit at δῖνος, a round-bellied bowl (cp. *nub.* 1468 ff. ΣΤ. ναὶ ναὶ καταιδέσθητι πατρῷον

wish to know the sort of thing that was said by common-place folk at Athens in the fourth and third centuries B.C., we turn, for example, to the extant scraps of Middle and New Comedy. Somebody in the *Atthis* of Alexis describes—

> How just at first Zeus quietly clouds over,
> Then more and more so[1].

Somebody else in a fragment by Menandros says:

> I watch Zeus
> Pelting with rain[2].

The *Characters* of Theophrastos tell the same tale. The garrulous man, full of truisms and trivialities, observes that 'if Zeus would send rain, the crops would be better[3].' The grumbler is 'annoyed with Zeus, not for not raining, but for raining too late[4].' The coward on a voyage 'pops up his head and asks the steersman if he is half-way across, and how the weather strikes him[5].' Only, where we translate 'the weather,' the Greek has literally 'the things of the god,' that is, of Zeus[6].

Phrases such as 'He rains,' 'He snows,' 'He is stormy,' 'He grows dark' alternate with the more explicit 'God rains,' 'God snows,' 'God is stormy,' 'God grows dark' throughout the whole range of Greek literature[7]. Nor did the incoming of Christianity banish these reverential expressions. The name of Zeus was indeed suppressed[8], but the name of God remained and is still to be heard in this connexion. Thus, instead of the usual phrase 'day breaks[9],' a modern Greek folk-song in G. F. Abbott's collection has:

> God brings on day-break[10].

Δία. | ΦΕ. ἰδού γε Δία πατρῷον· ὡς ἀρχαῖος εἶ. | Ζεὺς γάρ τις ἔστιν; ΣΤ. ἔστιν. ΦΕ. οὐκ ἔστ', οὔκ, ἐπεὶ | Δῖνος βασιλεύει τὸν Δί' ἐξελήλακώς. | ΣΤ. οὐκ ἐξελήλακ', ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τοῦτ' ᾠόμην | διὰ τουτονὶ τὸν δῖνον. οἴμοι δείλαιος, | ὅτε καὶ σὲ χυτρεοῦν ὄντα θεὸν ἡγησάμην. The last line should not be cut out: it is quite justified by other pot-Zeuses, the Δίες Κτήσιοι of Append. H).

[1] Alexis *Atthis frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 397 Meineke) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* μᾶλλον μᾶλλον·...πῶς (ὡς Meineke) ἐπινεφεῖ (ἐπινέφει Cobet) τὸ πρῶτον ὁ Ζεὺς ἡσυχῇ, | ἔπειτα μᾶλλον μᾶλλον.

[2] Menand. *frag. incert.* 306 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 299 Meineke) *ap.* Non. Marc. p. 387, 40 f. τηρῶ τὸν Δία | ὕοντα πολλῷ. So Porson for τηρωτοναιατον (υον codd. L B^A) τατιοχω. But W. M. Lindsay, after Turnebus, prints τηρῶ τὸν Δία | τὸν αἰγίοχον.

[3] Theophr. *char.* 18 Jebb.

[4] Theophr. *char.* 22 Jebb.

[5] Theophr. *char.* 27 Jebb.

[6] R. C. Jebb on Theophr. *loc. cit.* τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.

[7] Cp. Hdt. 4. 50 ὕει with Hdt. 3. 117 ὕει ἀφι ὁ θεός, Aristoph. *vesp.* 773 ἐὰν δὲ νίφῃ with Xen. *cyn.* 8. 1 ὅταν νίφῃ ὁ θεός, Hdt. 7. 191 ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχείμαζε τρεῖς with Xen. *oec.* 8. 16 ὅταν χειμάζῃ ὁ θεός, Xen. *Cyrop.* 4. 5. 5 ἐπεὶ συνεσκότασε with Polyb. 31. 21. 9 συσκοτάζοντος ἄρτι τοῦ θεοῦ. See further B. Gerth in R. Kühner *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* Hannover und Leipzig 1898 II. i. 33.

[8] *Supra* i. 165 ff.

[9] ᾽ξημερώνει.

[10] G. F. Abbott *Songs of Modern Greece* Cambridge 1900 Part 2 1. 21 καὶ ᾽ξημερώνει ὁ θεὸς τ' ἡμέρα'.

People say not only 'it rains[1]' but 'God rains[2].' And in a love-distich from Crete cited by A. Passow the lover invokes 'the Lord ...who sends the cloudy weather and the thunder and the rain[3]'—a manifest survival, as B. Schmidt points out[4], of Zeus the weather-god of pre-Christian days. Other locutions of the kind are collected by N. G. Polites[5] and reviewed by J. C. Lawson, who concludes: 'Such expressions as these are in daily use among the Greek peasantry: and nothing could reveal more frankly the purely pagan and anthropomorphic conception of God which everywhere prevails. The God of Christendom is indistinguishable from the Zeus of Homer[6].'

§ 2. *The* Diosemía *or 'Zeus-sign.'*

If Zeus was originally none other than the animate sky, we can well understand that any sudden change in his aspect must have meant much to his worshippers. Homer speaks of thunder[7] and lightning[8], Hesiod of a blood-red rain[9], as the *sémata* or 'signs' of Zeus. And the title *Semaléos*, under which Zeus was worshipped on Mount Parnes[10], probably implies that omens were there drawn from the state of the weather[11].

Of kindred import is the term *Diosemía*[12], a 'Zeus-sign,' which may have arisen before Zeus became a fully anthropomorphic deity. It is used from the fifth century B.C. onwards to denote anything in the nature of an atmospheric disturbance—for example, a sudden

[1] *βρέχει.*

[2] *βρέχει ὁ θεός* (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 29). Cp. *et. mag.* p. 211, 57 f. (*supra* p. 2 n. 2).

[3] A. Passow *Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris* Lipsiae 1860 Dist. 242 *ὁ κύριος τὸ κατέχει, ἐκεῖνος ἀποῦ συννεφιᾷ κὴ ἀποβροντᾷ καὶ βρέχει.*

[4] B. Schmidt *op. cit.* i. 29 f.

[5] N. G. Polites *Δημώδεις μετεωρολογικοὶ μῦθοι* (extract from *Παρνασσός*) Athens 1880 pp. 10 f., 13, 16 ff.

[6] J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 52.

[7] *Il.* 8. 170 f., *Od.* 21. 413.

[8] *Il.* 2. 350 ff., 9. 236 f., 13. 242 ff. Cp. Bakchyl. 16. 52 ff.

[9] Hes. *sc. Her.* 384 f.

[10] Append. B Attike, *supra* i. 121.

[11] Cp. Xen. *Cyrop.* 1. 6. 1 f. *Κῦρος δὲ...προσευξάμενος Ἑστίᾳ πατρῴᾳ καὶ Διὶ πατρῴῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ὡρμᾶτο ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν.... ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας ἐγένοντο, λέγονται ἀστραπαὶ καὶ βρονταὶ αὐτῷ αἴσιοι γενέσθαι. τούτων δὲ φανέντων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔτι οἰωνιζόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο, ὡς οὐδένα ἂν λύσαντα τὰ τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ σημεῖα. κ.τ.λ.*, where *σημεῖα* is the equivalent of the Homeric and Hesiodic *σήματα*. Similarly, ominous birds and beasts sent by Zeus are *σήματα* in poetry (*Il.* 2. 308 f., Theokr. 17. 71 ff.), *σημεῖα* in prose (Xen. *Cyrop.* 2. 4. 19).

[12] *Διοσημία* is the best attested form: see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* ii. 1540 A—C *s.vv.* *Διοσημασία, Διοσημεία, Διοσημεῖον, Διοσημία.*

storm[1]. But its scope was gradually widened to include meteorological phaenomena of all sorts[2], until in the sixth century A.D. Ioannes Laurentius the Lydian could reckon as subdivisions of it solar and lunar eclipses, comets, shooting stars, lightning, thunder, thunderbolts, aerial portents, earthquakes, and conflagrations![3]

The Athenians, we are told, paid special attention to Zeus-signs[4], which were expounded to them by official Interpreters[5]. When a sign occurred, the public assembly at once broke up[6] and the law-courts ceased to sit[7]. Thus in 420 B.C. the Athenians were on the point of making an alliance with the Argives and their confederates. 'But,' says Thoukydides, 'before the final vote was taken an earthquake happened, and the assembly was adjourned[8].' Aristophanes in his *Women in Parliament* mentions as plausible reasons for not carrying out a decree:

> An earthquake might befall,
> Lightning might strike, a weasel cross the street,
> And then they'ld stop at once, you dunder-head![9]

The Chorus of Clouds in the play named after them take credit to themselves for saving the Athenians from undue haste:

> We who more than all immortals benefit your state and you,
> We alone have no libation, ne'er receive an offering due:
> Yet we save you: when to senseless expeditions you're inclined,
> Then we send you rain and thunder, so that you may change your mind[10].

The allusion in the last line is presumably to the postponement of public business occasioned by a Zeus-sign. That is certainly the case in a passage of the *Acharnians*, where Dikaiopolis waxes indignant with the Thracians:

[1] Aristoph. *Ach.* 171 (*infra* p. 6) with schol. *ad loc.* (=Souid. *s.v.* Διοσημεία) Διοσημία δέ ἐστιν ὁ παρὰ καιρὸν χειμών.

[2] The *phaenomena* of Aratos is followed by a sequel (lines 733—1154), which deals with weather-signs in general and in the later MSS. is entitled Διοσημίαι or πρόγνωσις. This sequel utilised the same source as the treatise περὶ σημείων wrongly attributed to Theophrastos and was itself translated into Latin verse by Cicero under the heading *prognostica* (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1911 ii. 1. 124 f.: see further G. Knaack in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 395, 397).

[3] Lyd. *de ostent.* 4. Here, as *ib.* 15[b], 16, 16[a], C. Wachsmuth prints διοσημεία, but *ib.* 47 διοσημασία.

[4] Schol. Rav. Aristoph. *Ach.* 171 (=Souid. *s.v.* Διοσημεία) παρεφυλάττοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς Διοσημίας, καὶ διέλυον τὰς ἐκκλησίας Διοσημίας γενομένης < ? > ἢ ἄλλο τι μέλλοντες ἀνύειν.

[5] Poll. 8. 124 ἀνίστατο δὲ τὰ δικαστήρια, εἰ γένοιτο Διοσημία· ἐξηγηταὶ δ' ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ τὰ περὶ τῶν Διοσημιῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν διδάσκοντες. Similarly the Romans κατὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς κεραυνοῖς Διοσημείας τούτοις (*sc.* the Etruscans) ἐξηγηταῖς χρῶνται (Diod. 5. 40).

[6] *Supra* n. 4. Cp. *infra* p. 6 n. 3.

[7] *Supra* n. 5.

[8] Thouk. 5. 45, cp. Plout. *v. Nic.* 10.

[9] Aristoph. *eccl.* 791 ff.

[10] Aristoph. *nub.* 577 ff.

Magistrates, can you stand it? And am I
In my own country by barbarian hands
To be thus handled? No, to pay the Thracians
There shall be no assembly. See, there is
A Zeus-sign—I distinctly felt a rain-drop[1].

Hereupon the herald without further enquiry terminates the sitting:

Thracians, begone: come back in two days' time.
The magistrates hereby adjourn the assembly[2].

The *Diosemía* doubtless afforded fair sport to the comedian; but to the majority of his fellow-countrymen, as also to the Romans[3], it was no laughing-matter. 'When armies gather for battle,' says Dion Chrysostomos, 'and a sudden Zeus-sign appears or an earthquake takes place, men straightway turn back and abandon hostilities, since the gods are against their fighting[4].' The suddenness of the sign appears to have been an essential feature[5]. If foreseen, it was robbed of its terrors—witness an anecdote told by Polyainos the Macedonian:

Leonidas was about to join battle, when he noticed storm-clouds collecting and remarked to the generals that they must not be surprised if it lightened and thundered—that was bound to happen in the dog-days. So, when numerous Zeus-signs occurred, Leonidas' men being forewarned held on their way with no fears for the future, but the enemy in dire dismay were cowed by the danger and consequently beaten[6].

Another name for the meteorological omen was *echesamía*, a 'stop-sign,' and this is defined by Hesychios as 'a summer drizzle

[1] Aristoph. *Ach.* 167 ff. [2] Aristoph. *Ach.* 172 f.

[3] Appian. *de bell. civ.* 1. 30 ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς ὄχλος ἐβόα ὡς γενομένης ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ βροντῆς, ὅθεν οὐ θέμις ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲν ἔτι κυροῦν... ...ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι νόμος ὁ πρὸς βίαν τε καὶ βροντῆς ὠνομασμένης κεκυρωμένος παρὰ τὰ πάτρια, Dion Cass. 38. 13 τῆς γὰρ μαντείας τῆς δημοσίας ἔκ τε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων τινῶν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ποιουμένης, τὸ μέγιστον κῦρος ἡ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἶχεν, οὕτως ὥστε τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἰωνίσματα πολλὰ καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην πρᾶξιν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἐσάπαξ ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γίγνεσθαι. τοῦτό τε οὖν ἰδιώτατον ἐν αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἢ ἐπέτρεπε πραχθῆναί τινα, καὶ ἐγίγνετο μηδενὸς ἔτι καθ' ἕκαστον οἰωνίσματος ἐπαγομένου, ἢ ἐκώλυε, καὶ ἀνεχειρίζετό τι, τὰς δὲ δὴ τοῦ δήμου διαψηφίσεις πάντως ἐπῖσχεν, καὶ ἦν πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀεὶ Διοσημία, εἴτε ἐναίσιον εἴτε ἐξαίσιον ἐγένετο (cp. *ib.* 38. 29, 39. 35, 39. 39, 40. 17).

[4] Dion Chrys. *or.* 38 p. 138 Reiske καὶ ὅταν συνερχομένων εἰς μάχην στρατῶν ἢ Διοσημία φανῇ αἰφνίδιος ἢ τῆς γῆς γένηται σεισμός, ἀποστρέφονται εὐθὺς οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀποχωροῦσιν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ὡς τῶν θεῶν οὐ βουλομένων αὐτοὺς μάχεσθαι.

[5] This is implied by *Od.* 20. 112 ff. Ζεῦ πάτερ,... | ἦ μεγάλ' ἐβρόντησας ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος, | οὐδέ ποθι νέφος ἐστί· τέρας νύ τεῳ τόδε φαίνεις. Similarly Servius regards a bolt from the blue as an omen, but a bolt from the clouds as a natural phaenomenon (Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 141, 9. 630).

[6] Polyain. 1. 32. 2. J. Melber 'Über die Quellen und den Wert der Strategemensammlung Polyäns' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1885 xiv. 437 argues that the Leonidas of Polyain. 1. 32. 2 f. was not the hero of Thermopylai mentioned in Polyain. 1. 32. 1, but another Spartan general of the same name.

or thunder-clap[1].' Gossiping history is full of such inhibitions. An example or two will suffice. Stabrobates, the Indian king opposed to Semiramis, is said to have been immobilised 'when Zeus-signs befell him, intimating—so the seers declared—that he must not cross the river[2].' Agis and his army actually gave up the invasion of Attike in 426 B.C. because of a series of earthquakes[3] and that of Elis in 399 for a like reason[4]. In 388 or 387 Agesipolis marched against Argos, when another earthquake happened and his soldiers, recalling the action of Agis in 399, were for retiring. Agesipolis made excuses and pushed on; but, when further a thunderbolt fell in his camp, even he had enough of it and beat a retreat[5]. Galba on quitting his house, early in 69 A.D., to nominate Piso Licinianus as his successor encountered, according to Plutarch, 'great Zeus-signs': his speech in the camp was accompanied by incessant thunder and lightning, rain and darkness; obviously heaven did not approve of his choice[6].

Finally, a word may be added about the interpretation of Zeus-signs. The instances quoted above show that assemblies, law-courts, and armies viewed such signs with alarm and on their occurrence were apt to drop the business in hand. This after all was natural enough. In civil or military crises, when a superstitious public would be on the look out for omens, a sudden deluge of rain might well act as a deterrent, and a growl of thunder be taken to portend something sinister. What seems really remarkable is that side by side with this common-sense, or at least common-place, attitude an earlier view of a very different sort held its ground, a view which

[1] Hesych. *s.v.* *ἐχεσαμία· ὅτε θέρους ὄντος ψακάζει ἢ βροντή* (so cod.: M. Musurus *ψεκάζει ἢ βροντήση*, H. Stephanus *ψεκάση, ἢ βροντήση*, J. Alberti *ψεκάζει, ἢ βροντήσει*, M. Schmidt *ψακάζῃ, ἢ βροντήσῃ*. I would rather retain the reading *ὅτε θέρους ὄντος ψακάζει, ἢ βροντή*. In any case cp. Aristoph. *nub.* 579 f. *ἢν γὰρ ᾖ τις ἔξοδος | μηδενὶ ξὺν νῷ, τότ' ἢ βροντῶμεν ἢ ψακάζομεν*).

'Εχεσαμία appears to be a Doric and perhaps Pythagorean (?) term, formed on the false analogy of *ἐκεχειρία*: cp. *ἐχεγλωττία, ἐχεμυθία, ἐχερρημοσύνη*—three words for 'silence,' of which the first (Loukian. *Lexiph.* 9) possibly, the second (Plout. *de curios.* 9, Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 32, 68, 104, 188, 226, cp. 94) and third (Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 246) certainly, were current in the school of Pythagoras (cp. O. Casel *De philosophorum Graecorum silentio mystico* Giessen 1919 pp. 30 ff., 52 ff.). That philosopher is expressly said to have discussed Διοσημίαι (Porph. *v. Pyth.* 25, Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 62). Hesych. *Διοσημεῖον· τεράστιον σημεῖον* is restored by M. Schmidt as the Doric (*Διοσαμία*)· *Διὸς σημεῖον. τεράστιον σημεῖον* to suit the *ordo verborum*.

[2] Diod. 2. 19. Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 2. 33 p. 75 Kayser states that, when the Egyptian Herakles and Dionysos invaded India, the sages (Brachmanes) dwelling between the Hyphasis and the Ganges *Διοσημίαις τε καὶ σκηπτοῖς βάλλοντες ἀποκρούονται σφᾶς ἱεροὶ καὶ θεοφιλεῖς ὄντες... ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτοὶ προσήεσαν, πρηστῆρες αὐτοὺς ἀπεώσαντο καὶ βρονταὶ κάτω στρεφόμεναι καὶ ἐμπίπτουσαι τοῖς ὅπλοις, κ.τ.λ.*

[3] Thouk. 3. 89, cp. *ib.* 87.

[4] Xen. *Hell.* 3. 2. 24.

[5] Xen. *Hell.* 4. 7. 4 ff., cp. Paus. 3. 5. 8.

[6] Plout. *v. Galb.* 23, cp. Tac. *hist.* 1. 18.

regarded the Zeus-sign as positive not negative, hortatory rather than minatory. We have reason to think that in the far past Greek magicians and kings claimed to be weather-makers. Salmoneus with his thunders is the stock example. That primitive belief did not pass away without leaving sundry traces of itself in the national literature. Among these I would reckon the encouraging thunder-peals[1] and lightning-flashes[2] vouchsafed to epic heroes. The kings of Troy traced their lineage through Dardanos back to Zeus, for whom they had special reverence[3], and more than one scion of the royal family appears to have been an adept at eliciting Zeus-signs. Ilos the grandfather of Priamos prayed Zeus for a sign and found next morning the Zeus-fallen Palladion lying before his tent[4]. Priamos asked Zeus for an omen of his favour, and Zeus sent a black eagle in response to his prayer[5]. Hektor too relied on Zeus and his lightning-signs[6]—indeed he himself bore the same title as Zeus, for Sappho spoke of Zeus as *Héktor*[7]. Again, when Odysseus prayed Zeus for a portent, forthwith there came thunder from a cloudless sky[8]. Similarly in an ode of Bakchylides[9] Minos, to prove that he is the son of Zeus, prays:

> Zeus my father, great and strong, hearken, if in very truth
> Phoinike's white-armed maid bare me to thee,
> Now send thou forth from heaven a swift
> Flash of streaming fire,
> A sign for all to know.

Whereupon—

> Zeus great and strong heard that immoderate prayer
> And planted honour infinite for Minos,
> Willing for his dear son
> To make it seen of all,
> Ay, sent the lightning.

Such scenes imply an underlying belief that the divine king could evoke a thunderstorm at will[10]. In early days this would have been done, not by a prayer to Zeus, but by mimetic means: nor would

[1] *Il.* 8. 170 ff., *Od.* 20. 98 ff., 21. 413 ff. [2] *Il.* 2. 350 ff., 9. 236 f.
[3] I have elaborated the point in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 77 f.
[4] Apollod. 3. 12. 1. [5] *Il.* 24. 283 ff. [6] *Il.* 9. 236 ff.
[7] Sapph. *frag.* 157 Bergk[4] *ap.* Hesych. *s.v.* Ἕκτορες· πάσσαλοι ἐν ῥυμῷ (*Il.* 24. 272 ἔστορι with *v.l.* ἕκτορι in schol. G[2], *et. mag.* p. 383, 26 f.), Σαπφὼ δὲ τὸν Δία, Λεωνίδης τὸν κροκύφαντον. Presumably Zeus Ἕκτωρ was Zeus '*the Holder*,' cp. πολιοῦχος (Plat. *legg.* 921 c), τροπαιοῦχος (Aristot. *de mund.* 7. 401 a 23), μελιοῦχος (C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus* Wien 1888 p. 103, 6, F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 65 no. 46, 5, *supra* i. 190), κεραυνοῦχος (Philon Byzantius *de sept. mir.* 3), σκηπτοῦχος (Orph. *h. Zeus* 15. 6, Heliodoros *apolyt. ad Nicom.* 3 *ap.* Galen. *de antidotis* 2. 7 (xiv. 145 Kühn)).
[8] *Od.* 20. 98 ff. [9] Bakchyl. 16. 52 ff.
[10] *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 311 f.

the operator have been content to be called the son of Zeus; he would have passed for Zeus himself. The epic tradition survived into later times. To be struck by lightning was no small honour[1]; to be slain by it meant apotheosis[2]. Euthymos the boxer had a statue in his native town, the Italian Lokroi, and another at Olympia: both were struck by lightning on the same day—a fact which stamped the worship of the living man with the approval of Zeus[3]. Even to a dead man's tomb lightning added the lustre of divinity. According to Plutarch,—

> Aristotle declares that the honours paid to Lykourgos in Lakedaimon were less than he deserved. And yet those honours were very great; for he has a sanctuary there, and men sacrifice to him yearly as to a god. It is also said that, when his remains were brought home, his tomb was struck by a thunderbolt—a thing that has happened to hardly any other famous personage except Euripides, who died later and was buried near Arethousa in Makedonia. Indeed, lovers of Euripides quote as strong evidence of his merit the fact that he alone after death met with the same fate as the greatest favourite of heaven, the holiest character of the past[4].

Bianor the Bithynian (*c.* 17 A.D.), not content with this, makes the lightning strike his poet's grave three times over:

> In Macedonian dust thou liest low,
> But burnt by Zeus o' the Bolt hast done with clay.
> Thrice flashed his sky, Euripides, and so
> The tomb's tale of mortality purged away[5].

Among the Romans too the fall of lightning was diversely interpreted, being sometimes at least regarded as a presage of good[6]. When a statue of Horatius Cocles in the Comitium was struck, Etruscan *haruspices* bade move it to a lower position, where it would never be shone upon by the sun. But for this they were denounced and put to death. The statue was promoted to a higher place in the Area Volcani, and prosperity resulted for Rome[7]. In 172 B.C. the Columna Rostrata, erected on the Capitol to commemorate the sea-fight of 255 B.C., was shattered by a lightning-flash at night. The *decemviri* ordered a lustration of the city, a

[1] *Infra* p. 22 f. [2] *Infra* p. 23 ff.

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 152. See further *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 275.

[4] Plout. *v. Lycurg.* 31.

[5] *Anth. Pal.* 7. 49 (Bianor) ἀ Μακέτις σε κέκευθε τάφου κόνις· ἀλλὰ πυρωθεὶς | Ζανὶ κεραυνείῳ γαῖαν ἀπημφίασας. | τρὶς γὰρ ἐπαστράψας, Εὐριπίδη, ἐκ Διὸς αἰθὴρ | ἤγνισε τὰν θνατὰν σήματος ἱστορίαν. In line 2 ἀπημφίασας, the reading of Planudes, is preferable to the conjectures ἀπημφιάσω Brunck and Reiske, ἀφηγίασας Reiske, ἀπηχθίασας Polak, ἀπηθρίασας Piccolos, γᾶς ἄπ' ἀνῆλθες ἅπας Schmidt.

[6] A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* Paris 1882 iv. 46 ff.

[7] *Annal. max.* 11 (*Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 5 Peter) and M. Verrius Flaccus *rerum memoria dignarum* 1 (Fest. ed. Müller praef. p. xiii) *ap.* Gell. 4. 5. 1—7.

public service of humiliation and prayer, and the sacrifice of larger victims both on the Capitol and on the promontory of Minerva in Campania; they further directed that games lasting ten days be celebrated as soon as possible for Iupiter *Optimus Maximus*. But the *haruspices* declared that the presage was a happy one, portending increase of territory and destruction of enemies[1]. Shortly before the death of Augustus, his statue on the Capitol was struck by lightning, and the word *Caesar* on its base lost the initial *C*. The seers concluded that he would live but *C*, *i.e.* a hundred, days longer and then become an *aesar*, *i.e.* the Etruscan term for a god[2]. One of the omens that marked out Antoninus Pius for the throne was the following: 'a thunderbolt fell from a clear sky on his house and did no damage[3].' Another omen of more doubtful character heralded the rise of the elder Maximinus: his lance was split by a thunderbolt, which bisected even the iron blade. The *haruspices* inferred that two emperors called by the same name would spring from his house, but would not reign for long[4]. At Interamna the cenotaphs of the emperor Tacitus and his brother Florianus were surmounted by two marble portraits thirty feet in height. These statues were shivered and scattered by lightning. Thereupon the *haruspices* predicted that a thousand years later a member of the imperial house should conquer the whole of the known world and, after resigning supreme power to the senate, die at the age of a hundred and twenty without leaving an heir behind him[5].

Thus the Zeus-sign retained its significance, good as well as bad, throughout the classical period of Greece and Rome. Julian, writing to Libanios, can still say: 'From Litarba I went to Berroia, and Zeus showed nothing but propitious signs, exhibiting his *Diosemia* for all to behold. There I stopped for a day, saw the *akrópolis*, and sacrificed a white bull to Zeus in kingly fashion[6].'

In dealing with Zeus as god of the weather it will be convenient to consider separately the evidence that connects him with lightning, thunder, earthquakes, clouds, wind, dew, and rain.

[1] Liv. 42. 20.
[2] Suet. *Aug.* 97, Dion Cass. 56. 29.
[3] Iul. Capit. *v. Ant. pii* 3. 5.
[4] Iul. Capit. *v. Maximin. duor.* 30. 2 (*v. Maximin. iun.* 4. 2).
[5] Flav. Vopisc. *v. Tacit.* 15. 1—5 (*v. Florian.* 2. 1—5).
[6] Ioul. *epist.* 27 Heyler ἀπὸ τῶν Λιτάρβων εἰς τὴν Βέρροιαν ἐπορευόμην, καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς αἴσια πάντα ἐσήμηνεν, ἐναργῆ δείξας τὴν Διοσημίαν (διοσημείαν cod. H corr., followed by Heyler who cp. Ioul. *or.* 7 p. 212 B διοσημειῶν). ἐπιμείνας δὲ ἡμέραν ἐκεῖ, τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εἶδον, καὶ ἔθυσα τῷ Διὶ βασιλικῶς ταῦρον λευκόν.

§ 3. *Zeus and the Lightning.*

(a) Lightning as a flame from the Burning Sky.

At the very moment when the sky was darkest Zeus vindicated his character as 'the Bright One.' The brilliant flash that glittered for an instant against the lowering storm sufficiently proved his presence and his power.

The Homeric poems use the same set of words to describe *aithér*, sun, moon, stars, lightning, fire. From which fact it has been fairly inferred that in popular belief lightning was made of the same material as *aithér*, etc.—was, indeed, but a flame from the flaming sky[1]. Here, as elsewhere, popular belief seems to have left its impress on philosophy; for Anaxagoras regarded lightning as a veritable streak of *aithér*, a fragment of the burning sky that had fallen into the lower stratum of *aér* or cloudy air[2], and the physicist Milon distinguished two species of lightning, diurnal and nocturnal, holding that the former was due to the action of the sun, the latter to that of the stars, upon water[3]. Nay more, the very word *astrapé*, the ordinary Greek term for 'lightning,' itself bears witness to the conviction that the electric flash was akin to all other *ástra*, sun, moon, stars, or Saint Elmo's fire[4].

Another name for the lightning was *keraunós*, the 'destroyer[5].' This is usually translated by the word 'thunderbolt,' but must not be taken to denote a solid missile of any sort. It means nothing more than the bright white flash in its destructive capacity.

i. Zeus *Keraunós.*

Now, if the lightning-flash was part and parcel of the *aithér* or burning sky, it was part and parcel of Zeus. For Zeus in his early

[1] O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 pp. 20 f., 619.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 622 n. 1 citing Aristot. *meteor.* 2. 9. 369 b 14 ff., Aët. 3. 3. 4, Senec. *nat. quaestt.* 2. 12. 3, 2. 19.

[3] Stob. *ecl.* 1. 29. 3 p. 238, 13 ff. Wachsmuth, O. Gilbert *op. cit.* p. 637 n. 1.

[4] Plat. *Crat.* 409 C τὰ δ' ἄστρα ἔοικε τῆς ἀστραπῆς ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχειν κ.τ.λ., *et. mag.* p. 159, 57 ff., *et. Gud.* p. 86, 32 ff., Eustath. *in Il.* p. 786, 15 f. Modern philologists accept the connexion: L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 179 ἀστέρ- and ἀστεροπή, 180 ἀστράπτειν, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] pp. 59 f. ἀστήρ and ἀστραπή, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 92 ἀστράπη (*sic*). See further Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 82 and 191.

[5] Κεραυνός is connected with κεραΐζειν, 'to destroy,' by L. Meyer *op. cit.* ii. 362, Prellwitz *op. cit.* pp. 19, 217, Boisacq *op. cit.* pp. 435, 440. These authorities cp. Sanskrit *çáru-ḥ*, 'dart'; Gothic *hairus*, Old Norse *hiǫrr*, Old Saxon *heru-*, 'sword'; Middle Irish acc. pl. *coire*, 'swords,'—which forms presuppose an Indo-Europaean **kêru-s*, 'flint dagger' (?), but do not warrant the inference that the Greeks originally identified the lightning-flash with the thunder-stone (on which see *infra* § 3 (c)).

zoïstic stage *was* the burning sky[1]. Hence Herakleitos had common opinion behind him, when he called his elemental Fire both Zeus and *Keraunós*[2]. The same identification of Zeus with *Keraunós* accounts for an Orphic hymn, which consists of a prayer to Zeus that he will expend his fury on the sea or on mountain-summits and leave mankind in peace, but is headed by the title *Keraunoû*, 'of Keraunos[3].' The equation of Zeus with *Keraunós* is implied also, as H. Weil remarked[4], in the fragment of a Hesiodic *Theogony* which tells how Zeus swallowed Metis—'fearing lest she bear a second offspring stronger than Keraunos[5].' The logic of the passage and the parallel myth of Thetis[6] lead us to expect 'stronger than himself.' But, since the strength of Zeus is chiefly exhibited in the lightning-flash, the poet substitutes the latter for the former. Further evidence of Zeus *Keraunós* came to light in 1868, when P. Foucart found at Mantineia a rough block of limestone inscribed as follows in lettering of the fifth century B.C. (fig. 1)[7]:



Of Zeus Keraunós.

Fig. 1.

The stone appears to have marked some spot struck by lightning.

[1] *Supra* i. 25 ff. [2] *Supra* i. 28.

[3] Orph. *h. Ker.* 19. 1 Ζεῦ πάτερ κ.τ.λ. with the title Κεραυνοῦ. The editors, including E. Abel, alter this quite arbitrarily to Κεραυνίου Διός. A. Dieterich *De hymnis Orphicis* Marburg 1891 p. 19 n. 1 (=*Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 82 n. 2) and H. Usener 'Keraunos' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 3 ff. (=*Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1913 iv. 473 ff.) rightly retain the reading of all the MSS.

[4] H. Weil in the *Rev. Arch.* 1876 ii. 50 f.

[5] Quoted by Chrysippos *ap.* Galen. *de Hippocratis et Platonis placitis* 3. 8 (v. 351 f. Kühn) δείσας μὴ τέξῃ κρατερώτερον ἄλλο Κεραυνοῦ. *Infra* § 9 (h) ii (κ).

[6] *Infra* § 9 (h) ii (κ).

[7] Lebas—Foucart *Peloponnèse* ii. 209 no. 352 *a*, P. Foucart 'Le Zeus Kéraunos de Mantinée' in the *Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France* No. 4 1875 pp. 23—26 and in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1878 ii. 515, Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 101, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 343 no. 1197, O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 18 no. 5, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 761, *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* no. 288. See also H. Weil 'Zeus Keraunos' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1876 ii. 50 f., Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 25, G. Fougères *Mantinée et l'Arcadie Orientale* Paris 1898 pp. 221—224, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 727 n. 5, p. 1111 n. 3.

Such a spot would thenceforward be sacred to the fiery sky conceived as flashing downwards; in other words, it would be sacred to Zeus in the character of *Keraunós*[1].

ii. Zeus *Kataibátes*.

Hardly more advanced is the conception of Zeus that underlies his title *Kataibátes*, 'He who descends.' As far back as the close of the seventeenth century this title began to arouse the interest of scholars. E. Holthenus in a letter to J. G. Grævius declared that it had nothing to do with thunderbolts, but denoted Jupiter who 'descended' from heaven to enquire into the truth of worldly things, to punish sinners, and to benefit mankind. This hasty conjecture provoked a reply from P. Burmannus the elder, who in

[1] H. Usener in his *Götternamen* Bonn 1896—one of the greatest modern works on classical religion—argued that Indo-Europaean gods have passed through three stages of development, *viz.* (1) as 'Momentary gods' (*Augenblicksgötter*), (2) as 'Departmental gods' (*Sondergötter*), (3) as 'Personal gods' (*persönliche Götter*). The first stage is represented by such individual and temporary divinities as the ἐλρεσιώνη of the Athenian harvester or the spear by which the Arcadian Parthenopaios used to swear: the second, by such specific and limited divinities as those of the Roman *indigitamenta* (Varro's *di certi*) or of ancient Lithuanian cult: the third, by the great personal deities of Greece and Italy. Usener (*ib.* p. 286 ff. and more fully in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 1—30 = *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1913 iv. 471—497) contends that Keraunos was first an *Augenblicksgott*, then a *Sondergott*, and lastly an attribute of a *persönlicher Gott*, *i.e.* that, to begin with, any and every lightning-flash was regarded as a divinity, that next men advanced to the more general conception of one lightning-god, and that finally he was absorbed into the larger personality of Zeus. The three stages in the evolution of Keraunos would thus be marked by the terms κεραυνοί, Κεραυνός, and Zeus Κεραύνιος.

With a general criticism of Usener's far-reaching theory I am not here concerned (for its validity in the Greek area see L. R. Farnell 'The place of the *Sonder-Götter* in Greek Polytheism' in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* Oxford 1907 pp. 81—100, and in the Italian area G. Wissowa 'Echte und falsche *Sondergötter* in der römischen Religion' in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* München 1904 pp. 304—326), but with its special applicability to the case of Zeus Κεραυνός. Usener (*Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 16 = *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1913 iv. 484) holds that the very expression Zeus Κεραυνός involves an inner contradiction, since it unites the last with the first stage of his evolutionary sequence: Zeus had before the days of Homer developed into a *persönlicher Gott*, the hurler of the lightning; and, if he is here combined with an *Augenblicksgott*, the particular lightning-flash, we can only explain the combination by saying that side by side with the later development of a *persönlicher Gott* the earlier conception of an *Augenblicksgott* has persisted, clinging with amazing tenacity to the actual custom of considering a spot struck by lightning as the abode of a divinity. I confess, I find it easier to suppose—though the supposition is expressly deprecated by Usener—that in this remarkable inscription not only *Keraunós* but Zeus too is still in the zoïstic stage. If even in the philosophy of a Herakleitos Zeus as the fiery sky was equated with *Keraunós*, *à fortiori* might we look to find that combination of primitive ideas in the memorial of an Arcadian rite. On this showing there is no inner inconsistency in the title Zeus Κεραυνός; and we are of course still free to accept Usener's great theory as to the evolution of Indo-Europaean gods.

a learned treatise cited most of the evidence both literary and monumental, and triumphantly demonstrated the essential connexion of the title *Kataibátes* with the lightning-cults of the ancient world[1].

The question has, however, been reopened of late by O. Gruppe, who propounds a wholly fresh solution of the problem[2]. *Kataibátes*—we are to suppose—was originally the name of an ancient deity dwelling in the depths of the earth and invoked by those who desired to conjure up rainy or stormy weather: hence he came to be compared with Zeus the lightning-god, and was ultimately regarded as himself the hurler of the thunderbolt. In other words, a subterranean *Kataibátes* preceded the celestial Zeus *Kataibátes*. In support of this suggestion, Gruppe points out that a Cilician inscription of the second century A.D. mentions 'the god *Kataibátes* and Phersephone' together[3]; that in Rhodes and at Athens, according to a scholiast on Aristophanes, Hermes was not only *Chthónios* but also *Kataibátes*[4]; that the same epithet is applied to the river Acheron[5]; and that *katabásion* was a word used of an underground cavern or chasm at Eleusis[6], Lebadeia[7], Aigialos[8], Hierapolis in Phrygia[9], etc.[10] Indeed, it cannot be denied that the title *Kataibátes* would be perfectly appropriate to any deity who descended into the underworld. Nevertheless, it will be observed that the only direct evidence for *Kataibátes* as a separate chthonian divinity is a Cilician inscription of Roman date, whereas the lightning-flash of Zeus is called *kataibátes* by Aischylos as early as 467–458 B.C.[11] Zeus *Kataibátes* himself appears in Greek literature

[1] The letter of E. Holthenus (Trajecti ad Rhenum pridie Id. Maj. MDCXCIX) is reprinted from the *Bibliotheca novorum librorum* 1699 p. 344 in the second edition of P. Burmannus *Vectigalia populi Romani et* Ζεὺς Καταιβάτης Leidae 1734 p. 217 ff. Holthenus had relied on Ov. *met.* 1. 211 ff., *ib.* 230 f., *fast.* 3. 327 ff.

[2] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 148 n. 3, p. 810, p. 1111 n. 3, p. 1677.

[3] L. Deubner in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1902 xxvii. 263 cites an imperfectly deciphered inscription over a rock-cut tomb in a mountain behind Anazarba (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 239), line 5 reading *θεοῦ* Καταιβάτου *καὶ* Φερσεφόνης. He comments: 'damit gelangen wir in die Unterwelt, der auch der im Blitze niederfahrende Gott (Zeus) angehört.'

[4] Schol. Aristoph. *pax* 650.

[5] Eur. *Bacch.* 1360 f., cp. Lyk. *Al.* 90 f. Ἀχερουσία *τρίβος* | καταιβάτις, Ap. Rhod. 2. 353 f. *ἔνθα μὲν εἰς* Ἀΐδαο καταιβάτις *ἐστὶ κέλευθος,* | *ἄκρη τε προβλὴς* Ἀχερουσιὰς *ὑψόθι τείνει.*

[6] Asterios *homil.* 10 (xl. 324 Migne), cp. Athen. 496 B.

[7] Schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 508.

[8] Souid. *s.v. πορθμήιον.*

[9] Damask. *v. Isid. ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 344 b 35 ff. Bekker.

[10] See Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 1024 C *s.v.* καταβάσιον.

[11] Aisch. *P.v.* 358 f. ἀλλ' ἦλθεν *αὐτῷ* Ζηνὸς ἄγρυπνον *βέλος,* | καταιβάτης *κεραυνὸς ἐκπνέων φλόγα.* So Orph. *h. Ker.* 19. 11 f. *πρηστῆρος* | *οὐράνιον βέλος ὀξὺ* καταβάτου *ἀϊθαλόεντος,* Lyk. *Al.* 382 f. καταιβάτης | *σκηπτός,* schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 696 *τῶν γὰρ*

from 421 B.C. onwards[1], and is by the universal testimony of the grammarians and lexicographers the god 'who makes to descend' the thunderbolts[2]. This indeed is not quite exact as a rendering of his title, which should rather be the god 'who descends' himself in the form of a thunderbolt; but it sufficiently indicates that the epithet denoted the fall of the lightning-flash from sky to earth.

(*a*) The altars of Zeus *Kataibátes*.

Zeus *Kataibátes* did not often acquire civic importance. But in Syria, where the cult of the thunderbolt played a large part[3], he rose to the rank of a state-deity. Imperial coppers of Kyrrhos show Zeus enthroned on a rock[4] with thunderbolt and sceptre, and the legend expressly designates him 'Zeus *Kataibátes* of the Cyrrhestians' (fig. 3)[5]. Frequently an eagle is added at his feet (fig. 4)[6].

κεραυνῶν οἱ μὲν καταβάται κ.τ.λ., and without a second substantive Niket. Chon. *de Isaacio Angelo* 1 p. 471 Bekker ὡς καταιβάτῃ πληγέντες ἢ βροντῆς ἤχῳ ἐξαισίας παρακοπέντες τὸν νοῦν...ἀνεβάλλοντο τὴν μάχην καὶ ἐξετάσσοντο ῥαθύμως. Cp. the Apolline oracle cited by Porph. *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 6. 3. 1 (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 146. 11 f.) οὐδὲ μένουσιν | εἰσιδέειν ὅσσοισι καταιβάσιον Διὸς ἔγχος.

[1] Aristoph. *pax* 42 (where with H. Sharpley read Διὸς σκαταιβότου to point the jest), Klearchos *frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 306 f. Müller) *ap.* Athen. 522 D—F, Lyk. *Al.* 1370, Orph. *h. Zeus* 15. 6, Apollod. *frag.* 34 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 434 Müller) *ap.* schol. Soph. *O.C.* 705, Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 9, 13 Lang, Aristeid. *or.* 1. 8 (i. 11 Dindorf), Paus. 5. 14. 10, Poll. 1. 24, 9. 41, Liban. *or.* 15. 32 (ii. 131, 11 f. Foerster), Hesych. *s.v.* Καταιβάτης, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265, 266, 274, 282.

[2] Schol. Aristoph. *pax* 42, Souid. *s.v.* Καταιβάτης Ζεύς, *et. mag.* pp. 341, 7 ff., 494, 41 f.

[3] *Infra* § 3 (c) iv (ε).

[4] *Supra* i. 124.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 133 pl. 17, 4 Trajan ΔΙΟCΚΑΤΑΙΒΑΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΡΗCΤΩΝ with mint-mark B in exergue, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 134 Trajan, Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 260 f., Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 1167 M. Aurelius, 1168 Commodus, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 214 Münztaf. 3, 16.



Fig. 2.

The cult of Zeus at Kyrrhos is attested also by coppers of Alexandros i Balas, king of Syria, struck in 148 B.C., which have as reverse type Zeus standing with uplifted wreath and an owl at his feet (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 56 pl. 16, 14, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 66, Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 260, Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 1166, Suppl. ii. 349, Head *Hist. num.*[2] pp. 766, 777). I figure a sample in the Leake collection at Cambridge (fig. 2).

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 134 ff. Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, L. Verus, Commodus (I illustrate p. 135 no. 20 L. Verus [ΔΙΟCΚΑΤЄΒΑΤ]ΟΥ ΚΥΡΡΗCΤΩΝ with mint-mark A in exergue), *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 134 f. Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, L. Verus, Commodus, Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 260 f., Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 1167 f. Trajan, Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, L. Verus, Suppl. ii. 350 M. Aurelius, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 777.

Sometimes the god is seated in his temple (figs. 5, 6)[1]. But



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

usually the cult was a more modest affair. Thus on the top of the hill Perianti in Melos there is a rough rock-cut altar simply

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 137 Philippus Senior, p. 137 pl. 17, 6 Philippus Iunior (=my fig. 5), *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 135 Philippus Iunior, Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 65 no. 430 pl. 10 Philippus Iunior, Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 260 f., Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 1168 f. Caracalla, Philippus Senior, Philippus Iunior, Suppl. ii. 350 f. Elagabalos, Philippus Senior, Philippus Iunior, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 214 f. Münztaf. 3, 17, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 777.

The legend ΔΙΟC ΚΑ ΤΕΒ ΑΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΗCΤΩΝ involves two peculiarities in spelling. The former, Κατεβάτης for Καταιβάτης, is very frequent from the time of Trajan onward: some specimens struck by Philippus Senior even shorten the title to Κτεβάτης (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 137 no. 32 ΔΙΟCΚΤΕ ΒΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΗCΤΩΝ) —I figure a sample in my collection (fig. 6). The latter, Κυρηστῶν for Κυρρηστῶν, is common on coins struck by the Philippi, and regular in ecclesiastical and Byzantine writers (Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 737).

The running ram above the temple was regarded by W. Wroth as 'a mint-symbol, corresponding to the Capricorn at Zeugma, and (perhaps) to the Pegasos at Samosata' (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. pp. 1 f., 137 n.*). The closest parallel, however, is the running ram above the temple of Tyche at Antiocheia on the Orontes (*ib.* p. 222 pl. 25, 12, p. 229 pl. 26, 4 f.), which 'has been explained by K. O. Müller [*Antiquitates Antiochenae* Gottingae 1839 p. 25] as a sign of the zodiac, indicating the period of the year at which the foundation of the city took place' (W. Wroth *ib.* p. lix citing J. de Witte in the *Rev. Num.* 1844 p. 11). Possibly the ram, when placed above a building, should rather be taken to represent an *akrotérion*, comparable *e.g.* with the eagle on coins of Seleukeia Pieria (Append. B Syria) or with the more ambitious groups on coins of Berytos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 77 f. pl. 10, 4 and 6, p. 81 ff. pl. 10, 9—11, Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 54 f. nos. 361, 363 pl. 8). If so, it is probable (cp. *supra* i. 292 ff. for solar *akrotéria*, i. 346 ff., 428 ff. for solar ram) that this ram was a prophylactic sun-sign. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 215 hazards the very precarious suggestion that it was 'das Symbol der Wolke, aber der fruchtbaren, lichten Wolke.'

inscribed with the Doric name of Zeus *Kataibátas* (fig. 7)[1]. A rock that crops out from the Three Churches field in the same locality is probably another open air altar and bears the remains of a similar inscription[2]. Sir Cecil Smith remarks: 'The exposed and prominent position of these two rocks is appropriate to the divinity "that descends in thunder and lightning[3]."' Again, an oblong stone

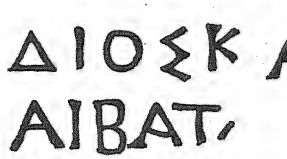


Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.

altar found below the *Agora* at Thera is inscribed with the same words (fig. 8)[4], which—as M. P. Nilsson points out—need not be taken to denote that the spot had actually been struck by lightning, but may have served a merely prophylactic or prudential purpose[5].

A marble block from *Koutiphari* near Thalamai in Lakonike com-

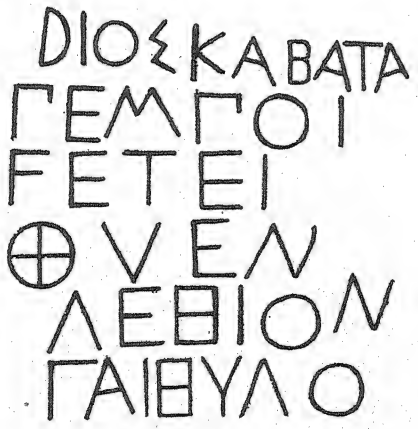


Fig. 9.

[1] Sir Cecil Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 9 no. 22 with fig. (=my fig. 7), *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 1093, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 216 no. 4880 Διὸς Κατ|αιβάτ[α].

[2] Sir Cecil Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 8 f. no. 21 with fig., *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 1094, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 216 no. 4881 [Διὸς Κατα]ιβάτα.

[3] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 9.

[4] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1360 with fig. (=my fig. 8), F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Die Insel Thera* Berlin 1904 iii. 174 fig. 171 Διὸς Κα|ταιβάτα.

[5] M. P. Nilsson in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1908 lxiii. 315 ('sein Altar diente so zu sagen als Blitzableiter').

memorates Zeus *Kabátas*, a pre-Doric[1] form of *Kataḇátas*, and adds some details as to his ritual (fig. 9)[2]. The lettering is that of the early fifth century B.C., and the dedicator, a certain Gaisylos[3], prescribes that once in four years an offering of meal (?)[4] be made to the god. The period of this private sacrifice was probably regulated by the great public *pentaeterís* of Zeus *Olýmpios*[5]. The meal(?) may imply the chthonian[6] nature of a deity, who with his fructifying stroke penetrated the dark womb of earth.

[1] So F. Solmsen 'Vordorisches in Lakonien' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1907 lxii. 329—338. comparing Alkm. *frag.* 38. 2 Bergk[4] (56. 2 Hiller—Crusius) *καβαίνων*, Hesych. *s.v.* *κάβασι· κατάβηθι. Λάκωνες*, and the like.

[2] Petrides in *Παν∂ώρα* 1868 xviii. 338, E. S. Forster in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1903—1904 x. 171 f., *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 1316 pl. 1. Cp. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 473 and in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1908 lxiii. 313—316, F. Solmsen *ib.* 1907 lxii. 329—338. I figure the inscription as published by E. S. Forster *loc. cit.*, amending lines 4 and 5 and completing line 6 by the help of the facsimile in *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i pl. 1. Forster subsequently informed Nilsson (*Gr. Feste* p. 473) that the τ of *πέμπτωι* in line 2 was not missing, but inserted on a smaller scale. W. Kolbe, however, states (*Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i. 245): 'Neque vero ullum vestigium in ectypo claro agnosci potest.' On this showing the text runs: Διὸς Καβάτα. | πέμπ<τ>ωι τέτει | θεην | [ἀ]λήιον. Γαιλύλω.

[3] The reading Γαιλύλω is that of W. Kolbe, who cp. Plout. *v. Dion.* 49 Γαισύλῳ τῷ Σπαρτιάτῃ. E. S. Forster in a letter to M. P. Nilsson (*Gr. Feste* p. 473) had conjectured Γαιβόλο[ι] as a second epithet of Zeus: but this, as F. Solmsen (*Rhein. Mus.* 1907 lxii. 330) remarks, would at least have been Γαιαβόλοι. R. Meister in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1905 p. 281 n. 1 suggested Γαιαf́οχοι on the strength of Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 79, 9 = Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 262 ff. no. 264, 9 = Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 10 f. no. 4416, 9 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 946, 9 = M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 64 f. no. 440, 9 *ἐν* Γαιαf́οχω. M. P. Nilsson in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1908 lxiii. 314 abandons the search for a cult-title and proposes *γαιᾶχο[ν]*, 'der Ackerbesitzer' (cp. Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 79, 3 Πολιάχοι), which, as W. Kolbe points out, suits neither the space nor the letters on the stone.

[4] M. P. Nilsson's [ἀ]λήιον, cp. Hesych. *ἀλήσιον· πᾶν τὸ ἀληλεσμένον* (*Rhein. Mus.* 1908 lxiii. 314 f.), is much better than E. S. Forster's [ἰ]λήιον for *ἴλήστον, 'a propitiatory offering' (?) (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1903—1904 x. 172), which would necessarily appear as [*hι*]λήιον, cp. *Olympia* v. 367 ff. no. 252 = Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 5 f. no. 4405 = Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 261 f. no. 261 *hιληf́ω*[s] (F. Solmsen in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1907 lxii. 330).

[5] M. P. Nilsson in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1908 lxiii. 315.

[6] P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 pp. 13—16 ('Οὐλαί'), 17—33 ('Opferblut und Opfergerste') shows that the Homeric custom of strewing barley-grains (*οὐλαί, οὐλόχυται*) on the ground before sacrifice originated in an offering to Ge as producer of vegetable life and in post-Homeric times acquired a cathartic meaning (cp. P. Stengel 'Οὐλαί' in *Hermes* 1894 xxix. 627—629, H. von Fritze 'Οὐλαί' *ib.* 1897 xxxii. 235—250, H. von Prott in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1900 cii. 82 f., L. Ziehen 'Οὐλόχυται' in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 391—400).

The use of ground barley-grains or meal was presumably of later origin (so Theophr. *ap.* Porph. *de abst.* 2. 6, cp. Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 6, schol. *Il.* 2. 410, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 132, 22 ff., Souid. *s.v. οὐλοθυτεῖν*—cited by P. Stengel), but of similar significance. Odysseus is bidden by Kirke to dig a hole in the earth and to pour drink-offerings for the dead *ἐπὶ*

The cult of Zeus *Kataibátes* was by no means confined to the Dorians. In Paros at the northern foot of Mount Kynados close to

δ' ἄλφιτα λευκὰ παλύνειν (*Od.* 10. 520, cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1668, 28 ff.). Initiates into the mysteries were sprinkled with meal (Aristoph. *nub.* 258 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*). The κανηφόροι had their heads whitened with it (Hermipp. *dei frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 389 f. Meineke) *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1551, cp. Aristoph. *eccl.* 730 ff.). So had the three mantic Semnai of Parnassos (*h. Herm.* 552 ff.: see Mr E. E. Sikes *ad loc.* and his Append. iii). We hear also of ἀλευρομάντεις, ἀλφιτομάντεις, ἀλφιτοσκόποι, κριθομάντεις (A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* Paris 1879 i. 182 and in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 299, E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1374, 1637, W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 185, and for mediaeval relics of the art W. H. D. Rouse in *Folk-Lore* 1899 x. 552). In Kos on the first day of the month Panamos (=Boedromion 1) meal was burnt for Hestia Ταμία (W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 285 f. no. 401, 8 ff. part of a *stéle* of blue marble from Kephalos [.....Πα]νάμου νεομηνίᾳ· Ἀ[.....] καὶ Ἱστίᾳ Ταμίᾳ πλ(α)[κοῦντα (?), ἀλφί]των ἡμίεκτον κα[ὶ][.... ταῦτα θύε]ται ἐπὶ τᾶς ἰστίας, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 403 no. 3731, 8 ff. C. T. Newton *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1883 ii. 104 f. no. 338, 8 ff. read [κριθέ]ων (?) for [ἀλφί]των in line 10). Meal is burnt by the Coan (?) Simaitha as a means of recalling her truant lover (Theokr. 2. 18 ff. ἄλφιτά τοι πρᾶτον πυρὶ τάκεται· ἀλλ' ἐπίπασσε, | Θεστυλί... | πάσσ' ἅμα καὶ λέγε ταῦτα· 'τὰ Δέλφιδος ὀστία πάσσω,' cp. schol. vet. Theokr. 2. 18a Wendel p. 275, 7 f. εἰώθασιν αἱ φαρμακίδες κεχρῆσθαι ἀλεύροις, 18 b Wendel p. 275, 9 f. ὡς τῶν μαγευουσῶν ἄλφιτα θυουσῶν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ θυλήματα ἔλεγον). It is also repeatedly mentioned by the magical *papyri* as an ingredient in binding charms (C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 85 f. pap. Par. 2583, 2586 (both in an ἐπάναγκος λόγος), 2647 (in ἐχθρόν τι θυμίασμα), *id. Neue griechische Zauberpapyri* Wien 1893 p. 38 Brit. Mus. pap. 121. 548=F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 101 no. 121, 539 κατανάγκης ἄλευρα (where κατανάγκη is the plant so named), C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 112 Brit. Mus. pap. 46. 386=F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 77 no. 46, 372 (in a charm for procuring an oracular dream), cp. C. Leemans *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni-Batavi* Leyden 1885 ii. 221 pap. X pag. 6, 29 f. τρίβουσι χρυσὸν καὶ | μόλιβον λιπίτα (leg. λεπίδα) ὡς ἄλευρα (in a recipe for gilding bronze)). The sacrificial use of meal is further attested by the Pythagorean dictum in D. Erasmus *adagia* chil. 1 cent. 1 (ed. Parisiis 1571 p. 20) ne sacrificato sine farina μὴ θύειν ἄτερ ἀλφίτων=Plout. *v. Num.* 14.

For Latin evidence see *e.g.* Plaut. *Amph.* 2. 2. 107 f. te prodigiali Iovi | aut mola salsa hodie aut ture conprecatam oportuit, Cic. *de div.* 2. 37 caput est in iecore, cor in extis: iam abscedet, simul ac molam et vinum insperseris, Verg. *ecl.* 8. 82 sparge molam, *Aen.* 2. 132 f. mihi sacra parari, | et salsae fruges, 4. 517 ff. ipsa mola manibusque piis altaria iuxta, | ... | testatur moritura deos, 5. 744 f. Pergameumque Larem et canae penetralia Vestae | farre pio et plena supplex veneratur acerra, Hor. *od.* 3. 23. 3 f. si ture placaris et horna | fruge (which probably means corn-ears rather than meal) Lares, 19 f. mollivit aversos Penatis | farre pio et saliente mica, *sat.* 2. 3. 199 ff. tu cum pro vitula statuis dulcem Aulide natam | ante aras spargisque mola caput, inprobe, salsa, | rectum animi servas?, Tib. 1. 5. 13 f. ipse procuravi ne possent saeva nocere | somnia, ter sancta deveneranda mola, 3. 4. 9 f. hominum genus omina noctis | farre pio placant et saliente sale?, Ov. *fast.* 1. 337 f. (Jan. 9 Agonium) ante, deos homini quod conciliare valeret, | far erat et puri lucida mica salis, 2. 538 (Feb. 21 Feralia) et sparsae fruges parcaque mica salis, 3. 284 (March 1) vinaque dat tepidis farraque salsa focis, 4. 409 f. (Apr. 12 Ludi Cereri) farra deae micaeque licet salientis honorem | detis et in veteres turea grana focos, Val. Max. 2. 5. 5 in sacrificiis mola quae vocatur ex farre et sale constat. exta farre sparguntur, Plin. *nat. hist.* praef. 11 mola litant salsa qui non habent tura, 12. 83 nec minus propitii erant mola salsa supplicantibus, immo vero...placatiores, 18. 7 Numa

the church named *Panagias Koimesis* is a broken base, the upper surface of which is holed and inscribed :

ΔΙΟΣ
ΚΑΤΑΙΒΑΤΕΩ

'Of Zeus
Kataibátes.'

Near by lies the *stéle*, which originally fitted into the hole[1]. At Athens too Zeus *Kataibátes* was worshipped[2]. A square base or altar of Hymettian marble, built into a later fabric outside the precinct of Zeus *Olýmpios* to the north, had the same inscription as the altars already mentioned : to judge from the shape of the letters, it was erected in the first century B.C.[3] It is known also that Zeus *Kataibátes* had an altar in or near the Akademeia, where he bore the further title of *Mórios*[4]. Finally, the cult of this deity is pre-

instituit deos fruge colere et mola salsa supplicare atque, ut auctor est Hemina (*frag.* 12 in *Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 70 Peter), far torrere, quoniam tostum cibo salubrius esset, id uno modo consecutus, statuendo non esse purum ad rem divinam nisi tostum, 31. 89 maxime tamen in sacris intellegitur auctoritas (*sc.* salis), quando nulla conficiuntur sine mola salsa, Pers. *sat.* 2. 75 farre litabo, Lucan. 1. 609 f. iam fundere Bacchum | coeperat obliquoque molas inducere cultro, Mart. *ep.* 7. 54. 1 ff. semper mane mihi de me tua somnia narras, | ... | consumpsi salsasque molas et turis acervos, Sen. *de benef.* 1. 6. 3 boni etiam farre ac fitilla religiosi sunt, *Thyest.* 687 f. non tura desunt, non sacer Bacchi liquor : tangensve fusa victimam culter mola, Paul. ex Fest. p. 3, 10 f. Müller, p. 3, 19 ff. Lindsay ador farris genus, edor quondam appellatum ab edendo, vel quod aduratur, ut fiat tostum, unde in sacrificio mola salsa efficitur, p. 141, 31 f. Müller, p. 124, 13 f. Lindsay mola etiam vocatur far tostum et sale sparsum, quod eo molito hostiae aspergantur, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 2. 133 sal et far quod dicitur mola salsa, qua et frons victimae et foci aspergebantur et cultri : fiebant autem de horna fruge et horno sale, ut Horatius 'et horna fruge,' interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 8. 82 far enim pium, id est mola casta, salsa, utrumque enim idem significat, ita fit: virgines Vestales tres maximae ex nonis Maiis ad pridie Idus Maias alternis diebus spicas adoreas in corbibus messuariis ponunt, easque spicas ipsae virgines torrent, pinsunt, molunt, atque ita molitum condunt. ex eo farre virgines ter in anno molam faciunt, Lupercalibus, Vestalibus, Idibus Septembribus, adiecto sale cocto et sale duro.

[1] O. Rubensohn in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 176 n. 1 Δι[ὸς] | Καται[βάτ]εω, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 177 in note on no. 4762 Διὸς καταιβάτεω, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 233 Διὸς | Καταιβάτεω.

[2] Schol. Aristoph. *pax* 42 Καταιβάτης δὲ τιμᾶται ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, παρὰ τὸ καταβιβάζειν τοὺς κεραυνούς. ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν κεραυνῶν τῶν ἄνωθεν πιπτόντων. ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταβαίνειν δι' ἔρωτα τῶν χθονίων γυναικῶν (so F. Dübner : cod. Rav. omits the second explanation, and cod. Ven. the words παρ' Ἀθηναίοις) = Souid. *s.v.* Καταιβάτης Ζεὺς παρ' Ἀθηναίοις· παρὰ τὸ καταβιβάζειν τοὺς κεραυνούς. ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταβαίνειν δι' ἔρωτα τῶν γυναικῶν.

[3] S. A. Kumanudis in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 61 f. no. 7 [Δ]ιὸς | [Κ]αταιβάτου, *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 1672 *b* ·ΙΟΣ | ·ΑΤΑΙΒΑΤΟΥ, W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 343.

[4] Apollod. *frag.* 34 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 434 Müller) *ap.* schol. Soph. *O.C.* 705 Μορίου Διός: Μόριον Δία εἶπεν τὸν ἐπόπτην τῶν μορίων ἐλαιῶν· καὶ ἔστιν ὁ λεγόμενος Μόριος Ζεὺς <περὶ Ἀκαδήμειαν> ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος, "περὶ Ἀκαδήμειάν ἐστιν ὅ τε τοῦ Καταιβάτου Διὸς βωμὸς ὃν καὶ Μόριον καλοῦσι τῶν ἐκεῖ μορίων παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἱδρυμένων," K. Wachsmuth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1133, W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 365. *Infra* § 3 (b).

supposed by the fact that the spot where Demetrios Poliorketes, the would-be Zeus[1], first set foot on Athenian soil was consecrated to him as Demetrios *Kataibátes*[2].

(β) The *ábata* of Zeus *Kataibátes*.

The ground adjoining such altars was sometimes treated as an *ábaton* or holy place 'not to be trodden' by profane feet. At Olympia near the great altar of ashes was 'an altar of *Kataibátes* Zeus protected on all sides by a fence[3].' Built into the ruins of a Turkish house to the north of the north-eastern corner of the Parthenon was a broken slab of Pentelic marble, which proves the existence of a lightning-*ábaton* on the Akropolis at Athens[4]: its inscription, which appears to date from the latter part of the fourth century B.C., runs as follows:

'Holy ground of Zeus *Kataibátes*[5].'

An almost identical inscription was discovered on a fragment of marble south of the Akropolis in or near the Asklepieion[6]. There can be no doubt that these *ábata* were simply places that had been struck by lightning and were therefore regarded as the habitation of Zeus *Kataibátes*. The *Etymologicum Magnum* says that *enelýsia* or spots struck by lightning were dedicated to Zeus *Kataibátes* and spoken of as *ádyta* or *ábata*[7]. Pollux similarly states that *enelýsia*

[1] *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 302 f., *supra* i. 58.

[2] Plout. *v. Demetr.* 10 καὶ τὸν τόπον, ὅπου πρῶτον ἀπέβη τοῦ ἅρματος, καθιερώσαντες καὶ βωμὸν ἐπιθέντες Δημητρίου Καταιβάτου προσηγόρευσαν, Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 54. 6 p. 42, 24 ff. Stählin καὶ ἔνθα μὲν ἀπέβη τοῦ ἵππου Ἀθήναζε εἰσιών, Καταιβάτου ἱερόν ἐστι Δημητρίου, βωμοὶ δὲ πανταχοῦ.

[3] Paus. 5. 14. 10 τοῦ δὲ Καταιβάτου Διὸς προβέβληται μὲν πανταχόθεν πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φράγμα, ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῷ μεγάλῳ. On this passage see W. Dörpfeld in *Olympia* i. 84 (altar no. 31).

[4] A. Lolling in the Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1890 p. 144 f. suggested that the precinct to which this stone belonged might be brought into connexion with the statue of Ge praying Zeus to rain upon her (Paus. 1. 24. 3) and the rock-cut inscription of Ge Καρποφόρος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 166). W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 255 is content to say: 'Mit Wahrscheinlichkeit dürfen wir auf der Burg...ein Heiligtum des Zeus Kataibates vermuten.'

[5] Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1890 p. 144 no. 1 Διὸς Κα[τ]|αιβάτο[υ]| ἄβατον, *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 1659 *b*, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 748, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 577.

[6] J. Delamarre in the *Rev. Philol.* 1895 xix. 129 f., S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1895 ii. 234, *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 Add. no. 1659 *e*, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 747 [Δι]ὸ[ς Καται]|βάτο· Ἄβ[ατον]|ἱερόν, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 577 n. 1 [Δι]ὸ[ς Καται]|βάτο ἄβ[ατον]|ἱερόν. The inscription was found *south* of the Akropolis: Dittenberger by an oversight says 'ad radices septentrionalis arcis Athenarum.'

[7] *Et. mag.* p. 341, 5 ff. ἐνηλύσια· εὐκίνητα. καὶ ἤλυσιν· τὴν ἔλευσιν (we should perhaps read εὐκίνητα, παρὰ τὴν ἤλυσιν τὴν ἔλευσιν). Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἀργείοις· Καπανεύς μου (μοι F.) καταλείπεται λοιποῖς ἀκέραυνος ἀρούρων (ἀρόρων D.F.P., ἄρθρων M. Schmidt) ἐπηλυσίων (ἐνηλυσίων Stanley) ἀπέλιπεν (A. Nauck prints as Aisch. *frag.* 17 Καπανεύς μοι κατα-

were places on to which a bolt from the sky had dashed down or descended, that the Zeus of the bolt was called *Kataibátes*[1], and that such places were fenced round and left untouched[1]. Artemidoros adds that altars were erected there and sacrifices offered[2].

(γ) The *Dióbletos* or Zeus-struck man in Elysium.

Spots where Zeus had descended in the form of lightning were known, not only as *enelýsia*, but also as *elýsia*[3]. Fenced about from the foot of common mortals and reserved for Zeus himself, they were both in name and in nature so many 'Elysian fields[4].' Consequently a man struck by lightning was literally *enelýsios*, 'in Elysium[5].' To modern ears it sounds a grim jest to talk of Elysium in such a case. But, after all, the attitude of the ancients was thoroughly consistent. Zeus fell as a lightning-flash. The man on whom he fell was therefore *Dióbletos* or *Dioblés*, 'struck by Zeus[6].' And the divinity thus conveyed to him made him immortal, or at least imperishable—witness Plutarch:

We all know well enough that the bodies of those who are struck by lightning do not decay. Many persons neither burn them nor bury them, but just fence them round and leave them, so that their corpses are seen in a state of perpetual

λείπεται | λοιποῖς ἀκέραυνος ἄρθρων | ἐπηλυσίων ἀπέλιπεν, but notes 'locus corruptissimus'). οἱ δὲ τὰ κατασκηφθέντα. οὕτως εἰς τὸ Ῥητορικόν. εἰς δὲ τοὺς Ἐτυμολόγους εὗρον· ...ἐνηλύσια· ἐνηλύσια λέγεται εἰς ἃ κεραυνὸς εἰσβέβηκεν· ἃ καὶ ἀνατίθεται Διὶ Καταιβάτῃ, καὶ λέγεται ἄδυτα καὶ ἄβατα. Cp. Hesych. *s.v.* ἐνηλύσια· τὰ κατασκηφθέντα χωρία <ἐνη (add. M. Musurus)> λύσια λέγονται· ἔνιοι δὲ εὐκίνητα, παρὰ τὴν <ἦλυσιν τὴν (add. M. Schmidt)> ἔλευσιν· ἄλλοι δὲ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἀβάτοις χωρίοις ἀφιδρυμένας νύμφας.

[1] Poll. 9. 41 τὰ μέντοι ἐνηλύσια οὕτως ὠνομάζετο εἰς ἃ κατασκήψειε βέλος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, ὃ καὶ ἐνσκῆψαι καὶ ἐγκατασκῆψαι καὶ κατελθεῖν ἔλεγον, καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ Καταιβάτην. περιειρχθέντα δὲ τὰ ἐνηλύσια ἄψαυστα ἀνεῖτο. The expression τὸν Δία τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ denotes strictly 'the Zeus set over it' (the bolt).

[2] Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 9 ὁ κεραυνὸς τὰ μὲν ἄσημα τῶν χωρίων ἐπίσημα ποιεῖ διὰ τοὺς ἐνιδρυμένους βωμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς γινομένας θυσίας, τὰ δὲ πολυτελῆ χωρία ἔρημα καὶ ἄβατα ποιεῖ, οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνδιατρίβειν ἔτι θέλει.

[3] Hesych. *s.v.* ἠλύσιον·...ἄλλοι κεκερανωμένον χωρίον ἢ πεδίον· τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτά εἰσιν ἄβατα, καλεῖται δὲ καὶ ἐνηλύσια· Πολέμων δὲ Ἀθηναίους φησὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τὸ κατασκαφὲν χωρίον ἢ ἱερόν (regarding καὶ ἄλλοι τινές as a gloss on Πολέμων, κατασκαφέν with L. Küster as a blunder for κατασκηφθέν, and ἢ ἱερόν as a gloss on χωρίον, we may emend Πολέμων δὲ Ἀθηναίους φησι τὸ κατασκηφθὲν χωρίον ἠλύσιον καλεῖν) = Souid. *s.v.* ἠλύσιον = Phot. *lex. s.v.* ἠλύσιον, cp. *et. mag.* p. 428, 30 ff. See further G. Bernhardy on Souid. *loc. cit.* and C. Müller on Polemon *frag.* 93 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 146) = *frag.* 5 (*Frag. gr. Kultschr.* p. 89 Tresp).

[4] The lexicographers cited in the preceding note state that Ἠλύσιον is, according to some, κεκερανωμένον χωρίον ἢ πεδίον. Eudok. *viol.* 438 in her account of the Elysian plain repeats the statement: οἱ δὲ τὸ κεκερανωμένων χωρίον ἢ πεδίον. L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 640 is not averse from connecting Ἠλύσιον, 'Elysium,' with ἠλύσιον, 'a spot struck by lightning.'

[5] Hesych. *s.v.* ἐνηλύσιος· ἐμβρόντητος. κεραυνόβλητος.

[6] Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* ii. 1508 c *s.vv.* Διοβλής, Διόβλητος, Διόβολος.

incorruption... I imagine too that the divine substance [sulphur] gets its name from the likeness of its smell to the fiery and pungent smell rubbed out of things hit by lightning; and it seems to me that this is why even dogs and birds abstain from the bodies of those who have been struck by Zeus[1].

Others inform us that victims of lightning were buried on the spot where they fell[2]. Artemidoros says that a man so struck down, even if poor, became suddenly famous. If a slave, he had fine clothing put upon him, as though he were freed, and men approached him as one honoured by Zeus. Nay more, every man struck by lightning was treated as a god[3].

(δ) Death by lightning as euthanasia.

In this connexion it should be observed that various myths represent death by lightning as a kind of euthanasia[4]. Kapaneus, when struck, becomes 'a sacred corpse[5]' and receives 'a sacred tomb[6].' His pyre is described as 'Zeus' treasury[7]'—a remarkable phrase, to which H. Usener has justly drawn attention[8]. When Herakles' pyre had been kindled, thunderbolts fell from the sky and consumed it: his friends, finding no bones, concluded that he had gone from men to join the gods, and thereupon worshipped him as a hero[9]. Asklepios was struck by a thunderbolt from Zeus, and

[1] Plout. *symp.* 4. 2. 3.

[2] Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 9 *οὐ γὰρ οἱ κεραυνωθέντες μετατίθενται, ἀλλ' ὅπου ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς καταληφθῶσιν ἐνταῦθα θάπτονται.* A law of Numa Pompilius enjoined that a man killed by lightning should not be lifted higher than the knees, and should not have funeral rites (Fest. p. 178 *b* 20 ff. Müller, p. 190, 7 ff. Lindsay itaque in Numae Pompili regis legibus scriptum esse: 'si hominem fulminibus (Scaliger cj. fulmen Iovis) occisit, ne supra genua tollito (C. O. Müller cj. tollitor).' et alibi: 'homo si fulmine occisus est, ei iusta nulla fieri oportet.' Cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 145 hominem ita exanimatum cremari (so codd. E.[2] p.: cremare codd. F. R. d. T.) fas non est, condi terra religio tradidit).

[3] Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 9 *ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ κεραυνωθεὶς αἰφνίδιον παρασημότερος γίγνεται...καὶ ἔφασκον εἶναι ἀγαθὸν δούλοις τὸ κεραυνοῦσθαι, ὅτι οὔτε δεσπότας ἔτι οἱ κεραυνωθέντες ἔχουσιν οὔτε κάμνουσι, λαμπρὰ δὲ ἱμάτια αὐτοῖς περιτίθεται ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἐλευθερωθεῖσι, καὶ προσίασιν αὐτοῖς ὡς ὑπὸ Διὸς τετιμημένοις οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἐλευθερωθεῖσιν ὑπὸ δεσποτῶν τετιμημένοις* (J. G. Reiff *ad loc.*: 'Ita cum Cod. B scripsi, qui tamen pro *περιτίθεται* habet: *ἐπιτίθεται*. Libri hunc locum ita habebant: *λαμπρὰ δὲ ἱμάτια αὐτοῖς περιτίθεται ὡς ὑπὸ διὸς τετιμημένοις.*')...*οὐδεὶς γὰρ κεραυνωθεὶς ἄτιμός ἐστιν. ὅθεν* (ὅπου cod. B.) *γε καὶ ὡς θεὸς τιμᾶται.* Cp. Kyrillos *katech.* 13. 37 *πολυμαθὴς γενόμενος...ἐπιστόμιζε..."Ελληνας ἐκ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς μυθολογουμένων. αὐτοὶ κεκεραυνωμένους προσκυνοῦσιν. κεραυνὸς δὲ ἐξ οὐρανῶν ἐρχόμενος οὐκ ἀκρίτως ἔρχεται. εἰ ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς κεραυνωθέντας θεομισεῖς προσκυνοῦντες οὐκ αἰσχύνονται, σὺ τὸν θεοφιλῆ καὶ υἱὸν θεοῦ τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον ὑπὲρ σοῦ προσκυνεῖν αἰσχύνῃ;*

[4] Rohde *Psyche*[3] i. 320 ff.

[5] Eur. *suppl.* 935 *ἱρὸν ὡς νεκρόν.*

[6] *Ib.* 981 *τύμβον θ' ἱερόν.*

[7] *Ib.* 1010 *Διὸς θησαυρόν.* F. Wieseler, followed by N. Wecklein, cj. *δρυὸς θησαυρόν*—a pointless alteration. Kapaneus, struck by the lightning, is charged with divinity and treated as a Zeus incarnate.

[8] H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 10.

[9] Diod. 4. 38.

subsequently apotheosised[1]. Erechtheus, slain by Zeus with a thunderbolt at the request of Poseidon[2], was venerated as a god in the Erechtheion at Athens. Romulus likewise was caught up to heaven in a thunderstorm, and afterwards appeared to Proculus Iulius in more than mortal beauty and announced that he had become the god Quirinus[3]. And sundry kings, who posed as Zeus or Iupiter during their life-time, are said to have met their death by a thunderbolt launched from the hands of the offended deity[4]—a moralising statement which has probably obscured the real significance of their fate[5].

Semele too was blasted by lightning (pl. i and figs. 10—12)[6].



Fig. 10.

[1] See Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1654. Note especially Min. Fel. *Oct.* 22. 7 Aesculapius ut in deum surgat fulminatur.

[2] Hyg. *fab.* 46. See *infra* § 3 (c) iv (γ).

[3] Liv. 1. 16. 1 ff., Ov. *fast.* 2. 475 ff., Plout. *v. Rom.* 27 f., Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 56, *alib.*

[4] So Salmoneus (*infra* Append. M), Periphas (*infra* Append. M), Romulus Silvius (Ov. *met.* 14. 617 f., cp. Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 1. 71).

[5] *Infra* Append. M.

[6] Vase-paintings that portray Zeus, brandishing a thunderbolt, in pursuit of a terrified



a

Amphora from Nola, now in the Britis



b

h Museum : Zeus in pursuit of Semele.

See page 24 *n.* 6 (1).





Kratér in the Louvre: Zeus in pursuit of Semele.

See page 24 *n.* 6 (4).



female may with much probability, if not with absolute certainty, be held to represent his appearance to Semele. Such are the following:—(1) An *amphora* of the strong style (500—460 B.C.) from Nola, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 222 f.

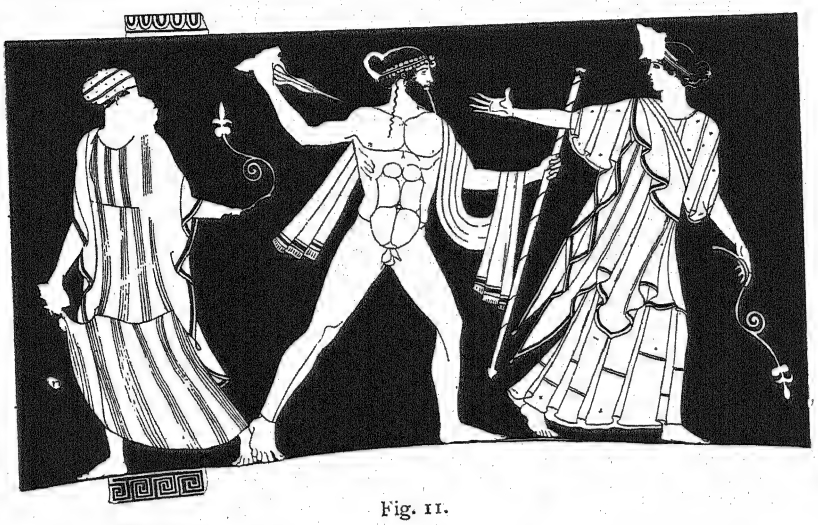


Fig. 11.

no. E 313, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 401 n.[a], O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 676. My pl. i is from photographs by Mr C. O. Waterhouse): (*a*) Zeus, with *chitón* and *himátion*, strides to right, brandishing a thunderbolt in his right hand and grasping a



Fig. 12.

sceptre in his left; (*b*) Semele runs to right, looking back with gestures of alarm. (2) A *hydría* from Gela, in the Museum at Palermo (H. Heydemann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1870 xxviii. 43 no. 23 pl. 31, 1 (=my fig. 10), *id. Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* (*Winckel-*

mannsfest-Progr. Halle 1885) p. 7, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 416 no. 1 Atlas pl. 6, 5, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 408, 1, O. Jessen *loc. cit.* iv. 676): Zeus, with *chitón* and *himátion*, strides to right, brandishing a thunderbolt in his right hand and grasping with his left the shoulder of Semele, who runs to right, looking back in alarm. (3) A bell-*krat*ḗ*r* from Certosa, in



Fig. 13.

the Museo Civico at Bologna (Pellegrini *Cat. vas. gr. dipint. Bologna* pp. 154, 156 no. 313 A. Zannoni *Gli scavi della Certosa di Bologna* Bologna 1876 p. 165 pl. 39, 1, 2 (=my fig. 11), 3 (=my fig. 12), 4 and pl. 40, 4, H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt* p. 8 n. 20, O. Jessen *loc. cit.* iv. 676): (*a*) Zeus, with olive-wreath and *chlamýs*, strides to right,

The critical moment in her myth is variously reported by the mythographers. According to Apollodoros[1], Semele begged Zeus to appear to her in the same form in which he had wooed Hera. Thereupon Zeus came to her chamber on a chariot with lightnings and thunders, and hurled a bolt. Semele in terror gave untimely birth to Dionysos and died. Other accounts say nothing about the chariot: Semele could not support the sight of Zeus the god of thunder and lightning, and was killed by it[2]. Others, again, are more precise. Semele was burnt[3], or actually struck by a thunderbolt and

brandishing a thunderbolt in his right hand and grasping a sceptre in his left. Semele flees to right, looking back, her right hand extended towards Zeus in an attitude of supplication, her left holding a flower. Behind Zeus a female companion of Semele, likewise holding a flower, escapes to left. (*b*) Two other companions of Semele hasten, from left and right, to announce the event to her father, Kadmos. (4) A *kratér* (lid lost) in the Louvre (G 412), past the climax of the fine style (460—440 B.C.) and largely repainted (H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt* p. 8 n. 21): (*a*) Zeus, with bay-wreath and *chlamýs*, strides to right, brandishing a thunderbolt in his right hand and grasping a sceptre in his left. Semele flees to right, looking back; she lifts her *chitón* with her right hand and raises her left towards her shoulder. Behind Zeus a female companion of Semele escapes to left. Before Semele stands her white-haired father, his right hand raised in astonishment, his left holding a staff. (*b*) Four men and women conversing.

The type attested by these vases begins as a mere combination of the early striding Zeus (*supra* i. 84 ff. figs. 52—54) with the early running maiden. The eagle of Zeus is omitted, and his left hand either holds a sceptre (*infra* § 3 (c) iv (*a*)) or grasps the shoulder of Semele. Next, under the influence of flower-plucking scenes (Europe, Thaleia, etc.), Semele is given a flower, while a comrade likewise holding a flower forms a suitable pendant. Finally, the group is amplified by the introduction of Kadmos and other figures, either on the reverse or on the obverse of the vase.

Vases that represent Zeus pursuing the female with lowered bolt cannot be assumed to depict the Semele-episode; for the bolt may be a mere attribute. *E.g.* an *amphora* formerly in the possession of the Neapolitan dealer Barone (J. de Witte 'Jupiter et Sémélé' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1862 ii. 29 f. fig. Zeus, with *chlamýs* worn shawl-wise, holding a thunderbolt in his lowered right hand, a sceptre in his left, pursues towards the right a running female, who looks back with gestures of alarm), a large *hydría* from Vulci now at Paris (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 331 no. 439 confused description, P. Milliet—A. Giraudon *Vases peints du Cabinet des Médailles & Antiques* (*Bibliothèque Nationale*) Paris 1891 vi^e^ classe, xie série ii pl. 75 = my fig. 13 Zeus, with myrtle (?)-wreath and *chlamýs* worn shawl-wise, holding a thunderbolt in his lowered left hand, advances towards the left and seizes with outstretched right hand a running female, who looks back with gestures of alarm and supplication), and other vases noted by H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt* p. 7 n. 18.

The brown paste at Berlin usually cited in this connexion (G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti*[2] Roma 1821 ii. 1. 2 f. pl. 1, T. Panofka *Dionysos und die Thyaden* (extr. from the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1852* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 377 ff.) Berlin 1853 p. 36 ff. pl. 3, 4, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 24 pl. 3, 46[a], C. W. King *Antique Gems and Rings* London 1872 i. 483 fig. = Sir John Sandys *The Bacchae of Euripides*[3] Cambridge 1892 pp. cxxxii f., 1 fig., etc.) represents neither Zeus nor Semele: see Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 227 no. 6219 pl. 42, *id. Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 36, 20, 25, iii. 416 n. 2.

[1] Apollod. 3. 4. 3.

[2] Hiod. 3. 64, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 1. 12, 2. 292, Myth. Vat. 2. 79.

[3] Hyg. *fab.* 179, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 4. 673, Myth. Vat. 1. 120.

slain[1]. The earliest definite version of the occurrence is in the *Bakchai* of Euripides, who speaks of—

> Semele brought to bed by the lightning-fire[2]

and further of—

> The flame of Zeus-fire living yet[3].

These expressions may be taken to imply the more primitive idea that Zeus descended upon Semele in the form of a lightning-flash. And such seems to be the conception of Philostratos also. For, in describing a picture of Semele's death, he notes the personified figures of stern-looking Thunder and Lightning with flashing eyes, and adds that fire was dashing down from the sky upon the palace, but makes no mention of Zeus beyond saying that 'A cloud of fire compassed Thebes about and burst upon the roof of Kadmos, when Zeus went courting Semele[4].' Nonnos too in his high-flown style makes Semele beseech her lover:

> Oh, I would clasp the flame I love, and joy
> To feel the flash, to finger thunderbolts[5].

The same author goes on to tell how Zeus took the bride whom he had burnt to dwell with him in heaven:

> Yea, with pure gleaming fire she laved afresh
> Her form and won Olympos' endless life[6].

As Pindar had phrased it, nearly a thousand years before,—

> She lives among the Olympians, slain by the roar
> Of lightning, long-haired Semele,
> And Pallas loves her ever,
> And Zeus the sire too, and his ivied son[7].

Semele was in fact a typical *Diobletos*. The Naxians declared that Zeus 'struck Semele with a thunderbolt before she brought forth her child, in order that being born, not of a mortal mother, but of two immortal parents, he might be immortal from his birth[8].' Charax of Pergamon, a historian of the second or third century A.D., is even more explicit: 'When the thunderbolt fell and she gave birth, she

[1] Hyg. *fab.* 167, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 2. 71, 3. 274, 9. 425, Myth. Vat. 1. 151, 2. 78.

[2] Eur. *Bacch.* 3 Σεμέλη λοχευθεῖσ' ἀστραπηφόρῳ πυρί, cp. *ib.* 90.

[3] Eur. *Bacch.* 8 Διου πυρὸς ἔτι ζῶσαν φλόγα.

[4] Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 1. 14. 1 f.

[5] Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 310 f.

[6] *Id. ib.* 8. 413 f., cp. Aristeid. *or.* 4 (i. 47 Dindorf) ὁ Ζεὺς...τὴν μὲν Σεμέλην ἐκ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὸν Ὄλυμπον κομίζει διὰ πυρός, κ.τ.λ.

[7] Pind. *Ol.* 2. 27 ff., cp. *Pyth.* 11. 1.

[8] Diod. 5. 52. On the sources of Diodoros' fifth book see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 678.

disappeared, but the babe survived. So, as is said in the case of *Dióbletoi*, people supposed that she had met with a divine fate and called her Thyone. Her child, having been saved from the fire, was most divine: Kadmos looked after him and gave him the family name of the Egyptian Dionysos[1].'

(ε) The Tarentine cult of Zeus *Kataibátes*.

A remarkable example of the cult of Zeus *Kataibátes* is that of Tarentum[2]. Klearchos, a pupil of Aristotle, states[3] that the Tarentines, having overthrown Karbina, a city of the Iapyges, and exposed the boys, girls, and young women of the place to the grossest outrages, were visited by the vengeance of heaven. All who had offended at Karbina were struck by lightning. The Tarentines therefore erected in front of their doors a number of pillars corresponding to the number of the men who failed to return from the expedition into Iapygia[4]. These pillars were still to be seen before each house in Tarentum; and, when the season of their destruction comes round, the Tarentines, instead of lamenting the dead or pouring the customary libations, offered sacrifices on the pillars to Zeus *Kataibátes*. Here it is fairly obvious that death by lightning is regarded not as a disaster, but as an honour: funeral lamentations and libations were out of place. But who—we ask further—was the god that conferred this doubtful honour? The Tarentines certainly called him Zeus *Kataibátes*. Yet the form of his worship, a pillar-cult, is not elsewhere attested for Zeus *Kataibátes*. It points rather in the direction of Crete. One would like to know what the Iapyges themselves said about it. Most fortunately Athenaios, to whom we owe the excerpt from Klearchos, goes on to tell us more concerning the Iapyges[5]. Probably he is

[1] Charax *frag.* 13 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 639 Müller) *ap.* anon. *de incredib.* 16 p. 325 Westermann.

[2] On the various cults of Zeus at Tarentum see R. Lorentz *De rebus sacris et artibus veterum Tarentinorum* Elberfeldiae 1836 p. 9 f. *Supra* i. 35 ff., 520 n. 2, 521 n. 1, *infra* § 3 (a) iii (*β*).

[3] Klearch. *frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 306 f. Müller) *ap.* Athen. 522 D ff.

[4] Athen. 522 F *καὶ μέχρι καὶ νῦν ἐν Τάραντι ἑκάστη τῶν οἰκιῶν, οὓς οὐχ ὑπεδέξαντο τῶν εἰς Ἰαπυγίαν ἐκπεμφθέντων, τοσαύτας ἔχει στήλας πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν· ἐφ' αἷς καθ' ὃν ἀπώλοντο χρόνον οὔτ' οἰκτίζονται τοὺς ἀποιχομένους οὔτε τὰς νομίμους χέονται χοάς, ἀλλὰ θύουσι Διὶ Καταιβάτῃ.* For cod. A *οὓς οὐχ ὑπεδέξαντο* J. Schweighaeuser, after Musurus, reads *ὅσους ὑπεδέξαντο*, and W. Dindorf *οὓς ὑπεδέξαντο*. This would mean that every man not killed set up a pillar on which to do sacrifice to the god. But M. P. Nilsson in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1908 lxiii. 315 justly defends the reading of cod. A on the ground that the bodies of men struck by lightning would be left on the spot and not brought back home (*supra* p. 22 f.).

[5] Athen. 522 F—523 B.

again borrowing his information from Klearchos, who was one of his prime sources.

'This race of the Iapyges,' he continues, 'is derived from Crete. Cretans came to look for Glaukos and settled down here. Their descendants, forgetting the orderly life of the Cretans, reached such a pitch of luxury, and subsequently of insolence, that they were the first to paint their faces, to get front locks and side locks of false hair, to wear flowered robes, and to deem work and labour a disgrace. Ordinary citizens made their houses more magnificent than the temples; while the principal men of the Iapyges, treating the deity with insult, destroyed the statues of the gods out of the temples and bade them give place to their betters. Wherefore they were struck by fire and bronze from the sky, and the fame of it was spread abroad; for bolts from heaven forged of bronze were long to be seen[1]. And to this very day all their descendants live shaven to the skin and wearing the garb of mourners, in want of all the luxuries that were theirs before.'

Now Iapyx the eponym of the Iapyges was commonly said to have been the son of Daidalos[2]; and there is a consistent tradition to the effect that, when Minos was killed at Kamikos in Sikania, the Cretans after an ineffectual attempt to take the town were driven by stress of weather to land in Iapygia, where they built Hyria and became the Iapyges Messapioi[3]. In view of this traditional connexion between the Iapyges and the Cretans of the Minoan age, it is interesting to find Athenaios giving a description of the Iapyges which with curious exactitude suits the 'Minoans.' Their painted faces[4], their artificial front locks[5] and side locks[6], their flowered robes[7], the magnificence of their houses as contrasted with their shrines[8], are all points of resemblance. Last but not least, the 'bolts from heaven forged of bronze' must surely be

[1] The text is *διόπερ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ βαλλόμενοι πυρὶ καὶ χαλκῷ ταύτην διέδοσαν τὴν φήμην· ἐμφανὴ γὰρ ἦν μέχρι πόρρω κεχαλκευμένα τῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ βελῶν* (so codd. A.B.P.: *βολῶν* codd. V.L.).

[2] Strab. 279, Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 102, Solin. 2. 7, Mart. Cap. 642, cp. Cornificius Longus (on whom see G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1630 f.) *ap.* interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 332.

[3] Hdt. 7. 170, Strab. 279, 282, cp. Diod. 4. 79. Brundisium also, according to one account, was founded by these Cretans, or by Theseus' company from Knossos (Strab. 282, Myth. Vat. 2. 125, schol. Bern. Lucan. 2. 609): the town took its name from a Messapian word for 'stag's-head' (Strab. 282, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Βρεντήσιον, Hesych. *s.v.* *βρένδον* = Favorin. *lex.* p. 388, 16, *et. Gud.* p. 115, 3 ff., *et. mag.* p. 212, 23 ff., schol. Bern. Lucan. 2. 609 'brunda' with H. Usener *ad loc.*). See further R. M. Burrows *The Discoveries in Crete* London 1907 p. 12 f.

[4] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900—1901 vii. 56 fig. 17.

[5] Sir A. J. Evans *loc. cit.*, A. Mosso *The Palaces of Crete and their Builders* London 1907 p. 318 fig. 156, cp. R. M. Burrows *op. cit.* p. 94. *Supra* i. 23 n. 6.

[6] Cp. Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 430 f. fig. 208.

[7] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 81 ff. fig. 58.

[8] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 95, cp. *ib.* 28, R. M. Burrows *op. cit.* p. 27.

identified with the bronze double-axes of 'Minoan' worship[1]. If this identification be well founded, it furnishes an important clue to the nature of the deity represented by the Cretan axes. The deity in question was, at least in Hellenic Tarentum, regarded as Zeus *Kataibátes*, the god that fell from heaven in the form of a thunderbolt[2].

Tarentum, we gather, was originally an Iapygian settlement later Hellenised by a Lacedaemonian colony[3]. It is therefore of interest to recall the fact that from Thalamai (*Koutiphari*) in south-western Lakonike, where the oracle of Pasiphaa[4] bespeaks the influence of Crete, came the fifth-century inscription recording the apparently chthonian ritual of Zeus *Kabátas*[5].

In view of H. Usener's[6] contention that *téras* ('borer'?) meant the lightning, and that Zeus *Terástios* of Gythion[7] was a lightning-god; it seems possible[8] that *Táras* the eponymous hero of Tarentum

[1] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900—1901 vii. 52 ff. fig. 15, *id. ib.* 1901—1902 viii. 101 ff. figs. 57 ff.

Another point of comparison might be found in the fact that the Messapians, like the 'Minoans,' were great dancers. According to Nikandros *ap.* Ant. Lib. 31, it was said in the country of the Messapians that the nymphs known as *Epimelídes* were seen dancing by the so-called Holy Rocks, that the sons of the Messapians left their flocks and challenged them to a contest of dancing, that the nymphs won, that the lads were changed into trees beside the sanctuary of the nymphs, and that a sound as of mourning is still heard by night from the wood of the 'Nymphs and Lads.'

[2] See further *infra* § 3 (c) i (ζ).

[3] Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 1012, M. Besnier *Lexique de géographie ancienne* Paris 1914 p. 739. See further R. Lorentz *Disquisitio de civitate veterum Tarentinorum* Numburgi 1833 p. 35, S. F. W. Hoffmann *Griechenland und die Griechen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1841 ii. 1930, Doehle *Geschichte Tarents bis auf seine Unterwerfung unter Rom* Strassburg 1877 p. 19 f., J. Geffcken 'Die Gründung von Tarent' in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u Pädag.* 1893 cxlvii. 177—192.

[4] *Supra* i. 521 f.

[5] *Supra* p. 17 f.

[6] H. Usener 'Keraunos' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 12 f. (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig-Berlin 1913 iv. 481).

[7] A. Skias in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1892 p. 57, Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 370, R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 60 no. 4563, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 760, *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 1154 (incised on the wall of a rocky niche at a place called Πελεκητόν beneath the hill Larysion) μοῖρα | Διὸς Τεραστίο, 'the portion of Zeus *Terástios*.' The niche is figured in Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 32 pl. 25 (plan *ib.* p. 32 f. pl. 26) and described in detail by R. Weil in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1876 i. 151 ff. Cp. Loukian. *Tim.* 41 ὦ Ζεῦ τεράστιε καὶ φίλοι Κορύβαντες καὶ Ἑρμῆ κερδῷε, πόθεν τοσοῦτον χρυσίον; Aristeid. *or.* 45. 65 (ii. 86 Dindorf) εἰπὲ πρὸς Διὸς τεραστίου, τί χρὴ περὶ τούτων ἡμᾶς νομίζειν; Theod. Prodr. *Rhod. et Dos.* 7. 518 τεράστιε Ζεῦ, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. 96 τεραστίου, 267 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. 89 τεραστίου.

[8] The fact that Taras appears as a *quasi*-Poseidon (see *e.g.* Buslepp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 93 ff.) is not fatal to this hypothesis, if Poseidon was originally but a specialised form of Zeus (i. 717 n. 2, *infra* § 3 (c) i (η)) and his trident a thunder-weapon (*infra* § 3 (c) iv (γ)).

had a name of kindred significance[1], involving Doric *ă* for *ē*[2]. We might compare the *Tarentum* or *Terentum* ('Hole'?) in the Campus Martius at Rome[3]. On the other hand, such Celtic deities as *Taranis*, *Taranu-cnus*, Iupiter *Taranucus*[4] are perhaps best related to Anglo-Saxon *Thunor*, Norse *Thor*, etc.—witness the alternative form Iupiter *Tanarus*[5].

(ζ) Zeus *Krataibátes*.

A relief found at the village of *Katsígkri* near Nauplia represents Zeus advancing from left to right. He hurls a thunderbolt with his right arm and stretches out his left, above which is an inscription (fig. 14)[6] reading:

ΔΙΟΣ
ΚΡΑΤΑΙ
ΒΑΤΑ

Fig. 14.

'Of Zeus *Krataibátes*.'

The title thus spelt is unique. It may of course be a mere blunder for *Kataibátes*. But more probably it is an intentional variation of that epithet: whoever erected the monument wished to suggest the potency of the lightning-god[7].

(η) Survivals of the foregoing beliefs.

In Christian times it was believed that the victim of lightning had been struck by the sudden descent of a demon. For example, early in the fifth century Saint Hypatios, presbyter and *hegoúmenos*

[1] A. Vaniček *Griechisch-lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1877 i. 286.

[2] É. Boisacq *Les dialectes doriens* Paris 1891 p. 33 ff.

[3] O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 pp. 224 f., 257, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 477 ff., H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 137.

Zeus Ταρανταῖος was the god of Tarantos in Bithynia (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τάρας· ...*ἔστι δὲ καὶ* Τάραντος *ἀρσενικῶς λεγομένη πόλις Βιθυνίας, ἔνθα τιμᾶται* Ταρανταῖος *Ζεύς, ὡς Δημοσθένης ἐν δευτέρῳ Βιθυνιακῶν. εὕρηται καὶ διὰ τοῦ δ Δάρανδος*, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. 100 *ταρανταίου*, 267 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. 88 *ταρανταίου*).

[4] A. Holder *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* Leipzig 1904 ii. 1728 f., O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 87 ff.

[5] A. Holder *op. cit.* ii. 1716 f., Reusch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 74. It would of course be possible to make the opposite assumption and to regard *Taranis* as the normal, *Tanarus* as the aberrant form. I have discussed the matter with Prof. H. M. Chadwick, who inclines to the solution adopted in the text.

[6] P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 233 Διὸς | Κρατα|βάτα = *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 669 (= my fig. 14).

[7] For the form of the compound I. Kophiniotis (in Ἀθηνᾶ 1890 ii. 695 and in Καιροί 1890 no. 476) cites *κραταίβολος, κραταιγύαλος, κραταίπους* [add *κραταίβιος, κραταίλεως,* Κραταιμένης, *κραταίπεδον, κραταίπιλος, κραταίρινος, κραταίτονος*]. For *κράτος* as applied to lightning H. Usener (in *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 12) adduces Soph. *O. T.* 200 f., Cornut. *theol.* 10 p. 10, 13 Lang (where Lang adopts Schmitt-Blank's cj. *βέλος*), etc.

of the Rufinian monastery in Bithynia, was said to have cured a certain man, Agathangelos by name, 'who was paralysed by thunder, a demon having come down upon him[1].'

The survival of pagan beliefs is yet clearer in later Greek and Latin versions of Zoroastres' intercourse with heaven. Already in the fourth century B.C. Dinon of Kolophon, author of a great historical work on Persia[2], beguiled by an obvious etymology, had stated that *Zoroástres* was 'one that sacrificed to the stars'; and Hermodoros, probably the Syracusan pupil of Platon[3], was content with the same explanation[4]. Dion Chrysostomos in a speech delivered at Prousa during the year 102—103 A.D.[5] goes into greater detail[6]. Zoroastres—he says—lived the life of a recluse on a certain mountain. Fire came down upon his mountain from above, so that it kindled and continued to burn. Thereupon the king of Persia and his notables drew near, wishing to worship the god. Zoroastres emerged scatheless from the fire, bade the king be of good cheer and offer sacrifices as one that had come to the place where the god was. From that time onward Zoroastres associated only with the Magoi, who could understand the god and knew how to serve the divine. They keep a chariot of Nisaean steeds[7], the finest in all Asia, for Zeus. The popular etymology of *Zoroástres*, combined with the notion that celestial fire descended upon him, was further amplified along the lines of Greek belief. According to the Clementine *Homilies*[8], the Magian Nebrod (Nimrod), wishing to become

[1] Kallinikos *de vita S. Hypatii* p. 37, 30 ff. Bonnenses ὃς παρελύθη ἀπὸ βροντῆς, δαίμονος κατεπελθόντος αὐτῷ (quoted by Usener *loc. cit.* p. 10).

[2] E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 654.

[3] P. Natorp *ib.* viii. 861.

[4] Dinon *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 90 Müller) and Hermodoros *ap.* Diog. Laert. *praef.* 8 καὶ Δείνων ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν· ὃς καὶ μεθερμηνευόμενόν φησι τὸν Ζωροάστρην ἀστροθύτην εἶναι· φησὶ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἑρμόδωρος. J. Toup cj. ἀστροθέτην and S. Bochart cj. ἀστροθεάτην; but cp. schol. Plat. *Alcib. i* p. 918 *b* 43 ff. Ζωροάστρης...οὗ δὴ εἰς Ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν μεταφραζόμενον τοὔνομα τὸν ἀστροθύτην δηλοῖ. See further J. H. Moulton *Early Zoroastrianism* London 1913 pp. 77, 201, 415, and especially 426 f. ('This implies that some form of Av. *zaoθra* (M.P. *zōhr*) was brought in, with Gathic and Avestan *star* (mod. Pers. *sitāra*). The elements of the compound are, it must be allowed, in the wrong order. If the Greek form Ζοροάστρης were better attested, we should have no trouble.' Etc.).

[5] W. Schmid in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 872.

[6] Dion Chrys. *or.* 36 p. 92 f. Reiske. I have quoted the passage *supra* i. 783 f.

[7] Souid. *s.v.* ἵππος Νισαῖος.

[8] Clem. Rom. *hom.* 9. 4 f. (ii. 244 Migne) ἐκ τοῦ γένους τούτου γίνεταί τις κατὰ διαδοχὴν μαγικὰ παρειληφὼς ὀνόματι Νεβρώδ, ὥσπερ γίγας ἐναντία τῷ Θεῷ φρονεῖν ἐλόμενος, ὃν οἱ Ἕλληνες Ζωροάστρην προσηγόρευσαν. οὗτος μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν βασιλείας ὀρεχθεὶς καὶ μέγας ὢν μάγος τοῦ νῦν βασιλεύοντος κακοῦ τὸν ὡροσκοποῦντα †κόσμον† ἀστέρα (*an leg.* τοῦ νῦν βασιλεύοντος κακοῦ τοῦ κόσμου τὸν ὡροσκοποῦντα ἀστέρα, 'the birth-star of the evil man that now rules the world,' *sc.* of Domitian?) πρὸς τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ βασιλείας δόσιν μαγικαῖς

king, by his magic arts forced a certain star to grant him the kingdom. The star did so, but poured out upon him the royal fire[1] in the form of lightning. Nebrod, killed by the lightning, was renamed *Zoroástres* since a 'living stream from the star' had fallen upon him. His contemporaries, supposing that his soul had been fetched by the thunderbolt on account of his friendship with God, buried his remains, built a temple at the grave in Persia, where the fire had fallen, and worshipped the man as a god. Following their example, others in that region buried victims of thunderbolts as friends of God, built temples in their honour, and set up portrait statues of them. The Clementine *Recognitions*[2] give us the same

ἠνάγκαζε τέχναις. ὁ δέ, ἅτε δὴ ἄρχων ὢν καὶ τοῦ βιαζομένου τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, μετ' ὀργῆς τὸ τῆς βασιλείας προσέχεε πῦρ, ἵνα πρός τε τὸν ὁρκισμὸν εὐγνωμονήσῃ καὶ τοὺς πρώτως ἀναγκάσαντα τιμωρήσηται. ἐκ ταύτης οὖν τῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ χαμαὶ πεσούσης ἀστραπῆς ὁ μάγος ἀναιρεθεὶς Νεβρὼδ ἐκ τοῦ συμβάντος πράγματος Ζωροάστρης μετωνομάσθη διὰ τὸ τὴν τοῦ ἀστέρος κατ' αὐτοῦ ζῶσαν ἐνεχθῆναι ῥοήν. οἱ δὲ ἀνόητοι τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων, ὡς διὰ τὴν εἰς Θεὸν φιλίαν κεραυνῷ μεταπεμφθεῖσαν τὴν ψυχὴν νομίσαντες, τοῦ σώματος τὸ λείψανον κατορύξαντες, τὸν μὲν τάφον ναῷ ἐτίμησαν ἐν Πέρσαις, ἔνθα ἡ τοῦ πυρὸς καταφορὰ γέγονεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὡς θεὸν ἐθρήσκευσαν. τούτῳ τῷ ὑποδείγματι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐκεῖσε τοὺς κεραυνῷ θνήσκοντας ὡς θεοφιλεῖς θάπτοντες ναοῖς τιμῶσιν καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἰδίων μορφῶν ἱστᾶσιν ἀγάλματα.

[1] For the royal fire see Clem. Rom. *hom.* 9. 6 (ii. 245 Migne) Πέρσαι πρῶτοι τῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεσούσης ἀστραπῆς λαβόντες ἄνθρακας τῇ οἰκείᾳ διεφύλαξαν τροφῇ, καὶ ὡς θεὸν οὐράνιον προτιμήσαντες τὸ πῦρ ὡς πρῶτοι προσκυνήσαντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πυρὸς πρώτης βασιλείας τετίμηνται. μεθ' οὓς Βαβυλώνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖ πυρὸς ἄνθρακας κλέψαντες καὶ διασώσαντες εἰς τὰ ἑαυτῶν καὶ προσκυνήσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀκολούθως ἐβασίλευσαν. Αἰγύπτιοι δέ ὁμοίως πράξαντες καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ Φθαὲ (*sc.* Ptaḥ: *supra* i. 433) καλέσαντες, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται Ἥφαιστος<ἢ Ὄσιρις (so A. R. M. Dressel, cp. Iambl. *de myst. Aegypt.* 8. 3)=, οὗ τῷ ὀνόματι καὶ ὁ παρ' αὐτοῖς πρῶτος βασιλεύσας προσαγορεύεται. κ.τ.λ., Curt. 3. 3. 9 ignis, quem ipsi sacrum et aeternum vocabant, argenteis altaribus praeferebatur, Amm. Marc. 23. 6. 34 feruntque, si iustum est credi, etiam ignem caelitus lapsum apud se sempiternis foculis custodire, cuius portionem exiguam, ut faustam, praeisse quondam Asiaticis regibus dicunt, Cassiod. *hist. tripert.* 10. 30 (lxix. 1184 D Migne) Pyrea namque pagani vocant templa, in quibus ignem servant, Theophan. *chronogr.* 258 A (i. 474 Classen) *καὶ καταλαβὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν Γαζακῶ πόλιν ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, ἐν ᾗ ὑπῆρχεν ὁ ναὸς τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τὰ χρήματα Κροίσου τοῦ Λυδῶν βασιλέως καὶ ἡ πλάνη τῶν ἀνθράκων* = Kedren. *hist. comp.* 412 A (i. 721 Bekker) *καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν Γαζακὸν πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ ὑπῆρχεν ὁ ναὸς τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τὰ χρήματα Κροίσου τοῦ Λυδῶν βασιλέως καὶ ἡ πλάνη τῶν ἀνθράκων* = *hist. miscell.* 20. 16 (p. 434, 18 ff. Eyssenhardt) et pervenerit ad civitatem Thebarmam in oriente sitam, in qua erat templum ignis atque pecuniae Croesi Lydorum regis et error prunarum. The *πῦρ προπομπεῦον* of the Roman emperors etc. is a different matter: see A. C. Eschenbach *Dissertationes Academicae* p. 519 ff. ('Dissertatio de igne Augustis praelato'), H. S. Reimar's note on Dion Cass. 71. 35, G. Bloch in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1468.

[2] Rufin. *recognit.* 4. 27 f. ex quibus unus Cham nomine cuidam ex filiis suis qui Mesraim appellabatur, a quo Aegyptiorum et Babyloniorum et Persarum ducitur genus, male compertam magicae artis tradidit disciplinam: hunc gentes quae tunc erant Zoroastrem appellaverunt, admirantes primum magicae artis autorem, cuius nomine etiam libri super hoc plurimi habentur. hic ergo astris multum ac frequenter intentus, et volens apud homines videri deus, velut scintillas quasdam ex stellis producere et hominibus ostentare coepit, quo rudes atque ignari in stuporem miraculi traherentur, cupiensque augere de se huiusmodi opinionem, saepius ista moliebatur usquequo ab ipso daemone, quem importunius frequentabat, igni succensus concremaretur. sed stulti homines qui tunc erant...

statement in a somewhat earlier form. Mesraim (Mizraim), son of Cham (Ham), was the first to study magic. He gave much attention to the stars and, wishing to be thought a god, pretended to produce sparks from them, till at length he was burnt by the demon, whom he had too often invoked. His contemporaries regarded him as a friend of God, carried up to heaven on a thunderbolt. They therefore built him a tomb, changed his name to *Zoroaster*, the 'Living Star,' and worshipped him as such. Hence many persons still honour victims of lightning with tombs and respect them as being friends of God. Rufinus' account is followed in the sixth century by Saint Gregory of Tours[1]. The *Chronicon Paschale*[2] of the seventh century, together with the Byzantine historians Kedrenos[3] (*c.* 1100 A.D.) and Glykas[4] (*c.* 1120 A.D.), states that Zoroastres the famous Persian astronomer, when about to die, prayed to Orion that he might be destroyed by the fire of heaven, and told the Persians to take up his burnt bones and preserve them, as the retention

in maius eum extollunt. exstructo enim sepulcro ad honorem eius tanquam amicum Dei ac fulminis ad coelum vehiculo sublevatum adorare ausi sunt et quasi vivens astrum colere. hinc enim et nomen post mortem eius Zoroaster, hoc est vivum sidus, appellatum est ab his qui post unam generationem Graecae linguae loquela fuerant repleti. hoc denique exemplo etiam nunc multi eos qui fulmine obierint sepulcris honoratos tanquam amicos Dei colunt.

J. B. Coteler *ad loc.* cites from Fest. p. 245 *a* 23 ff. Müller, p. 285, 3 ff. Lindsay the statement that Q. Fabius Eburnus was called *pullus Iovis* because his hinder parts were struck by lightning (cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 26 and De Vit *Onomasticon* iii. 8 *s.v.* 'xiv. Fabius').

[1] Gregorius Turonensis *hist. Franc.* 1. 5 (lxxi. 164 f. Migne) primogenitus vero Cham, Chus. hic fuit totius artis magicae, imbuente diabolo, et primus idololatriae adinventor. hic primus statuunculam adorandam diaboli instigatione constituit: qui et stellas, et ignem de coelo cadere, falsa virtute, hominibus ostendebat. hic ad Persas transiit. hunc Persae vocitavere Zoroastrem, id est viventem stellam. ab hoc etiam ignem adorare consueti ipsum divinitus igne consumptum ut deum colunt.

[2] *Chron. Paschale* i. 67 Dindorf ἐξ αὐτοῦ οὖν τοῦ γένους ἐγεννήθη καὶ ὁ Ζωρόαστρος (so cod. V. for Ζοροάστρης ed. Paris.) ὁ ἀστρονόμος Περσῶν ὁ περιβόητος, ὅστις μέλλων τελευτᾶν ηὔχετο ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀναλωθῆναι οὐρανίου, εἰπὼν τοῖς Πέρσαις ὅτι ἐὰν καύσῃ με τὸ πῦρ, ἐκ τῶν καιομένων μου ὀστέων ἐπάρατε καὶ φυλάξατε, καὶ οὐκ ἐκλείψει τὸ βασίλειον ἐκ τῆς ὑμῶν χώρας ὅσον χρόνον φυλάττετε τὰ ἐμὰ ὀστέα. καὶ εὐξάμενος τὸν Ὠρίωνα ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἀερίου ἀνηλώθη. καὶ ἐποίησαν οἱ Πέρσαι καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἔχουσι φυλάττοντες τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ τεφρωθὲν ἕως νῦν.

[3] Kedren. *hist. comp.* 16 B—C (i. 29 f. Bekker) ἐκ τοῦ γένους οὖν αὐτοῦ καὶ Ζωροάστρης ὁ περιβόητος ἀστρονόμος ἐν Πέρσαις γενόμενος ηὔξατο ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀερίου κεραυνωθῆναι καὶ ἀναλωθῆναι, ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς Πέρσαις τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὴν καῦσιν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ φυλάττειν αὐτοὺς (I. Bekker cj. αὐτὰ) καὶ τιμᾶν· καὶ ἕως οὗ, φησί, σώσεσθε ταῦτα, τὸ βασίλειον τῆς ὑμῶν χώρας οὐκ ἐκλείψει. οὕτως οὖν τούτου πυρὶ οὐρανίῳ τεφρωθέντος τὰ λείψανα αὐτοῦ διὰ τιμῆς εἶχον οἱ Πέρσαι, ἕως τούτου καταφρονήσαντες καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέπεσον. *Infra* § 3 (c) i (χ).

[4] Michael Glykas *ann.* 2 129 C—D (p. 243 f. Bekker) ἐξ οὗ γένους ἐγένετο καὶ Ζωρόαστρος ὁ περιβόητος Περσῶν ἀστρονόμος, ὃς εἶπε τοῖς Πέρσαις, "ἐὰν καύσῃ με τὸ οὐράνιον πῦρ," τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ηὔχετο, "λάβετε ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου καὶ φυλάσσετε εἰς σύστασιν τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν." ὃ δὴ καὶ γέγονεν.

of sovereignty depended upon their safe-keeping. The lexicographers Souidas[1] in the tenth century and 'Zonaras[2]' in the twelfth repeat the same tale with slight variations.

Even the twentieth century has not wholly outgrown the old-world view. In Makedonia it is thought that, if any one struck by lightning is immediately removed from the spot, where the accident befell him, to a distance of forty paces, he will recover[3]. Why? Because he is no longer within the domain or range of the divine power, no longer in Elysium[4].

iii. Zeus and the Sky-Pillar.

(α) The Elysian Way.

The word *elýsion*, which thus signifies both the spot struck by lightning and the abode of the divinised dead, is presumably related to *elysíe*, a 'way[5].' The term is remarkable, and its applicability is not at once clear. We must suppose that the Greeks recognised a definite 'way' from earth to heaven, along which those honoured by the summons of Zeus might pass. This conception would at least square with certain Pindaric phrases. In a context of Pythagorean[6] import the poet tells how—

> Souls that thrice on either side
> Free from evil can abide
> Travel the road of Zeus to Kronos' tower,
> Where round islands of the blest
> Ocean breezes lull to rest
> And forth there flashes many a golden flower[7].

[1] Souid. *s.v.* Ζωροάστρης, ἀστρονόμος, ἐπὶ Νίνου βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων. ὅστις ηὔξατο ὑπὸ πυρὸς οὐρανίου τελευτῆσαι, παρεγγυήσας τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις τὴν τέφραν αὐτοῦ φυλάττειν· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ βασιλεία οὐκ ἐκλείψει διαπαντός. ὅπερ μέχρι νῦν πεφύλακται παρ' αὐτοῖς.

[2] Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Ζωροάστρης· ἀστρονόμος. οὗτος ἐπὶ Νίνου βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων ἦν· ὅστις ηὔξατο ὑπὸ πυρὸς οὐρανίου τελευτῆσαι, παρεγγυήσας Ἀσσυρίοις τὴν τέφραν αὐτοῦ φυλάττειν· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ βασιλεία οὐκ ἐκλείψει διαπαντός. ὅπερ μέχρι νῦν πεφύλακται παρ' αὐτοῖς.

[3] G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 229.

[4] *Supra* p. 22 f.

[5] Hesych. ἠλυσίη· ὁδός, *et. mag.* p. 497, 9 ff. κατηλυσίη· 'κατηλυσίη Ζεφύροιο' (Ap. Rhod. 4. 886 λαιψηροῖο κατηλυσίῃ Ζεφύροιο, cp. Arat. *phaen.* 536). σημαίνει τὴν κάθοδον καὶ τὴν ἐπέλευσιν, ἐλευσίη τις οὖσα καὶ ἠλυσίη, καὶ μετὰ τῆς κατὰ προθέσεως. So διηλυσίη, ἐπηλυσίη, ὁμηλυσίη.

[6] *Supra* i. 303 n. 5.

[7] Pind. *Ol.* 2. 68 ff. ὅσοι δ' ἐτόλμασαν ἑστρὶς | ἑκατέρωθι μείναντες ἀπὸ πάμπαν ἀδίκων ἔχειν | ψυχάν, ἔτειλαν (sic Tricl. et schol.: ἔστειλαν codd. A.B.C.D. et paraphr.) Διὸς ὁδὸν παρὰ Κρόνου τύρσιν· ἔνθα μακάρων | νάσος (νᾶσος Tricl. et paraphr.: νᾶσον codd. A.B.C.D.: νάσος cj. W. Christ) ὠκεανίδες | αὖραι περιπνέουσιν· ἄνθεμα δὲ χρυσοῦ φλέγει, | κ.τ.λ.

Again, in an equally arresting fragment Pindar says:

> Themis the wise, the heavenly, afar
> From Ocean's founts on golden car
> Up the dread stair the Fates first bore
> Along the gleaming way to Olympos' height,
> That Zeus the Saviour might
> Have her to wife of yore:
> The mother she of the unerring Hours,
> Gold-frontleted, gay-fruited powers[1].

What was this 'road of Zeus,' this 'gleaming way'? If I am not mistaken[2], it was the broad path of dim and distant splendour that stretches across the abyss of the midnight sky[3]. Our forefathers called it 'Watling Street[4]' or 'London Road[5].' We know it as the 'Milky Way.' And a collection of names for it such as that got together by H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland[6] proves that all the world over it has been regarded as a celestial track. Further, as E. B. Tylor[7] observed, this track is often held to be the road traversed by the gods or the souls of men:

[1] Pind. *frag.* 30 Schroeder *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 418, 23 ff. Stählin πρῶτον (sic Hephaist. 15. 11 p. 51, 6 Consbruch, πρῶτα Clem. Al.) μὲν εὔβουλον Θέμιν οὐρανίαν | χρυσέαισιν (χρυσίαισιν Clem. Al., χρυσέαισιν cj. D. Heinsius) ἵπποις (ἵπποισιν Clem. Al., ἵπποις cj. G. Hermann) Ὠκεανοῦ παρὰ παγᾶν (πάγον Clem. Al., παγᾶν cj. A. Boeckh) | Μοῖραι ποτὶ κλίμακα σεμνάν | ἆγον (ἄγον Clem. Al.) Ὀλύμπου (Οὐλύμπου cj. G. Hermann) λιπαρὰν καθ' ὁδόν (κάθοδον Clem. Al., corr. C. G. Heyne) | σωτῆρος ἀρχαίαν ἄλοχον Διὸς ἔμμεν· (ἔμμεναι Clem. Al., corr. C. G. Heyne) | ἁ δὲ τὰς (αδετὰς Clem. Al., ἁ δὲ τᾶς Schroeder) χρυσάμπυκας ἀγλαοκάρπους | τίκτεν ἀλαθέας Ὥρας (ἀγαθὰ σωτῆρας Clem. Al., ἀγαθὰ σωτῆρας <Ὥρας> cj. G. Hermann, ἀλαθέας Ὥρας rest. A. Boeckh cp. Hesych. *s.v.* ἀλαθέας Ὥρας).

[2] The same conclusion was reached by T. Bergk in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1860 vi. 411 ff. and by W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 83 nn. 257 and 258, who rightly drew attention to Philon *de providentia* 2. 89 (a Latin rendering of the Armenian version discovered by B. Aucher) Circulus tamen lacteus ad quid est?...Si quidem nonnulli arbitrantur luminis esse revibrationem ex stellis refulgentibus; quidam vero commissuram totius caeli, ubi coaptantur hemisphaeria; alii antiquam ab initio viam solis; alii Geryonis pecudum viam, per quam eas duxit Hercules; alii vero ex γαλακτικοῖς, sc. lacte plenis, Iunonis uberibus; quod etiam Heratosthenes sensit: quare dicit, Miror, si aggrediar Iovis sacra vestigia pedis, quod cornu appellat hucusque, et circulum festinantis velocisque suffurantis paleas. Bergk *loc. cit.* p. 412 n. 141 saw that the latter part of this extract derives from Eratosthenes' astronomical poem Ἑρμῆς (*frag.* 16 ed. Hiller Lipsiae 1872).

[3] F. Kahn *Die Milchstrasse* Stuttgart 1914.

[4] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 356 f., E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*[3] London 1891 i. 360.

[5] E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*[3] London 1891 i. 360, The Lady Eveline Camilla Gurdon *County Folk-Lore. Printed Extracts No.* 2. *Suffolk* London 1893 p. 166.

[6] H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland 'Noms de la Voie Lactée dans différentes langues' in *Mélusine* Paris 1884—85 ii. 151—154. Shorter lists are given by A. Kuhn *Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen* Leipzig 1859 ii. 85 f., by J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882—1888 i. 357 n. 1, iv. 1389, 1588, and by E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 89, 241, 281.

[7] E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*[3] London 1891 i. 359 f.

The Basutos call it the 'Way of the Gods[1]'; the Ojis say it is the 'Way of Spirits,' which souls go up to heaven by[2]. North American tribes know it as 'the Path of the Master of Life,' the 'Path of Spirits,' 'the Road of Souls,' where they travel to the land beyond the grave, and where their camp-fires may be seen blazing as brighter stars[3]. Such savage imaginations of the Milky Way fit with the Lithuanian myth of the 'Road of the Birds,' at whose end the souls of the good, fancied as flitting away at death like birds, dwell free and happy[4].

Classical evidence of the Galaxy conceived as a *Seelenpfad* is not wanting[5]. Ovid speaks of it as a road leading to the palace of Iupiter:

[1] E. Casalis *The Basutos; or, Twenty-three Years in South Africa* London 1861 p. 196 'I have known great boys who hardly dared to look up at the stars, because they imagined that the milky way was a monstrous collection of those transparent beings whose imaginary appearance is so much dreaded *. (*The Basutos call the milky way, "the *way* of the gods.")'

[2] T. Waitz *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* Leipzig 1860 ii. 191 'Den Odschis gilt ebenfalls der Himmel als der Aufenthaltsort der Guten nach dem Tode: sie steigen zu ihm auf dem "Geisterwege," der Milchstrasse, hinauf, wogegen die Bösen im anderen Leben zu leiden haben (Riis im Bas. Miss. Mag. 1847 iv. 251. Müller 96).'

[3] S. H. Long *An Expedition to the Rocky Mountains* i. 288. H. R. Schoolcraft *Historical and Statistical Information respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* Philadelphia 1851 i. 272 'The milky-way, they [the Creeks, or Muscogees] believe to be the paths of the spirits; but the spirits of whom, or what, they do not know.' P. le Jeune *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France, en l'année 1634* Paris 1635 p. 63 'ils [les sauvages montagnais de Kebec] appellent la voye lactée, *Tchipaï miskenau* [?], le chemin des ames, pource qu'ils pensent que les ames se guindent par cette voye pour aller en ce grand village.' G. H. Loskiel *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America* trans. C. I. La Trobe London 1794 i. 35 'When they revived, they related that this place was to the south of heaven, and that the bright track called the milky way, was the road to it. This led to a most glorious city, the inhabitants of which enjoyed every possible good in great abundance.' J. G. Müller *Geschichte der Amerikanischen Urreligionen* Basel 1855 p. 63 'Der südliche Himmel ist überhaupt das Land der Verstorbenen, und die Sterne der Milchstrasse, die angeheftete Feuer sind, sind der Weg dorthin. Loskiel 47. Catlin 116. Vollmer l.c. Andree N.A. 247.' [See also J. F. Lafitau *Mœurs des Sauvages Ameriquains comparés aux mœurs des premiers temps* Paris 1724 ii. 406, E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*[3] London 1891 ii. 72.]

[4] I. J. Hanusch (Hanuš) *Die Wissenschaft des Slawischen Mythus im weitesten, den altpreussischlithauischen Mythus mitumfassenden Sinne* Lemberg 1842 pp. 272, 407, 415. [Cp. W. von Schulenburg *Wendische Volkssagen und Gebräuche aus dem Spreewald* Leipzig 1880 p. 272 'die Milchstrasse *teškowa droga*[3] ([3]So in Burg, eigentlich wol *ptaškowa droga*.)' etc., J. B. Holzmayer 'Osiliana' in the *Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat* Dorpat 1872 vii. 2. 48 '*linno rada*,' F. R. Kreutzwald and H. Neus *Mythische und magische Lieder der Ehsten* Saint Petersburg 1854 '*linno teerada*,'—cited by H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland in *Mélusine* 1884—85 ii. 154 f.] *Infra* § 3 (a) vi (λ).

[5] See now P. Capelle *De luna, stellis, lacteo orbe animarum sedibus* Halle 1917 (reviewed by E. Pfeiffer in the *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung* 1918 p. 35 f., by W. Nestle in the *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie* 1918 p. 47 f., and by O. Höfer in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* April 27, 1918 p. 396 f.) p. 37 ff.

The conception of the Milky Way as an abode of souls survived into post-classical literature and art. Paulinus (353—431 A.D.), bishop of Nola, makes Enoch, Elijah, and other pious souls ascend to heaven *via* the Galaxy: Paulin. Nolan. *carm.* 5. 37 ff. pande

There is a road aloft in the clear heaven,
Milk-white and therefore named the Milky Way.
Here go the gods to the great Thunderer's house
And royal home. To right and left the halls
Of high-born deities fling wide their doors.
The populace in diverse spots may dwell;
But on this front the denizens of heaven
Puissant and proud have pitched their own abode[1].

Ovid's celestial city is doubtless made to the pattern of Rome:

viam, quae me post vincula corporis aegri | in sublime ferat, puri qua lactea caeli | semita ventosae superat vaga nubila lunae | qua proceres abiere pii quaque integer olim | raptus quadriiugo penetrat super aera curru | Elias et solido cum corpore praevius Enoch. And Dracontius of Carthage (end of *s.* V A.D.) would raise the brave man to the sky along the same starry track: Drac. *Romul.* 5. 323 ff. his quartus (so F. Bücheler for *quintus*) adesto | virtutis ratione fide pietate vigore | possessure polos, scandens qua lacteus axis | vertitur, aetherii qua se dat (so F. von Duhn for *sedat* C. Rossberg cj. *candet*) circulus orbis | lunarisque globus qua volvitur axe tepenti | aut certe qua Phoebus agit super astra iugales: | sidera sic capies, poteris sic astra mereri. Cp. Hieron. *epist.* 23. 3 (xxii. 426 Migne) ille (*sc.* the husband of Lea)...nunc desolatus et nudus non in lacteo caeli palatio, ut uxor mentitur infelix, sed in sordentibus tenebris. These are but Christianised versions of a belief that must have been wide-spread in later classical times—witness *e.g.* an elegiac epitaph from Salonae: *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 9631, 2 f.=F. Bücheler *Carmina Latina epigraphica* Lipsiae 1897 ii. 685 f. no. 1438, 17 f. sede beatorum recipit te lacteus orbis | e gremio matris: hoc tua digna fides. The artistic evidence, though considerably later, is not devoid of interest. A twelfth-century manuscript of Germanicus at Madrid (cod. Matrit. A 16), with coloured pictures in the *scholia*, represents the *circulus lacteus* as a hoop held by a half-draped female, who bears aloft a draped female, the divinised soul (G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 p. 147 ff. fig. 64=my fig. 15). The same design with slight variations is found two centuries afterwards in the Vienna manuscript of a Latin prose work on astronomy (cod. Vindob. 2352): the starry circle is here more recognisable, the draped soul on its semi-draped supporter is less so, the apotheosis-type being ill understood (G. Thiele *op. cit.* p. 149 fig. 65=my fig. 16).



Fig. 15.

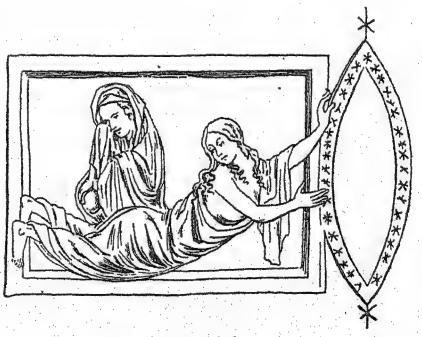


Fig. 16.

[1] Ov. *met.* 1. 168 ff. est via sublimis, caelo manifesta sereno; | lactea nomen habet, candore notabilis ipso. | hac iter est superis ad magni tecta Tonantis | regalemque domum. dextra laevaque deorum | atria nobilium valvis celebrantur apertis. | plebs habitat diversa locis: hac fronte (sic codd. A.N.P.T., *a* (in rasura) *fronte* codd. M.ε.λ., *hac parte* cod. Be.) potentes | caelicolae clarique suos posuere penates.

'this front,' as R. Merkel saw[1], recalls the *frons Palatii*[2]. But the *via sublimis* of the poet's vision was borrowed from an old-world belief held by certain followers of Pythagoras. The Pythagoreans indeed were much exercised about the Milky Way. Most of them took it to be a 'way' of some sort. One group said that it was the track made by a star, which had fallen from its proper position at the time of Phaethon's catastrophe. Others saw in it a burnt path-way marking the sun's original course[3]. Others again deemed it a mere reflection of the solar rays. These opinions are duly recorded by Aristotle[4], Manilius[5], and the doxographer Aëtios[6]. But a view

[1] Ov. *met.* ed. R. Merkel (Lipsiae 1883) praef. p. vi.

[2] *Mirabilia Romae* 25 (H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1871 ii. 637) in fronte Palatii templum Solis. in eodem Palatio templum Iovis, quod vocatur casa maior.

[3] So too Oinopides of Chios (Achill. *isag. ad Arat.* 24 p. 55, 18 ff. Maass ἕτεροι δέ φασιν, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Οἰνοπίδης ὁ Χῖος, ὅτι πρότερον διὰ τούτου (*sc.* τοῦ γάλακτος) ἐφέρετο ὁ ἥλιος, διὰ δὲ τὰ θυέστεια δεῖπνα ἀπεστράφη καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν τούτῳ πεποίηται περιφοράν, ἣν νῦν περιγράφει ὁ ζῳδιακός) and perhaps Metrodoros of Lampsakos (Plout. *de plac. phil.* 3. 1 = Stob. *ecl.* 1. 27. 3 p. 226, 9 f. Wachsmuth (Aët. 3. 1. 3 in H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 365, 7 ff.) Μητρόδωρος διὰ τὴν πάροδον τοῦ ἡλίου· τοῦτον γὰρ εἶναι τὸν ἡλιακὸν κύκλον). Cp. Isid. *orig.* 3. 45 quam aliqui dicunt viam esse, qua circuit sol, et ex huius splendoris ipsius transitu ita lucere.

For the Milky Way in relation to the sun see A. Kuhn *Sagen, Gebräuche und Marchen aus Westfalen* Leipzig 1859 ii. 86 no. 267 'Die Milchstrasse nennt man bei Saldern, westlich von Wolfenbüttel, die Himmelsstrasse, sie ist die Mitte der Welt, und die Sonne steht am Mittag regelmässig in derselben,' *ib.* ii. 87 no. 269 'Die Milchstrasse dreht sich nach der Sonne, indem sie dort zuerst erscheint, wo die Sonne untergegangen ist. Woltringhausen, Amt Uchte. Einer aus Loccum erklärte sie für den Widerschein der Sonne.'

[4] Aristot. *meteor.* 1. 8. 345 a 13 ff. τῶν μὲν οὖν καλουμένων Πυθαγορείων φασί τινες ὁδὸν εἶναι ταύτην οἱ μὲν τῶν ἐκπεσόντων τινὸς ἄστρων (ἀστέρων cod. N.) κατὰ τὴν λεγομένην ἐπὶ Φαέθοντος φθοράν (φορὰν codd. E.F.N.), οἱ δὲ τὸν ἥλιον τοῦτον τὸν κύκλον φέρεσθαί ποτέ φασιν· οἷον οὖν διακεκαῦσθαι τὸν τόπον τοῦτον (τοῦτον τὸν τόπον cod. F., τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον codd. H.N.) ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἄλλο πεπονθέναι πάθος ὑπὸ τῆς φορᾶς (φθορᾶς H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[2] Berlin 1906 i. 230, 41) αὐτοῦ (αὐτῶν cod. H.). See further Olympiod. *in* Aristot. *meteor.* p. 66, 27 ff., p. 69, 33 ff. Stüve and Philop. *in* Aristot. *meteor.* p. 101, 19 ff., p. 106, 13 ff. Hayduck.

[5] Manil. 1. 729 ff. an melius manet illa fides per saecula prisca, | illac (*illa* codd. V_2.M.[1]) Solis equos diversis (*diversos* codd. C.V_2.) cursibus (sic codd. G.L., *curribus* cett.) isse | atque aliam trivisse viam, longumque per aevum | exustas (*exutas* codd. L.[1]C.V_2.) sedes incoctaque (*que* om. cod. V_2.) sidera flammis | caeruleam (*ceruleo* cod. M.) verso speciem mutasse colore (*colorem* codd. C.M[2].) | infusumque (*que* om. codd. L.C.V_2.) loco cinerem mundumque sepultum? | fama etiam antiquis ad nos descendit ab annis | Phaethontem patrio curru per signa volantem, | dum nova miratur propius spectacula mundi | et puer in caelo ludit curruque (*cursuque* codd. L.C.M.) superbus | luxuriat mundo (*mundi* cj. J. F. Gronovius, *nitido* cj. J. P. Postgate) cupit et maiora parente (*parentem* codd. L.C.V_2.), | (versum damnat R. Bentley, huc revocavit J. P. Postgate) deflexum solito cursu curvisque quadrigis | monstratas liquisse vias orbemque rigenti (*rigentem* cod. G., *regentem* cett., corr. J. F. Jacob, *recentem* G. Knaack post R. Bentley) | imposuisse polo, nec signa insueta tulisse | errantis nutu (*errantes meta* cj. R. Bentley) flammas curruque solutum.

[6] Plout. *de plac. phil.* 3. 1 = Stob. *ecl.* 1. 27. 2 p. 226, 1 ff. Wachsmuth (Aët. 3. 1. 2

ignored by them all is of more interest to us. Three writers steeped in neo-Platonic lore, and drawing perhaps from a single source[1], ascribe to Pythagoras himself the belief that the Milky Way is the road by which souls come and go. Porphyrios (*c.* 233—*c.* 304 A.D.), who penned an allegorical treatise *On the Cave of the Nymphs in the Odyssey*, remarks[2]:

Elsewhere he (Homer) speaks of 'the gates of the Sun[3],' meaning Cancer and Capricornus; for these are the limits to which it progresses when descending from north to south and again when ascending from south to north. Capricornus and Cancer are set at either side of the Milky Way, the latter on the north, the former on the south. And 'the folk of dreams' according to Pythagoras[4] are the souls, which—he asserts—are gathered together in the Milky Way, so called from those that are nurtured on milk, when they fall into birth.

Macrobius (*c.* 400 A.D.) in his *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* says[5]:

The following order is observed in the descent by which the soul of man slips from heaven to the lower regions of this present life. The Milky Way embraces the zodiac by means of the circular contact of its oblique periphery in such a way that it intersects the zodiac at the points where two tropic signs, Capricornus and Cancer, are said to be. These the physicists have called the gates of the Sun, because both prevent it from further advance when such is forbidden by the solstice and turn it back to the pathway of that zone whose bounds it never quits. It is supposed that through these gates souls pass from heaven to earth

in H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 364, 22 ff.) *τῶν Πυθαγορείων οἱ μὲν (οἱ μὲν πυθαγόρειοι* cod. P. Stob.) *ἔφασαν ἀστέρος εἶναι διάκαυσιν ἐκπεσόντος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας (οἰκείας* cod. B. Plout.) *ἕδρας, δι' οὗ δὲ περιέδραμε* (sic cod. G. Plout. et Stob., *ἐπέδραμε* codd. (A.) B.C. Plout.) *χωρίου (χωρίον* cod. P. Stob.) *κυκλοτερῶς αὐτὸ καταφλέξαντος (περιφλέξαντος* Stob.) *ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ Φαέθοντα (φαέθοντος* cod. A. Plout. et cod. F. Stob., deest locus in cod. C. Stob.) *ἐμπρησμοῦ (κυκλοτερῶς—ἐμπρησμοῦ* om. cod. P. Stob.). *οἱ δὲ τὸν ἡλιακὸν ταύτῃ φασὶ (φησὶ* cod. P. Stob.) *κατ' ἀρχὰς γεγονέναι δρόμον. τινὲς δὲ (καὶ* ins. cod. B. Plout.) *κατοπτρικὴν εἶναι φαντασίαν τοῦ ἡλίου τὰς αὐγὰς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνακλῶντος, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ (καὶπὶ* Stob.) *τῆς (γῆς* ins. et ead. man. del. cod. P. Stob.) *ἴριδος καὶ (καὶ* om. Stob.) *ἐπὶ τῶν νεφῶν συμβαίνει.* Cp. pseudo-Aristot. *erotoapocris.* (Diels *op. cit.* p. 364 n.) *εἶναι δὲ κάτω περὶ τὴν (κατοπτρικὴν* corr. Diels) *φαντασίαν ὁ ἥλιος (leg. τοῦ ἡλίου* et ins. *τὰς) αὐγὰς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνακλῶντος, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἴριδος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν συμβαίνει.*

[1] P. Capelle *op. cit.* p. 39 f. holds that this was the commentary of some Platonist on Plat. *Tim.*

[2] Porph. *de antr. nymph.* 28.

[3] *Od.* 24. 12 *ἠδὲ παρ' Ἠελίοιο πύλας καὶ δῆμον ὀνείρων.*

[4] In Quint. Smyrn. 14. 179 ff. the soul of Achilles appears to his son in a dream and *ib.* 223 ff. *ὣς εἰπὼν ἀπόρουσε θοῇ ἐναλίγκιος αὔρῃ, | αἶψα δ' ἐς Ἠλύσιον πεδίον κίεν, ἦχι τέτυκται | οὐρανοῦ ἐξ ὑπάτοιο καταιβασίη τ' ἄνοδός τε | ἀθανάτοις μακάρεσσιν.* The lines are suggestive of Pythagorean influence.

[5] Macrob. *comm. in somn. Scip.* 1. 12. 1—3. Cp. Favonius Eulogius *disp. de somn. Scip.* p. 1 Holder quod et immortalis esset animi mentisque substantia et bene meritis de re p(ublica) pa<t>ri<a>eque custodibus lactei circuli lucida ac can[illegible]dis habitio (*leg.* habitatio) deberetur.

and again from earth to heaven. One is called the gate of men, the other that of the gods: Cancer is the gate of men, because through it they descend to the lower regions; Capricornus, the gate of the gods, because through it souls return to the seat of their own proper immortality and rejoin the company of the gods. This is what Homer, a poet of divine foresight, intended by his description of the cave in Ithake[1]. Hence too Pythagoras holds that from the Milky Way downwards begins the realm of Dis, since souls that have fallen from it seem already to have left the world above. Milk—he says—is the first food offered to the new-born, because their first movement downwards in the direction of earthly bodies begins at the Milky Way. Wherefore also Scipio, pointing to the Milky Way, observed with regard to the souls of the blessed:

'Hence they start, and hither they return!'

Proklos (410—485 A.D.), after citing from the Pythagorising Platonist Noumenios[2] a somewhat similar account of Capricornus and Cancer as the openings through which souls are sent upwards and downwards, continues[3]:

> For Pythagoras in mystic language calls the Milky Way 'Hades' and 'the place of souls,' since there they are crowded together[4]. Whence sundry nations pour a libation of milk to the gods that purify souls, and milk is the first food taken by souls that fall into birth.

This belief in the Milky Way as a soul-road is found in several authors who, without being definitely followers of Pythagoras, are known to have come more or less under the influence of Pythagorean speculation. Thus Parmenides[5] in the preface to his great philosophical poem describes how he was conducted in a chariot 'on the far-famed way of the goddess' (Ananke?) and 'maidens led the way,' to wit the Heliades, who escorted him towards the light through the portals of Night and Day till he reached the home of the goddess[6]. The 'way' in question is not improbably the Milky

[1] *Od.* 13. 103 ff.

[2] Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 128, 26 ff. Kroll.

[3] Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 129, 24 ff. Kroll καὶ γὰρ τὸν Πυθαγόραν δι' ἀπορρήτων Ἅιδην τὸν γαλαξίαν καὶ τόπον ψυχῶν ἀποκαλεῖν, ὡς ἐκεῖ συνωθουμένων· διὸ παρά τισιν ἔθνεσιν γάλα σπένδεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς τῶν ψυχῶν καθάρταις καὶ τῶν πεσουσῶν εἰς γένεσιν εἶναι γάλα τὴν πρώτην τροφήν.

[4] Cp. a gloss of Placidus in *Classicorum auctorum e Vaticanis codicibus editorum* Tomus iii curante A. Maio Romae 1831 p. 481 (=G. Goetz *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* Lipsiae 1894 v. 79, 26 ff.) Lacteus circulus, via quae in spera (*leg.* sphaera) videtur quasi alba; quem alii dicunt animis heroum antiquorum refertum, et merito resplendere: alii viam esse quam circuit sol, et ex splendoris ipsius transitu ita lucere, Philop. *de aeternitate mundi* 7. 20 p. 290 Rabe τινὲς γοῦν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς (*sc.* the Greeks) θεολόγων καὶ τὸν γαλαξίαν καλούμενον κύκλον λῆξιν εἶναι καὶ χώραν ψυχῶν λογικῶν ἀπεφήναντο.

[5] On the Pythagoreanism of Parmenides see *e.g.* J. Burnet *Early Greek Philosophy* London and Edinburgh 1892 pp. 181 f., 197 ff.

[6] Parmen. *plag.* 1, 1 ff. Diels.

Way[1]. Again, Empedotimos of Syracuse[2], who figures as an adherent of Pythagoras[3], held 'that the Milky Way is the road of souls traversing the Hades in heaven[4].' Platon too is presumably Pythagorising, when in a famous passage of the *Phaidros* he tells how god-like souls follow the gods round the great arch of heaven and from its summit behold sights of unspeakable splendour in the region beyond the sky:

Zeus, the great chieftain in heaven, driving a winged car, travels first, arranging and presiding over all things; and after him comes a host of gods and inferior deities, marshalled in eleven divisions, for Hestia stays at home alone in the mansion of the gods; but all the other ruling powers, that have their place in the number of the twelve, march at the head of a troop in the

[1] H. Diels *ad loc.* (*Poetarum philosophorum fragmenta* Berolini 1901 p. 58) says: 'utique Solis orbita videtur intellegenda, quam poeta lucido mentis curru, felicior ille Phaethonte, quotiens libebat escendebat.' The mention of the Heliades does indeed recall Phaethon. But the fall of Phaethon was connected by the Pythagoreans with the Milky Way (*supra* p. 40, *infra* § 3 (a) vi (λ)). F. M. Cornford in his brilliant book *From Religion to Philosophy* London 1912 pp. 214 f., 222 n. 3 inclines to the view put forward by O. Gilbert in the *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 1907 xx. 25 ff., *viz.* that Parmenides' journey was a descent into the darkness of the Underworld.

[2] Clem. Al. *strom.* i. 21 p. 82, 27 Stählin.

[3] Souid. *s.vv.* Ἐμπεδότιμος and Ἰουλιανός, Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 935. But see *infra* n. 4.

[4] Philop. *in* Aristot. *meteor.* p. 117, 8 ff. Hayduck τούτοις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις τὴν περὶ τοῦ γάλακτος ὑπόθεσιν Ἀριστοτέλους ἀνελὼν καλῶς ὁ Δαμάσκιος τὴν Ἐμπεδοτίμου περὶ τοῦ γάλακτος οἰκειοῦται, ἔργον (ἀργὸν codd., corr. C. A. Lobeck) αὐτὴν (αὐτὸν codd., corr. C. A. Lobeck) οὐ (ante οὐ lac. v litt. in. cod. V.) μῦθον καλῶν. φησὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁδὸν εἶναι ψυχῶν τὸ γάλα τῶν τὸν Ἅιδην (ἐν ἅδῃ codd., τὸν Ἅιδην corr. C. A. Lobeck) τὸν (τῶν codd. M.V.) ἐν οὐρανῷ διαπορευομένων. καὶ οὐ θαυμαστόν, φησὶν ὁ Δαμάσκιος, εἰ καὶ ψυχαὶ καθαίρονται ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κύκλῳ τῆς (κύκλῳ <διὰ> τῆς dub. cj. M. Hayduck) ἐν οὐρανῷ γενέσεως, cp. *id.* p. 117, 31 ff. ὁ δέ φησιν "ὁδός ἐστι τὸ γάλα ψυχῶν (om. ed. Ald.) τῶν διαπορευομένων τὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ Ἅιδην." εἰ οὖν τὸν γαλαξίαν διαπορεύονται, οὗτος ἂν εἴη ὁ ἐν τῷ (om. ed. Ald.) οὐρανῷ Ἅιδης. καὶ πῶς Ἅιδης ὁ οὕτω φωτεινός; καὶ εἰ καθαίρονται ἐκεῖ ψυχαί, δηλονότι μὴ κεκαθαρμέναι ἀνῆλθον. See also interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* i. 34 Varro tamen ait se legisse Empedotim (leg. *Empedotimo*, H. A. Lion cj. *Empedocli*) cuidam Syracusano a quadam potestate divina mortalem aspectum detersum, eumque inter cetera tres portas vidisse tresque vias: unam ad signum Scorpionis, qua Hercules ad deos isse diceretur; alteram per limitem, qui est inter Leonem et Cancrum; tertiam esse inter Aquarium et Pisces.

The views of Empedotimos were known to Julian the Apostate from Herakleides of Pontos (Souid. *s.vv.* Ἐμπεδότιμος and Ἰουλιανός), who wrote a history περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων (Diog. Laert. 5. 88: see *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 197 Müller) and a dialogue περὶ τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ (Daebritz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 476 f.). The latter, in which Empedotimos played a leading part, was presumably the source of Iamblichos *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* i. 49. 39 p. 378, 11 ff. Wachsmuth καὶ τούτους Ἡρακλείδην μὲν τὸν Ποντικὸν ἀφορίζειν περὶ τὸν γαλαξίαν, ἄλλους δὲ καθ' ὅλας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὰς σφαίρας, ἀφ' ὧν δὴ δεῦρο κατιέναι τὰς ψυχάς· κ.τ.λ. But, when Rohde *Psyche*[2] p. 95 n. contends 'dass Empedotimos nur eine Dialogfigur des Heraklides war, und wohl so wenig jemals existirt hat wie Er der Sohn des Armenios oder Thespesios von Soli oder dessen Vorbild Kleonymos von Athen bei Klearch von Soli (*Rhein. Mus.* 32, 335),' he is hardly convincing. See P. Capelle *op. cit.* p. 42 n. 2.

order to which they have been severally appointed. Now there are, it is true, many ravishing views and opening paths within the bounds of heaven, whereon the family of the blessed gods go to and fro, each in performance of his own proper work; and they are followed by all who from time to time possess both will and power; for envy has no place in the celestial choir. But whenever they go to feast and revel, they forthwith journey by an uphill path to the summit of the heavenly vault. Now the chariots of the gods being of equal poise, and obedient to the rein, move easily, but all others with difficulty; for they are burdened by the horse of vicious temper, which sways and sinks them towards the earth, if haply he has received no good training from his charioteer. Whereupon there awaits the soul a crowning pain and agony. For those which we called immortal go outside when they are come to the topmost height, and stand on the outer surface of heaven, and as they stand they are borne round by its revolution, and gaze on the eternal scene. Now of that region beyond the sky no earthly bard has ever yet sung or ever will sing in worthy strains[1].

It can hardly be doubted that the 'uphill path to the summit of the heavenly vault,' a path along which the souls of the blessed go to the fulness of fruition, implies the Pythagorean conception of the Milky Way as an Elysian road.

In the *Republic* the same bright track is compared with 'the undergirders of triremes[2]'; but the figure is complicated by the addition of 'a straight light like a pillar' stretching along the axis of the universe[3],—an idea taken up by the Manichaeans, who spoke of a 'pillar of glory' or a 'pillar of light' filled with souls in process of purification[4]. This pillar has no counterpart in astronomical fact or, for that matter, in astronomical theory. It would, however, be unwise to assume that it was introduced by Platon merely to

[1] Plat. *Phaedr.* 246 E—247 C trans. J. Wright. An echo of this passage may be heard in Loukian. *Dem.* 50 (*infra* § 3 (a) iii (*i*)). Cp. also *Anth. Pal.* 7. 97. 1 f. (Diog. Laert.) *οὐ μόνον ἐς Πέρσας ἀνέβη Ξενοφῶν διὰ Κῦρον, | ἀλλ' ἄνοδον ζητῶν ἐς Διὸς ἥτις ἄγοι* with *ib.* 7. 96. 1 (Diog. Laert.) *πῦνέ νυν ἐν Διὸς ὤν, ὦ Σώκρατες· κ.τ.λ.*

[2] Note that the Pythagoreans spoke of a cosmic 'ship' (Philolaos *frag.* 12 Diels *καὶ τὰ μὲν τᾶς σφαίρας σώματα πέντε ἐντί, τὰ ἐν τᾷ σφαίρᾳ πῦρ <καὶ> ὕδωρ καὶ γᾶ καὶ ἀήρ, καὶ ὁ τᾶς σφαίρας ὁλκάς, πέμπτον*): *supra* i. 358 n. 3.

[3] Plat. *rep.* 616 B—C. I follow the interpretation of J. Adam *ad loc.*, who supposes that the curved light was suggested by the Milky Way, but that the straight light symbolised the axis of the universe. He points out that some of the ancients interpreted the straight light of the Milky Way (Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 130, 3 f., 194, 19 ff. Kroll, cp. Cic. *de rep.* 6. 16), while others regarded it as the axis of the universe or a cylinder of aetherial fire surrounding the axis (Theon Smyrn. *περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ μαθηματικὸν χρησίμων εἰς τὴν Πλάτωνος ἀνάγνωσιν* p. 143 Hiller, Phot. *lex.* and Souid. *s.v. τεταμένον φῶς εὐθὺ οἷον κίονα*, cp. Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 199, 31 ff. Kroll).

[4] Epiphan. *panar.* 2. 66. 26 (iii. 1. 48, 11 ff. Dindorf) *τῆς οὖν σελήνης μεταδιδούσης τὸν γόμον τῶν ψυχῶν τοῖς αἰῶσι τοῦ πατρός, παραμένουσιν ἐν τῷ στύλῳ τῆς δόξης, ὃς καλεῖται ἀὴρ ὁ τέλειος. ὁ δὲ ἀὴρ οὗτος στῦλός ἐστι φωτός, ἐπειδὴ γέμει ψυχῶν τῶν καθαριζομένων.* In view of J. Adam's elucidation of the Platonic *φῶς εὐθύ, οἷον κίονα* I cannot agree with I. de Beausobre *Histoire de Manichée et du Manicheisme* Amsterdam 1739 ii. 513 'A l'égard de *la Colonne de Gloire*, ou *de Lumière*, elle n'est autre chose, si je ne me trompe, que la Voye Lactée.'

facilitate the transition to his ensuing image—the 'spindle of Ananke.' Rather we may surmise that it was based upon popular belief with ritual usage behind it.

(β) The Sky-Pillar in Italy.

In seeking the antecedents of a Pythagorean or *quasi*-Pythagorean doctrine we turn first to south Italy, where the order planted by Pythagoras took root and flourished. It would not be surprising if somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kroton and Metapontum we came across a definite cult of Zeus conceived as residing in or on a pillar. If I am not mistaken, we find such a cult at Tarentum. For here was a colossal bronze statue of Zeus, made by Lysippos, with a notable pillar beside it[1]. And here too sacrifices were offered on pillars to the lightning-god Zeus *Kataibátes*—a practice which, as we saw, had probably been inherited from 'Minoan' times[2]. Apulian and Campanian vases, also, represent Zeus fulminant on the top of a pillar[3]. Altogether, it looks as though there were in south Italy an old belief that Zeus with his lightnings dwelt on high above an obvious tangible pillar, his vehicle and support.

A similar belief with regard to Iupiter seems to have prevailed at Rome during republican days. In 152 B.C. a column standing before the temple of Iupiter on the Campus was blown down with its gilded statue. The diviners predicted the death of magistrates and priests: whereupon all the magistrates abdicated in a body[4].

[1] *Supra* i. 35 f. This statue, with sides reversed, furnished Theodoros, the designer or copyist of the *tabula Iliaca*, with an interesting scene. In the uppermost register of his composition Thetis pleads before Zeus (*Il.* 1. 498 ff.), who is seated in the same pensive attitude beside a pillar (O. Jahn—A. Michaelis *Griechische Bilderchroniken* Bonn 1873 pp. 12 f., 26 pl. 1, A. Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 717 pl. 13 fig. 775, Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 166 no. 83 pl. 41 (bibliography *ib.* p. 172)). Fig. 17 is from J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 280 f. fig. 25. Svoronos says: "Οπισθεν δὲ τοῦ Διὸς τούτου, ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ Ὀλύμπου, ὑψοῦται πελώριος κίων φέρων τὸν οὐράνιον θόλον, but C. Robert in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1874 xxxii. 107 expressly warns us that the supposed arch over Zeus is 'nur eine Verletzung des Marmors,' and Stuart Jones prints ΙΕΥΣ, not ΙΟΥ. A fresh inspection of the marble is much to be desired. *Vide* Addenda *in hunc loc.* For Theodoros' utilisation of past models see A. Brüning in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix. 136 ff.

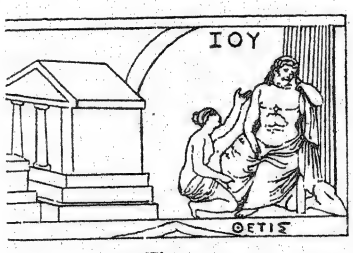


Fig. 17.

[2] *Supra* p. 29 ff.

[3] *Supra* i. 36 ff., 409, 520 n. 2.

[4] Iul. Obs. 18 M. Claudio Marcello L. Valerio Flacco coss. turbinis vi in Campo columna ante aedem Iovis decussa cum signo aurato; cumque aruspices respondissent magistratuum et sacerdotum interitum fore, omnes magistratus se protinus abdicaverunt.

The list of portents for the year 96 B.C. includes an owl killed on the Capitol, many things destroyed by lightning, and gilded statues of Iupiter overthrown with capital (?) and column to boot[1]. A third incident of like character is recorded with somewhat greater detail. It appears that in 65 B.C. an appalling thunderstorm burst over Rome. 'On the Capitol,' says Dion Cassius[2], 'many statues and images were melted by thunderbolts, among others one of Iupiter set on a column, while a likeness of the she-wolf with Remus and Romulus fell from its pedestal.' The diviners, hastily summoned from all parts of Etruria, foretold the end of Rome. At their advice desperate efforts were made to placate the gods. Games were held for ten days, and a larger[3] statue of Iupiter was erected on a yet loftier column with its face turned towards the east. Two years later—for the work progressed slowly—this statue was being placed in position at the moment when Cicero was delivering his third speech against Catiline; and the speaker was quick to profit by the coincidence. Surely the detection and punishment of the great conspiracy were due to Iupiter himself, whose penetrating gaze was even now directed upon the Forum and the Senate House[4].

Pighius cj. *in Capitolio* for *in Campo*. But the change is unnecessary; for there was an ancient hypaethral sanctuary of Iupiter *Fulgur* in the Campus (E. Aust in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 656, Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 121 f., H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 20). Besides, the temple of Iupiter *Stator* in the Porticus Metelli (H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 538 ff., H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *op. cit.* p. 22) was perhaps in existence before 147 B.C. (S. B. Platner *The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome* Boston 1904 p. 330). It should, however, be noticed that Iul. Obs. 18 does not definitely describe the ruined monument as a statue of Iupiter. J. Scheffer *ad loc.* took it to have been the portrait of some magistrate.

[1] Iul. Obs. 49 Cn. Domitio C. Cassio coss....bubo in Capitolio occisus. fulmine pleraque decussa. signa aurata Iovis cum capite columnaque disiecta. O. Jahn cj. *statua* for *capite*. But O. Rossbach *ad loc.* understands *caput* as the 'capital' of a column, not as the 'head' of a statue. The meaning is not beyond doubt, since (*a*) the plural *signa* accords ill with the singulars *capite*, *columna*, and (*b*) it is known that two *capita*, in the sense of colossal 'heads,' were dedicated on the Capitol by P. Lentulus (Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 44).

[2] Dion Cass. 37. 9 ἐν γὰρ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀνδριάντες τε πολλοὶ ὑπὸ κεραυνῶν συνεχωνεύθησαν καὶ ἀγάλματα ἄλλα τε καὶ Διὸς ἐπὶ κίονος ἱδρυμένου, εἰκών τέ τις λυκαίνης σύν τε τῷ Ῥώμῳ καὶ σὺν τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ ἱδρυμένη ἔπεσε, κ.τ.λ. Cp. *ib.* 37. 34.

[3] On the principle involved see *Folk-Lore* 1903 xiv. 270 f., *supra* i. 563 f. In 293 B.C. Sp. Carvilius made the breastplates, greaves, and helmets of the vanquished Samnites into a statue of Iupiter, which he set up on the Capitol,—a statue large enough to be visible from the temple of Iupiter *Latiaris* on the Alban Mount. From the filings he made a statue of himself, to stand at the feet of the god (Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 43: but Liv. 10. 46 does not mention this group).

[4] Cic. *in Cat.* 3. 19 ff. (20 simulacrum Iovis facere maius et in excelso collocare et contra, atque ante fuerat, ad orientem convertere), *de consulatu suo* 2. 33 ff. (60 Iupiter excelsa clarabat sceptra columna) *ap. de div.* 1. 19 ff., 2. 45 f., Quint. *inst. or.* 5. 11. 42 utitur eo Cicero...in contione contra Catilinam, cum signum Iovis columnae impositum

The notion that the sky-god resided in person on the top of a high pillar might presumably be combined with a belief in the Milky Way as a road to his residence. Indeed, a remarkable block of Italian marble, now at Berlin, shows Iupiter enthroned on the summit of a pillar that rises sheer from earth to heaven, while two females ascend the arch of the sky and enter his very presence[1].

(γ) The Sky-Pillar in the 'Minoan' area.

Italy stretches from south-east to north-west. Accordingly the beliefs and practices here noted find their nearest analogues in the 'Minoan' and the early Germanic areas. On the one hand, we have sufficient evidence to be tolerably sure that the 'Minoan' sky-god



Fig. 18.

was associated both with the Milky Way and with a high pillar. The great gold ring from Mykenai (fig. 18)[2] exhibits a deity, armed with

populo ostendit, Iul. Obs. 61 M. Cicerone C. Antonio coss....inter alia relatu<m>, biennio ante in Capitolio lupam Remi et Romuli fulmine ictam, signumque Iovis cum columna disiectum, aruspicum responso in foro repositum (where *in foro* is inexact), Arnob. *adv. nat.* 7. 40 sed neque hoc nostram conscientiam fugit lectum et positum, ictum cum esset Capitolium fulmine multaque in hoc alia, Iovis etiam simulacrum, sublimi quod in culmine stabat, suis esse ab sedibus provolutum. responsum deinde ab haruspicibus editum res saevas (Meursius cj. *scaevas*) tristissimasque portendi ab incendiis, caedibus, ab legum interitu et ab iuris occasu, maxime tamen ab domesticis hostibus atque ab impia coniuratorum manu. sed flecti haec posse (Meursius om. *posse*), immo aliter publicari scelerata non posse consilia, nisi Iuppiter rursus altiore in culmine figeretur, orientalem conversus ad cardinem radiisque oppositus solis. adfuisse dicto fidem: nam subrecto culmine conversoque ad solem signo patuisse res abditas et reserata in maleficia vindicatum.

[1] *Supra* i. 62 fig. 38.

[2] *Supra* i. 623. I reduce to a scale of $\frac{2}{3}$ the careful drawing (scale $\frac{2}{1}$) given by Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 108 fig. 4.

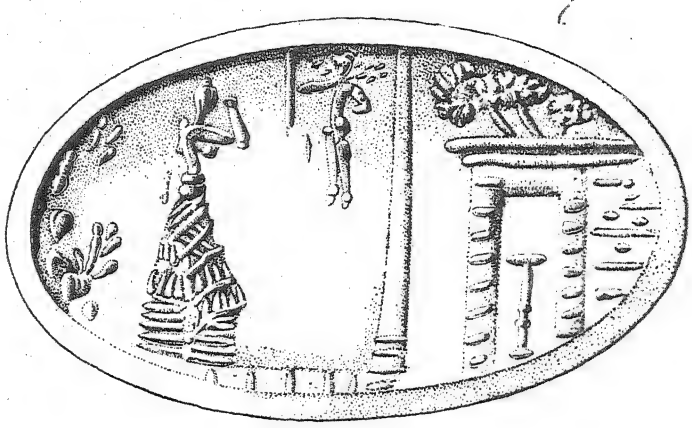


Fig. 19.

shield and spear, and a double axe descending side by side towards the earth-goddess and her maidens from a wavy track, which crosses



Fig. 20.

the sky and probably represents the Milky Way[1]. Another large gold signet from Knossos (fig. 19)[2] shows a god with a spear carried in his right hand and rays of light (?)[3] darting from his shoulders as he descends from a tall tapering pillar towards a female worshipper. That the shield-bearing deity of the first ring is to be identified with the rayed god of the second ring, appears from a third representation on a painted *lárnax* found at Miletos (*Milato*) in Crete (fig. 20)[4], which gives him both shield and rays (?). It can hardly be doubted

[1] Opinions have differed as to the interpretation of this wavy band: see *e.g.* C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 277 ('probably...the sea'), Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 46 ('sans doute la mer'), Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 841 ('peut-être la mer'), Ch. Tsountas—J. I. Manatt *The Mycenaean Age* London 1897 p. 298 ('the cloud-canopy'), Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* ii. 10 ('die Andeutung des Himmelsoceans, des Okeanos (oder der Wolken?)'). Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1899—1901 i. 196 fig. 27 says 'la via lattea,' and Harrison *Themis* p. 168 fig. 36 'Milky Way,'—rightly, as I conceive. It should be noticed that both the goddess and her maidens wear lilies in their hair (*supra* i. 623), and that the

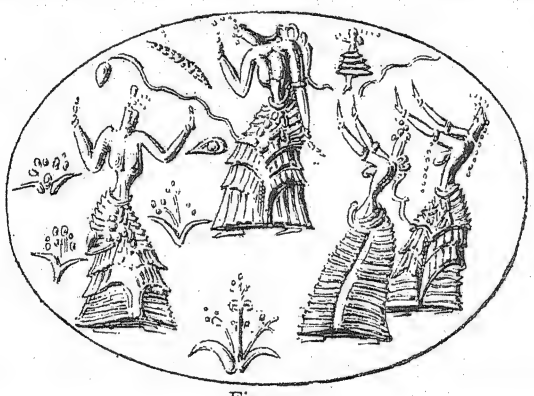


Fig. 21.

milk-white lily was supposed by the later Greeks to have originated from the Milky Way (*supra* i. 624). A somewhat analogous design occurs on a gold ring found in a tomb of the Late 'Minoan' ii period at Isopata in Crete: four females dance in a field of lilies, while a diminutive goddess descends towards them from a wavy line apparently betokening the sky (fig. 21 ($\frac{2}{1}$) after Sir A. J. Evans in *Archaeologia* 1913—1914 lxv. 10 fig. 16). Cp. also another gold ring from a tomb in the lower town at Mykenai, now at Athens (Staïs *Coll. Mycénienne*: *Athènes* p. 71 f. no. 3179 fig., H. Fritze in the *Strena Helbigiana* p. 73 fig. 1, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 6, 3, ii. 25 fig., Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 176 ff. fig. 53, Harrison *Themis* p. 166 fig. 34).

[2] Procured by Sir A. J. Evans from the site of Knossos and by him published, to a scale of $\frac{1}{1}$, in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 170 ff. fig. 48.

[3] So Sir A. J. Evans *loc. cit.* But in *Archaeologia* 1906 lix. 100, *ib.* 1913—1914 lxv. 11 he retracts this interpretation, and now suggests that the rapid descent of the divinity is indicated by long locks of hair flying out on either side. In view of the very similar representations of the Babylonian Šamaš (*supra* i. 553 n. 5) I prefer the former explanation.

[4] Found by Sir A. J. Evans in 1899 within a chambered tomb at *Milato* and by him published in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 174 f. fig. 50.

that the god in question is the 'Minoan' sky-god, y ho descends in his panoply from the heights of heaven.

(δ) The *Irminsûl*.

On the other hand, the early Germanic sky-god plays a somewhat similar part. His name in Old High German was **Zîu* or **Zîo*, in Anglo-Saxon **Tíw*, in Norse *Týr*. But whether these forms are more nearly related to the Greek *Zeús* or to its doublet the Latin *deivos* is a question hotly disputed by philologists[1]. In any case Ziu was a sky-god conceived as a warrior and consequently equated by classical writers with Ares or Mars[2]. 'Other names for Tiu,' says Prof. P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye[3], 'are perhaps Dings

[1] See *e.g.* K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 270 f.: 'Die urgermanische Form des Namens ahd. **Zîu*, **Zîo*, ags. **Tîw*[71] [[71]Die ags. und ahd. Nominative sind nur aus Zusammensetzungen (Wochentagsnamen und Ortsnamen) zu erschliessen.], nord. Týr[72] [[72]Mit Umlaut *í*>*ý* vor tautosyllabischem *w*; vgl. Noreen, Altisl. und altnorw. Grammatik, § 72, 5.] wird verschieden angesetzt, am besten als Wurzelstamm **Tîuz* aus **Tieus*, idg. **Dieus*, wozu skr. *Dyâus*, gr. *Zeús*, lat. *Ju(piter)*, *Jovis* als nahe etymologische Verwandte treten. Gegen diesen Ansatz hat sich Bremer[73] [[73]Der germanische Himmelsgott, JF. III, S. 301 f.; vgl. Streitberg zur German. Sprachgeschichte, S. 72; Kögel, LG. I, 1, S. 14; Schrader, Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte[3], II, S. 439. Noreen, Abriss der urgerm. Lautlehre, stellt sich S. 176, Anm. 10 auf Bremers Seite, während er S. 28 und aisl. Gramm, § 68, 7, selbst die Gleichsetzung *Dyāuš—Zîo* verzeichnet.—Beide Etymologien berühren sich übrigens; denn die zugrunde liegenden Wurzelformen idg. **dieu* und **dei-u-o* scheinen im Ablaut miteinander zu stehen (vgl. Walde, Lat. etym. Wb.[2], S. 230), abgesehen von dem bei der zweiten Form eingetretenen Übergang aus der Klasse der Wurzelnomina in die *a*-Klasse.] mit Entschiedenheit, aber ohne zwingende Gründe gewendet und setzt einen germ. *wa*-Stamm **Tîwaz* an, wozu der nordische Plural *tívar*[74] [[74]Heterosyllabisches *w* bewirkt keinen Umlaut.] „Götter", ind. *dēva*, lit. *dēvas*, lat. *deus* (aus **deiuos*) zu stellen sind.' Similarly my friend the Rev. Prof. J. H. Moulton *Early Zoroastrianism* London 1913 p. 393 n. observes that the argument of O. Bremer ('Der germanische Himmelsgott' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1894 iii. 301 f.) for attaching the Germanic words to *deivos* rather than to *dyēus* did not convince O. Schrader (*Reallex.* p. 670), cp. J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1909 ii. 33 n., and that the High German *Zio* is declared by the paramount authority of K. Brugmann *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*[2] Strassburg 1897 i. 133 f. to suit either origin, but that in the opinion of Prof. H. M. Chadwick (*The Cult of Othin* London 1899 p. 2) the Old English form (*Tī, Tīw-*) cannot be traced to anything but *deivos*.

[2] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 196 ff., E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 220 ff., W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* Leipzig 1895 p. 200 ff., K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde* Berlin 1900 iv. 217, 460, 525 f., P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 pp. 106, 243 ff., R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 180 ff., K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 273 f.

[3] P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 245.

(in *Marti Thingso*[1] and *Dinsdag*[2], Tuesday) and, with more certainty, Er (Erchtag) among the Bavarians[3], and Sahsnot (Anglo-Saxon Seaxneat, *i.e.* sword companion) among the Saxons[4]. The Anglo-Saxon rune ᛦ (Ear) is also referred to him[5]. Finally Iring, the

[1] Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4760 deo | Marti | Thingso | et duabus | Alaisiagis | Bede et Fi|mmilene | et n(uminibus) Aug(ustorum) Ger|m(ani) cives Tu|ihanti | v.s.l.m., cp. no. 4761 deo | Marti et duabus | Alaisiagis et n(uminibus) Aug(ustorum) | Ger(mani) cives Tuihanti | cunei Frisiorum | Ver(....) Ser(....) Alexand|riani votum | solveru[nt] | libent[es m.]. These inscriptions were found in 1883 on two altars at Housesteads, the site of Borcovicium the eighth station on Hadrian's wall. The former altar has on its right side the relief of a female figure, doubtless one of the Alaisiagae. The latter altar has a small *protome* in front and sacrificial implements on the sides. Further, a semicircular top belonging to one of the altars represents Mars as an armed warrior with a swan or goose flanked by two hovering attendants. These altars were dedicated in the reign of Alexander Severus (222—235 A.D.) by Germani from Tuianti, the modern Twenthe. For a full bibliography see K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 366 n. 80.

L. Laistner *Das Rätsel der Sphinx* Berlin 1889 ii. 450 observes: 'Der friesische *Mars Thingsus*, dieser Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος der Germanen, neben welchem weibliche Gottheiten genannt werden ähnlich wie Dike neben Zeus, ist dargestellt mit einem Schwan, der sich vertraulich an ihn schmiegt und wohl eben diese weibliche Gefolgschaft andeuten soll: Ziu mit dem Schwane und Zeus mit den Schwanfrauen weisen auf eine uralte gemeineuropäische Vorstellung hin (vgl. auch Hoffory, Eddastudien 1, 145 ff.).'

[2] E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 220, 222, R. Much 'Der germanische Himmelsgott' in *Abhandlungen zur germanischen Philologie* (*Festgabe für Richard Heinzel*) Halle a. S. 1898 p. 193 f., R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 187, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 370.

[3] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 201 ff., 1888 iv. 1351, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 221, W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* Leipzig 1895 pp. 210, 213, R. Much 'Der germanische Himmelsgott' in *Abhandlungen zur germanischen Philologie* (*Festgabe für Richard Heinzel*) Halle a. S. 1898 p. 195 ff., K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde* Berlin 1900 iv. 523, 644 n.**, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 192.

[4] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 203 f., 1888 iv. 1351, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 221, 225, W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* Leipzig 1895 p. 213 f., R. Much 'Der germanische Himmelsgott' in *Abhandlungen zur germanischen Philologie* (*Festgabe für Richard Heinzel*) Halle a. S. 1898 p. 225 f., K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde* Berlin 1900 iv. 523, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 196.

[5] So J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 199 ff., 1888 iv. 1351, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 221, K. Simrock *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie* Bonn 1878 p. 273, W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* Leipzig 1895 p. 213. Their view is based on the following evidence. (*a*) In the Runic alphabets of cod. Cotton. Otho B 10 (G. Hickes *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus grammatico-criticus* Oxoniæ 1705 i. 135, G. Stephens *The Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England* London—Köbenhavn 1866–67 i. 100 no. 5, L. F. A. Wimmer *Die Runenschrift* Berlin 1887 p. 85) and cod. Cotton. Domitian A 9 (G. Hickes *op. cit.* i. 136, G. Stephens *op. cit.* i. 102 no. 9) the rune ᛦ is called, not only *ear*, but also *tir*. (*b*) In other Anglo-Saxon alphabets ᛦ is used for the

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Thuringian hero, who with his sword slays two kings, is, according to some, likewise a form of Tiu[1].' Now the Milky Way was known as *Iringesstrâza* or *Iringes wec*, the 'Street' or 'Road of Iring[2].' If, therefore, Iring is rightly regarded as a form of Ziu, we have here the Germanic parallel to Pindar's 'road of Zeus[3].' That road led up 'to Kronos' tower.' But the counterpart of this mysterious destination is hardly to be found in Germanic myth. It might rather be sought in the Celtic area; for a Welsh name of the Milky Way was *caer Gwydion*, the 'castle of Gwydion[4].' However that may be, Iring is in legend closely associated with Irmenfried, king of the Thuringians[5]; and *Irmin*, the 'Uplifted One[6],' is commonly thought to have been another name or surname of Ziu[7]. It was probably as

letter z, and in cod. Cotton. Tiberius D 18 (J. M. Kemble 'On Anglo-Saxon Runes' in *Archæologia* 1840 xxviii. 338 pl. 15, 1 f., G. Stephens *op. cit.* i. 107 no. 241 is called *ziu* But Mr B. Dickins, to whom I applied for a criticism of the whole hypothesis, has shown convincingly that it rests on a complete misconception of the *data*. His remarks, too important to be compressed into a footnote, will be found printed in the Addenda *ad loc*.

[1] J. Grimm *Irmenstrasse und Irmensäule* Wien 1815 p. 21 ff., p. 41 (= *Kleinere Schriften* Gütersloh 1890 viii. 479 ff., 490), *id. Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 358 ff., 1888 iv. 1389 f.

[2] J. Grimm *Irmenstrasse und Irmensäule* Wien 1815 p. 22 ff. (= *Kleinere Schriften* Gütersloh 1890 viii. 479 ff.), *id. Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 358 ff., 1888 iv. 1389, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 89, K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde* Berlin 1900 iv. 117.

[3] *Supra* p. 36 f.

[4] W. Owen Pughe *Geiriadur Cenhedlaethol Cymraeg a Saesneg*[3] (A National Dictionary of the Welsh Language, with English and Welsh Equivalents) enlarged by R. J. Pryse Denbigh 1866 i. 297 'Caer gwydion—the gallaxy, so called from Gwydion ab Don, who, having a knowledge of astronomy, was deemed a conjurer.' H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland in *Mélusine* Paris 1884—85 ii. 153 n. 1 comment: 'Ce nom n'est pas populaire; il ne se trouve que dans certains dictionnaires, et il nous paraît suspect.' But J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 150 n. 2 and 357 n. 1 saw no reason to doubt it, and it is accepted by Sir J. Rhys *Hibbert Lectures 1886*[3] London 1898 p. 240, *id. Celtic Folklore Welsh and Manx* Oxford 1901 ii. 645, C. Squire *The Mythology of the British Islands* London 1905 pp. 253, 268, J. A. MacCulloch *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* Edinburgh 1911 p. 107.

[5] See the references cited *supra* n. 1.

[6] My friend Prof. H. M. Chadwick points out to me (April 3, 1917) that *Irmin* is presumably a participial formation resembling in both sound and sense ἠρμένος (αἴρω), the 'Uplifted One.' If so, *Irmin* was Ὕψιστος.

[7] *E.g.* W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* Leipzig 1895 p. 209 'Mit Irmino ist ebenfalls Tiuz gemeint,' K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde* Berlin 1900 iv. 117 'die entscheidende und wichtigste stelle über Irmin findet sich bei Widukind 1, 12. sie ist von mir in der abhandlung über Tuisto und seine nachkommen in Schmidts allg. zs. für gesch. 8 (1847), 242 ff. erläutert worden [reprinted in the *Deutsche Altertumskunde* iv. 519 ff.]. nach ihr und einigen andern zeugnissen ist Irmin beiname des alten himmelsgottes Tiu, altn. *Týr*, ags. in *Tivesdäg*, ahd. *Zio*, mit anderm namen *Er*,' R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 192 '*Irmin* ist sicher Tiu.' For a critical investigation of the evidence see R. Much 'Der germanische Him-

the sign and symbol of this sky-god that the ancient Saxons worshipped a high pillar named the *Irminsûl*[1]. Thus, when Charles the Great in 772 A.D. destroyed one of their cult-centres near Eresburg in Westphalia, he overthrew a great trunk of timber erected under the open sky and reverenced by the natives as the *Irminsûl*, a world-pillar supporting all things[2]. Again, in 530 A.D. the Saxons had won a great victory over the Thuringians at Scheidungen on the Unstrut. 'And, when morning dawned,' says Widukind[3], 'they set up an eagle at the eastern gate and, erecting an altar of victory, worshipped their

melsgott' in *Abhandlungen zur germanischen Philologie* (*Festgabe für Richard Heinzel*) Halle a. S. 1898 p. 197 ff.

[1] The best collection of evidence is still that of J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 115 ff., 353 ff., 1883 ii. 799 f., 1888 iv. 1312, 1322. Cp. E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 17, 83, W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* Leipzig 1895 p. 593 ff., R. Much 'Der germanische Himmelsgott' in *Abhandlungen zur germanischen Philologie* (*Festgabe für Richard Heinzel*) Halle a. S. 1898 p. 203, K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde* Berlin 1900 iv. 520 ff., P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 pp. 124 f., 360, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 389, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 192, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 p. 339 f.

[2] Rudolph of Fulda *translatio S. Alexandri* 3 (G. H. Pertz *Monumenta Germaniae historica* Hannoverae 1829 ii. 676) Frondosis arboribus fontibusque venerationem exhibebant. Truncum quoque ligni non parvae magnitudinis in altum erectum sub divo colebant, patria eum lingua Irminsul appellantes, quod latine dicitur universalis columna, quasi sustinens omnia. This passage was penned between 863 and March 865 A.D. It may therefore be regarded as containing a comparatively trustworthy tradition of events that had happened less than a century earlier. But we must beware of mistranslating the last two clauses. P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 124 f. renders 'a wooden pillar of unusual size in the open air, worshipped in common, and whose destruction was a national calamity.' This interpretation (though in agreement with that of W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1904 i. 303 ff., who took the *Irminsûl* to be the '*Lebensbaum* der Volksgesammtheit') is certainly wrong. The Latin *universalis columna, quasi sustinens omnia* can mean only that the pillar in question was conceived to be the prop or central support of the universe. This is clearly perceived and, to my thinking, successfully proved by F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 73 ff.

[3] Widukind *res gestae Saxonicae* 1. 12 (G. H. Pertz *Monumenta Germaniae historica* Hannoverae 1839 iii. 423 f.) Mane autem facto ad orientalem portam ponunt aquilam, aramque victoriae construentes, secundum errorem paternum sacra sua propria veneratione venerati sunt; nomine Martem, effigie columpnarum imitantes Herculem, loco Solem, quem Graeci appellant Apollinem. Ex hoc apparet aestimationem illorum utcumque probabilem, qui Saxones originem duxisse putant de Graecis, quia Hirmin vel Hermis graece Mars dicitur; quo vocabulo ad laudem vel ad vituperationem usque hodie etiam ignorantes utimur. K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde* Berlin 1900 iv. 520 ff., following Pertz *ad loc.*, understands *aram...victoriae* as an *Irminsûl* and construes *nomine* (*arae imitantes*) *Martem, effigie columpnarum* (*arae*) *imitantes Herculem, loco* (*arae imitantes*) *Solem*. See *infra* § 3 (a) iii (o). As to Widukind's concluding remark, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 354 f., 1888 iv. 1388 notes that in Westphalia and Hesse the name Irmin still survives in a variety of popular sayings under the forms *Herm*, *Herme*, *Hermen*, *Herman*, etc.

divinities with due rites according to the error of their fathers. In name they copied Mars, in effigy of columns Hercules, in site Sol whom the Greeks term Apollo. This renders highly probable the view of those who hold that the Saxons originated from the Greeks, because Mars is called Hirmin, or in Greek Hermis,—a name still used by us, though we know it not, for praise or blame.' The chronicler is a would-be classic, and fond of a rhetorical flourish; but there is little doubt that he means to describe the erection and worship of an *Irminsûl*. Indeed, such pillars were probably of frequent occurrence among the tribes that worshipped Ziu.

It would seem, then, that *Er* and *Irmin* were appellatives of the Germanic sky-god, who was connected in legend with the Milky Way and in cult with a high column viewed as a world-pillar or universal support. In face of these facts I surmise that the myth in Platon's *Republic*, which combined the curved light of the Galaxy and the 'straight light like a pillar,' is not altogether independent of early Germanic belief. I would even risk the conjecture that in the hero of the Platonic myth, *Er* son of *Armenios*, we have the Grecised equivalent of both *Er* and *Irmin*[1].

To this it may be objected that alike in time and in place the Germanic world was too remote from the Hellenic to have influenced Platon. But in both respects, as we shall see later[2], a half-way house can be found, thanks to Orpheus, that marvellous mediator between barbarian and Greek.

Meantime I would point out that the *Irminsûl* or universe-prop implies the primitive notion that the sky stands in need of a visible support. Early man was in fact haunted by a very definite dread that it might collapse on the top of him[3]. The classical authors bear

[1] J. Adam in his note on Plat. *rep.* 614 B Ἠρὸς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου, τὸ γένος Παμφύλου thinks that 'The names point to the East,' but, like other commentators, fails to make out any convincing connexion. No doubt Er was a Hebrew name (Souid. *s.v.* Ἤρ), borne *e.g.* by one of the ancestors of Joseph the husband of the Virgin Mary (Luke 3. 28); and some of the ancients certainly understood Ἠρός of Zoroastres (Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 395, 17 ff. Stählin, Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 109, 8 ff. Kroll, cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 1. 52), rendering τοῦ Ἀρμενίου either 'the son of Armenios' (Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 395, 20, Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 109, 14, 110, 11 and 20 f. Kroll) or 'the Armenian' (Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 110, 15 ff. Kroll, cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 1. 52), or else altering it into τοῦ Ἀρμονίου (cp. Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 110, 11 ff. Kroll) or τοῦ Ἁρμονίου (cp. Plout. *symp.* 9. 5. 2). But, so far as I know, neither the Milky Way nor the 'straight light like a pillar' figured in the teaching of Zoroastres (see, however, *supra* p. 33 ff.).

[2] *Infra* § 3 (a) iii (*ι*).

[3] I am indebted to my daughter for a reference to the folk-tale of *Henny-Penny* (J. Jacobs *English Fairy Tales* London 1898 pp. 113 ff., 243 f.), which begins: 'One day Henny-penny was picking up corn in the cornyard when—whack!—something hit her upon the head. "Goodness gracious me!" said Henny-penny; "the sky's a-going

witness to the terror which this thought inspired among the peoples of Central Europe. Strabon[1] and Arrian[2] both tell us that in the year 335 B.C. the Celts of the Adriatic, men of great stature and a haughty disposition, sent envoys to sue for the friendship of Alexander. The Macedonian monarch received them in state and asked them what they dreaded most, expecting the obvious answer 'You.' To his chagrin they replied that they had but one fear—lest the sky should some day fall upon them! So he promptly packed them off, with the cutting remark that the Celts were constitutional braggarts. Again, in the year 179 B.C. an army of over thirty thousand stalwart Bastarnians, led by their chief Clondicus, marched against Dardania, but were daunted by a big thunderstorm on Mount Donuca. They declared, says Livy[3], that the gods were routing them and the sky falling upon them.

These wild notions were not confined to the barbarians of Middle Europe. They have at least left traces of themselves in the literature of Italy and Greece, traces which become clearer and more tangible as we follow them back into the past. Horace[4], who has of course outgrown such nonsense, uses it just to round off an effective stanza: even if the sky should come tumbling about him, the well-conducted and resolute Roman would not turn a hair[5]. Terence[6] treats the matter more seriously: wanting a proverb to describe undue timidity, he introduces 'the folk that say "What if the sky were to fall this very moment?"' We gather that there were such folk in the second century B.C., superstitious peasants or the like. But for a fuller expression of their belief we must get back another three or four hundred years. Theognis[7] of Megara in a characteristic passage protests that he loves his friend and hates his foe, adding by way of solemn confirmation: 'Else may the great broad sky of bronze come crashing down upon me, that terror of earth-born men.' I need not labour the point. It is clear that the lower classes in Italy and at least the Megarians in Greece shared with Celts and Bastarnians the paralysing fear that some day the sky itself might fall.

to fall; I must go and tell the king." So she went along and she went along and she went along till she met Cocky-locky. "Where are you going, Henny-penny?" says Cocky-locky. "Oh! I'm going to tell the king the sky's a-falling," says Henny-penny. "May I come with you?" says Cocky-locky. "Certainly," says Henny-penny. So Henny-penny and Cocky-locky went to tell the king the sky was falling.' Etc. See further J. Grimm *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*[3] Leipzig 1868 i. 322 n. *, *id. Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 813 n. 2, 1888 iv. 1541.

[1] Strab. 301 f.
[2] Arrian. 1. 4. 6—8.
[3] Liv. 40. 58.
[4] Hor. *od.* 3. 3. 1 ff.
[5] Cp. Plout. *de facie in orbe lunae* 6.
[6] Ter. *heaut.* 719.
[7] Theogn. 869 f.

How that belief arose, we can only surmise. It may be that in the dim past, when the ancestors of these tribes developed out of hunters into herdsmen and emerged from the forest on to the open plain, they missed the big tree that seemed to support the sky ('heaven-reaching,' as Homer[1] calls it). And in the absence of that mighty prop there was nothing to guarantee the safety of their roof[2].

Now early man was a practical person. His roof being insecure, he proceeded to shore it up. The *Irminsûl* was primarily a sky-prop, though we may well believe that it came to be viewed as the

[1] *Od.* 5. 239 ἐλάτῃ τ' ἦν οὐρανομήκης, cp. Hdt. 2. 138 δένδρεα οὐρανομήκεα. *Anth. Pal.* 4. 1. 49 f. (Meleagros) οὐρανομάκευς | φοίνικος. 'I remember, I remember, | The fir trees dark and high; | I used to think their slender tops | Were close against the sky' (T. Hood).

[2] Attention may here be drawn to the various accounts of the Kallikantzaroi given by the modern Greeks. These are summarised as follows by J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 194: 'The Callicantzari appear only during the δωδεκαήμερον or "period of twelve days" between Christmas and Epiphany[1]. ([1] Leo Allatius (*De quor. Graec. opinat.* cap. ix.) makes the period a week only, ending on New Year's Day.) The rest of the year they live in the lower world, and occupy themselves in trying to gnaw through or cut down the great tree (or in other accounts the one or more columns) on which the world rests. Each Christmas they have nearly completed their task, when the time comes for their appearance in the upper world, and during their twelve days' absence, the supports of the world are made whole again.' Details will be found in N. G. Polites Παραδόσεις Athens 1904 i. 331 no. 590 from Bourboura in Kynouria (The Lykokatzaraioi come from below the earth. All the time they are hewing away with their axes at the tree which supports the earth (τὸ δέντρο ποῦ βαστάει τὴ γῆς). They chop and chop till a tiny piece no bigger than a thread remains uncut, and they say 'Come, let us be off; it will fall of itself.' They return after the Baptism and find the tree entire, absolutely whole. And again they chop, and again they come, and so continually do they busy themselves), i. 347 no. 612 from Naupaktos (...the Pagan Ones begin hewing with their teeth and with axes the three columns which support the world (τοῖς τρεῖς κολόνναις, ποῦ βαστᾶν τὸν κόσμο), to hurl them down, that the world may collapse. Etc.), i. 352 no. 621 from Lasta in the deme Mylaon, Gortynia (The earth is supported below by one column, which has four other pillars (μιὰ κολόννα, ποῦ ἔχει τέσσερους ἄλλους στύλους [*infra* § 3 (*a*) iii (κ)]). There the Kolikantzaroi are in bondage for ever and labour at cutting the column to make the earth fall. Etc.), i. 354 no. 622 from Demetsana in Gortynia (The Kallikantzaroi are naked, apart from beards and moustaches, and in size resemble a child of ten, some being a little taller, others a little shorter. They dwell in the Underworld, where there are three wooden columns supporting the whole earth (ἐκεῖ εἶναι τρεῖς ξύλιναις κολόνναις καὶ κρατοῦν ὅλην τὴν γῆ). The Kalikantzaraioi want to cut the columns and overthrow the world, and they are perpetually getting to work with their axes and chopping the three columns. Etc.), i. 355 no. 623 from Gralista in the deme Ithome, Karditsa (The Karkantsaloi have their dwelling in Hades, and gnaw with their teeth the pillars which support the sky, that it may fall and crush the earth (κὶ ρουκανοῦν μὶ τὰ δόντια τους τὰ στύλια, ἀπ' βαστοῦν τοὺν οὐρανὸ νὰ μὴν πέσῃ κὶ πλακώσῃ τὴ γῆ). They gnaw and gnaw and do their utmost to cut the pillars. Etc.). See further N. G. Polites Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων Athens 1871 i. 26 and 69, J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 252 and 280. It will be observed that, whereas most of these versions make the tree (no. 590) or columns (nos. 612, 621, 622) support the earth, one at least (no. 623) makes the pillars support the sky.

vehicle of the sky-god and even to be embellished with his form and features[1].

(ε) Iupiter-Columns.

Far and wide over the territory once occupied by Germanic tribes[2] are remains of isolated columns, dating from the close of the second to the middle of the third century A.D., that is to say, from the period when Rhenic Germany witnessed a Romanised revival of its national cults[3]. These columns, usually termed *Juppitersäulen* or *Gigantensäulen*[4], consist of the following parts. The lowest member, exclusive of the base, is a quadrangular plinth known as the *Viergötterstein*[5], which is adorned by reliefs of four deities—commonly Iuno, Mercurius, Hercules, Minerva (fig. 22)[6]—

[1] A. Olrik 'Irminsul og gudestøtter' in *Maal og minne* 1910 pp. 1—9, summarised in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1910 xx. 348 ('Die Säulen mit dem Götternagel, die im Hause der altnordischen Häuptlinge neben dem Ehrensitze standen hatten, wie aus einem Vergleiche der altdeutschen Irminsäulen...und der noch im 18. Jahrhundert bei den Finnen verehrten "Weltpfeiler" erhellt, die zweifache Bedeutung einer die Welt tragenden Säule und eines rohgeschnitzten Götterbildes'). On the high-seat pillars of the old Norsemen and on the world-pillars of the Lapps, with their sacred nails, see *infra* § 3 (a) vi (α), § 3 (c) i (γ).

[2] For detailed proof of this limitation see the admirable monograph of F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 51 ff.

[3] A. Riese 'Zur Geschichte des Götterkultus im rheinischen Germanien' in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1898 xvii. 1 ff. says (p. 13): 'Um die Zeit nach dem Tode des Marc Aurel geschah eine wunderbare Veränderung, die meines Wissens in diesem Sinne noch nicht erwähnt ist: der Romanisierung der Religion folgte eine neue Nationalisierung, und gallische und auch germanische Götter erhalten Votivinschriften.' He goes on to quote inscriptions ranging from 187 A.D. (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8185 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4743 *deae Hariasae* etc. found at Cologne) to 259—268 A.D. (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] vi. 24 ff. no. 88 f. HER·DEVSONIENS, nos. 90—100 HERC·DEVSONIENSI, nos. 115—118 HERCVLI DEVSONIENSI, *ib.* vi. 29 f. no. 129 f. HERCVLI MAGVSANO on coins of Postumus: for these deities see R. Peter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 3017—3020 and Haug in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 611).

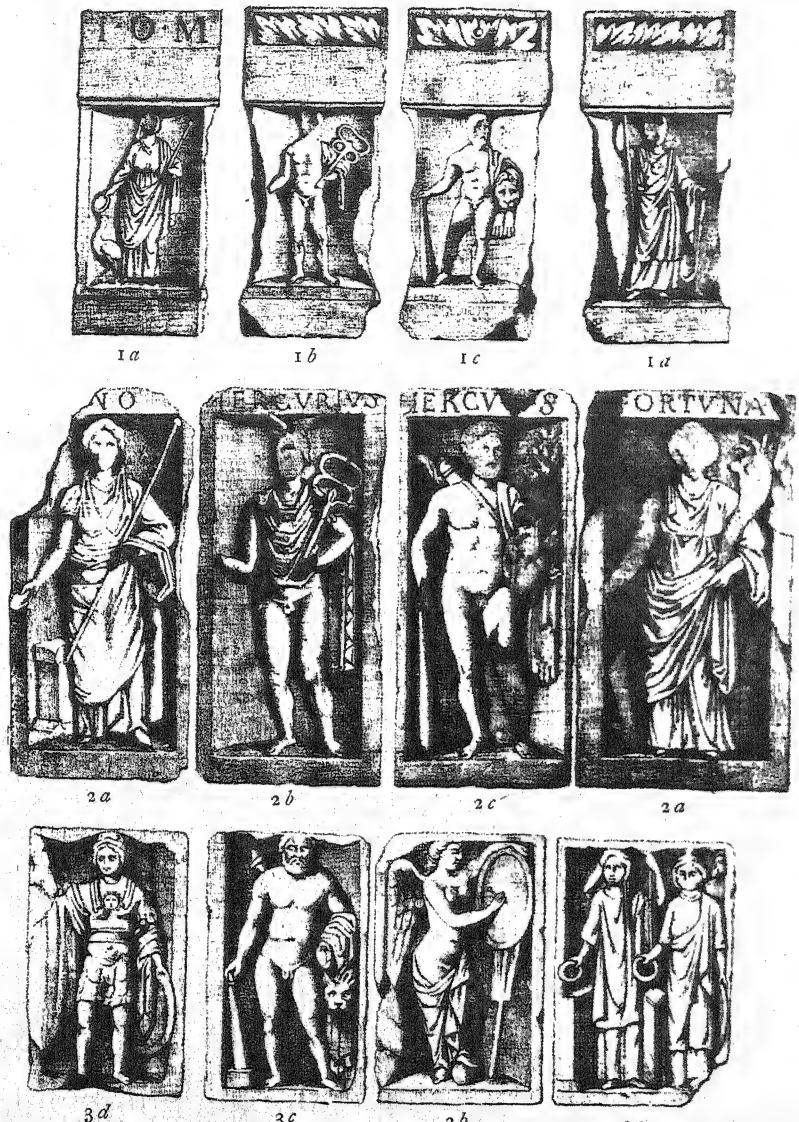
[4] A bibliography of the 'Jupiter-columns' is given *supra* i. 178 n.

[5] Haug 'Die Viergöttersteine' in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 9—62, 125—161, 295—340, F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 pp. 94—164 ('Die Viergöttersteine').

[6] Of 83 plinths decorated with four deities 48 exhibit the series Iuno, Mercurius, Hercules, Minerva (42 from left to right, 6 from right to left), 19 replace Mercurius by another deity (2 by Iupiter with a wheel, 2 by Mars with a wheel, 2 by Mars without a wheel, 7 by Apollo, 4 by Volcanus, 2 by Victoria (fig. 22, 3 *b* Kreuznach no. 137 Haug)), 2 replace Minerva (1 by Fortuna (fig. 22, 2 *d* Kreuznach no. 136 Haug), 1 by Mars), 4 replace two deities (1 substituting Fortuna with a wheel and Apollo for Iuno and Mercurius, 1 Victoria and Mars for Mercurius and Minerva (fig. 22, 3 *b* and 3 *d* Kreuznach no. 137 Haug), 1 Apollo and Volcanus for Mercurius and Hercules, 1 Minerva and Mars for Hercules and Minerva), 10 are quite irregular. See the summaries in Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 111, 127.

Fig. 22, 1 *a—d* (after E. Schmidt in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1869 xlvii. 92 pl. 14, 3 a, c, d, b) shows the reliefs of a sandstone block, 0·90^{m} high × 0·41^{m} broad and deep, found in 1858 A.D. built into the north-west angle of

or by an inscription and reliefs of three deities—mostly the same series with the omission of Iuno or Mercurius[1]. F. Hertlein has



1a 1b 1c 1d

2a 2b 2c 2a

3d 3c 3b 3a

Fig. 22.

gone some way towards proving that these deities represent the

the Roman fort (*Heidenmauer*) near Kreuznach = Haug 'Die Viergöttersteine' in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 126 no. 135.

[1] Of 19 plinths showing an inscription and three deities, 5 have the series Mercurius, Hercules, Minerva (2 from left to right, 3 from right to left), 3 have Iuno, Hercules,

Seasons, the quartet corresponding with the fourfold division of the Julian calendar, and the trio with the threefold division recognised by the Germani in the time of Tacitus[1]. He supposes that Iuno, who often carries a torch or torches (fig. 23)[2], is the Romanised form of Frija, conceived as the light-bearing goddess of spring[3]; that Mercurius is Wodan, here for some reason obscure

Minerva (from right to left), 1 has Iuno, Mercurius, Minerva (from left to right); 1 has Apollo, Hercules, Minerva (from left to right), 1 has Victoria, Hercules, Minerva (from left to right); 1 has Iuno, Hercules, Victoria (from right to left), 1 has Iuno, Apollo, Victoria (from left to right), 1 has Apollo, Hercules, Diana (from left to right), 1 has Mars, Volcanus, Victoria (from right to left), 1 has Fortuna, Volcanus, Victoria (from left to right), 1 has Mars, Fortuna, Victoria (from left to right), 1 has Fortuna, Luna, Sol (from left to right), 1 has Mars, Victoria, Mercurius (from left to right). Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 134 f. points out that the first three series are merely excerpts from the full quartet Iuno, Mercurius, Hercules, Minerva; that the fourth and fifth series are excerpts from the same quartet with one name varied; and that the remaining groups are less nearly related to the original set.

[1] Tac. *Germ.* 26 hiems et ver et aestas intellectum ac vocabula habent, autumni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur. On this passage see the sensible and cogent remarks of Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 137 ff.

[2] Fig. 23 is from a block probably found at Orolaunum (*Arlon*), a town of the Treveri = Haug 'Die Viergöttersteine' in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 146 no. 181 *d* pl. 4, Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* v. 355 f. no. 4238.



Fig. 23.

[3] Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 143 ff. argues that the torches of Iuno (*ib.* p. 94 ff.) are presumably a Germanic attribute of the 'Himmelsgöttin, die im Frühjahr das helle Himmelslicht wieder heraufführt,' recalling the *Funkensonntag*, a fire-festival of the German peasantry celebrated on the First Sunday in Lent (W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1904 i. 500 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful i. 106 ff.). He thinks too that the fluttering robe sometimes worn by the goddess (Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 95, 97) betokens horizontal flight such as would suit the partner of the advancing Germanic Iupiter. Lastly, he remarks that the title *Regina* frequently attached to the Iuno of the *Viergöttersteine* (*ib.* p. 81 f.) means much the same as the Norse *Freyja*, the 'Mistress,' who 'ist hauptsächlich die Göttin der im Frühjahr wiedergeborenen Sonne und Natur, die Göttin des lichten Frühlings, der Zeit neuen Sprossens und der Liebe.'

It should, however, be noted, on the one hand that the title *Regina* is not found in the district of the Treveri (*ib.* p. 81), on the other hand that the torch-bearing goddess is particularly frequent in that region (Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 300 f.). This fact makes it at least possible that in the torch-bearer we should recognise, not Iuno *Regina*, but Iuno *Lucina*, whose worship was widely spread in western Europe

(Apul. *met.* 6. 4 te iam nuptam Tonantis et reginam deorum...quam cunctus oriens Zygiam veneratur et omnis occidens Lucinam appellat). It is probably Iuno *Lucina*, who carries an infant and a torch on a Roman tomb-stone now in the Vatican (H. Brunn in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1848 xx. 430 ff. pl. N, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1859 p. 135, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 153 Atlas pl. 10, 24=my fig. 24,



Fig. 24.

W. H. Roscher *Iuno und Hera* (Studien zur vergleichende Mythologie der Griechen und Römer ii) Leipzig 1875 p. 23 f. and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 582, 602, J. Vogel *ib.* ii. 611, Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* i. 809 f. no. 731 A pl. 86); opposite to her stands the deceased with a table as altar and a pig as victim; in front is the dedication (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 24819) between two burning torches linked by a fillet. Iuno *Lucina* certainly appears as a reverse type on Roman imperial coins, sometimes erect, either holding a *patera* and a sceptre (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² iii. 147 Faustina Iunior nos. 131 f. rev. IVNONI LVCINAE Iuno standing to left with *patera* and sceptre—gold, no. 133 rev. IVNONI LVCINAE S·C· Iuno, veiled, standing to left with *patera* and sceptre—large bronze; *id. ib.*² iii. 384 Crispina no. 24 rev. IVNO LVCINA S·C· Iuno standing to left with *patera* and sceptre, peacock at feet—middle bronze; *id. ib.*² v. 146 Otacilia no. 23 rev. IVNO LVCINA Iuno, clad in goat-skin (?), standing to right with *patera* and sceptre—silver), or raising one hand and supporting an infant with the other (*id. ib.*² iii. 218 Lucilla no. 38 rev. IVNONI LVCINAE Iuno, veiled, standing to left, raising right hand and holding a swaddled infant —silver, no. 39 rev. IVNONI LVCINAE S·C· the same type—large bronze and middle bronze), or holding one child and flanked by two others (*id. ib.*² iii. 147 Faustina Iunior nos. 134 f. rev. IVNONI LVCINAE Iuno standing to left between two children with a third in her arms—gold, no. 136 rev. IVNONI LVCINAE S·C· Iuno standing to left between two girls with a third on her left arm—large bronze, no. 137 rev. the same legend and type—middle bronze); sometimes seated, either flanked by two children with a third on her knee (*id. ib.*² iii. 147 Faustina Iunior no. 138 rev. Iuno seated to right between two

children with a third on her knee—middle bronze, broken), or holding in one hand a swaddled infant, in the other a lily or possibly an iris (*id. ib.*$^{22}_{6}$iii. 218 Lucilla no. 36 rev. IVNONI LVCINAE Iuno seated to left holding a flower and a swaddled infant—silver, no. 37 IVNONI LVCINAE S·C· the same type—large bronze; *id. ib.*^{2} iv. 113 Iulia Domna nos. 93 f. rev. IVNONI LVCINAE S·C· Iuno seated to left holding a flower and a swaddled infant—large bronze, no. 95 rev. the same legend and type—middle bronze). These coins date from approximately the same period as the *Juppitersäulen* (*supra* p. 57); and the lily held by Iuno in the last-mentioned type (fig. 25 is from a large bronze of Iulia Domna, after Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 154 f. Münztaf. 3, 13, who notes that the type recurs on coins of Iulia Mamaea, [Cornelia Supera,] and Salonina inscribed IVNO AVGVSTAE, [IVNONI AVG,] and IVNO AVG respectively—see Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*^{2} iv. 493 nos. 32—34, [v. 296 no. 3,] v. 502 no. 55) recalls the myth of the Milky Way (*supra* i. 624, ii. 49 n. 1). Further, Iuno *Lucina* might well be regarded as the goddess of spring, for her chief festival at Rome was on March 1,



Fig. 25.

when spring began (Ov. *fast.* 3. 235 ff.: see W. H. Roscher *Iuno und Hera* (Studien zur vergleichende Mythologie der Griechen und Römer ii) Leipzig 1875 p. 22 n. 25 and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 584, 603, W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 38, Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*^{2} p. 184 f.). Finally, Iuno *Lucina* was a 'light'-goddess (Mart. Cap. 149 sive te Lucinam quod lucem nascentibus tribuas ac Lucetiam convenit nuncupare) and as such would be fittingly brought into connexion with the Germanic Iupiter: cp. the collocation in *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 357 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3101 (a bronze plate of Roman origin, part of which is extant at Bologna, the remainder being known from an earlier transcript) [Iunon]e Loucinai | [Diovis c]astud facitud, L. Savignoni and R. Mengarelli in the *Not. Scavi* 1903 p. 255 ff. = C. Hülsen in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1903 xviii. 338 f. (a bronze plate found at Norba in Latium and now in the Museo delle Terme at Rome) P. Rutilius M. f. | Iunonei Loucina | dedit meretod | Diovos castud. The second of these inscriptions proves that in the first we should not translate 'To Iuno *Lucina*, wife of Iupiter' (so Th. Mommsen in the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 357 and H. Dessau *loc. cit.*), nor even 'property of Iupiter' (so A. von Domaszewski *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* Leipzig and Berlin 1909 p. 108), but rather join *Diovis* with *castud* (Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*^{2} p. 181 n. 3). Still, both inscriptions warrant us in supposing that Iuno *Lucina* might reasonably appear in the *entourage* of Iupiter.

One detail remains to be cleared up. The object held by the Iuno of fig. 23 in her right hand has been variously explained. Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 146, 302 is content to cite the opinion of A. de Wiltheim *Luciliburgensia Romana* ed. A. Neyen Luxemburg 1842 p. 192 that we have here Iuno *Pronuba* (G. F. Prat in his *Histoire d'Arlon* Arlon 1873 says Iuno *Cinxia*) with her girdle: on these forms of the marriage-Iuno see W. H. Roscher *Iuno und Hera* (Studien zur vergleichende Mythologie der Griechen und Römer ii) Leipzig 1875 p. 67 and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 589, E. Aust in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2563, Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*^{2} p. 186 with n. 1 and in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* München 1904 p. 320. If the attribute in question were anything of the sort, I should prefer to regard it as the necklace of Frija (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 306 ff., K. Müllenhoff 'Frija und der Halsbandmythus' in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* 1886 xxx. 217—260, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 215). But F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 97 has made out a good case for viewing it as merely another variety of torch, and *ib.* p. 144 n. 2 suggests that the goddess is engaged in a ritual *Fackelschwingen* comparable with that of the modern *Funkensonntag* or *jour des brandons* (cp. *supra* i. 286, 648, 650 with n. 4). Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* v. 355 f. no. 4238 'peut-être deux serpents.'

to us figuring as the god of summer[1]; that the bearded Hercules

[1] **Wōδanaz* (Old Saxon *Wōdan*, Old High German *wuotan*), **Wōδenaz* (Old English *Wōden*, Old Norse *Óðinn*), who gradually superseded the old sky-god Ziu (K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde* Berlin 1900 iv. 213), was himself also in all probability a sky-god, very possibly a by-form of Ziu (E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 332 f.). He looks down on the earth at daybreak through a window in the eastern sky (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 134 f. cites Paulus Diaconus *hist. Langobard.* i. 8 (L. Bethmann—G. Waitz *Monumenta Germaniae historica* Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. vi—ix Hannoverae 1878 p. 52) Refert hoc loco antiquitas ridiculam fabulam: quod accedentes Wandali ad Godan victoriam de Winnilis postulaverint, illeque responderit, se illis victoriam daturum quos primum oriente sole conspexisset. Tunc accessisse Gambara ad Fream, uxorem Godan, et Winnilis victoriam postulasse. Freaque consilium dedisse, ut Winnilorum mulieres solutos crines erga faciem ad barbae similitudinem conponerent maneque primo cum viris adessent seseque Godan videndas pariter e regione, qua ille per fenestram orientem versus erat solitus aspicere, conlocarent. Atque ita factum fuisse. Quas cum Godan oriente sole conspiceret, dixisse: 'Qui sunt isti longibarbi?' Tunc Frea subiunxisse, ut quibus nomen tribuerat victoriam condonaret. Sicque Winnilis Godan victoriam concessisse). He has a throne named *Hlidhskjalf*, from which he can survey the whole world and hear all that goes on among men (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 135 f., E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 190, 234, 251, W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* Leipzig 1895 pp. 324, 518, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 pp. 233, 286, 346, E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 321, 345, 370, cp. J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1913 i. 345). Further, it is at least possible that the one eye ascribed to him stands for the sun (F. Magnusen *Edda rhythmica* Hauniae 1828 iii. 540 n.****, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 93 f., 231 f., 245, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 233, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 pp. 229—232, *supra* i. 321 n. 3, cp. i. 320 f., 323, 462); and some have given a like explanation of his gold ring *Draupnir*, the 'Dripper,' from which every ninth night dripped eight other rings of equal weight (W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* Leipzig 1895 p. 312, K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde* Berlin 1900 iv. 642 f., P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 233), and of the gold helmet that he wore in his contest with the Fenris-wolf (E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 345, cp. E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 231). It is not, however, likely that such solar attributes would have led to Wodan being regarded as the god of summer. I would rather explain this aspect of his complex character by the fact that among the Scandinavians the great sacrifice, which year by year took place at the beginning of summer, was probably associated with him (H. M. Chadwick *The Cult of Othin* London 1899 p. 5 f.).

Wodan still survives in popular imagination as leader of the Wild Hunt (*die wilde Jagd*) or the Furious Host (*das wütende Heer*). On windy nights in spring, or autumn, or winter he sweeps across the sky with a howling company at his heels—the souls of the dead (E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 235 ff., P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 pp. 216 f., 225 f., E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 333 ff., R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 81 f., K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 261 ff.). In some districts he heads the rout, not on foot or on horseback, but driving a chariot or coach (E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 239). And, when we observe that the Milky Way is believed to be the path traversed by the Furious Host and is called in

with his club is Donar as the stormy god of autumn[1]; and that consequence the *Heerstrasse*, *Helweg*, *Wôgenpat*, etc. (*id. ib.* p. 241, cp. p. 238), it becomes probable that Platon's myth of the soul-procession following the chariot of Zeus along the Milky Way (*supra* p. 43 f.) presupposes a popular belief akin to that of the Furious Host. If so, the earliest allusion to *das wütende Heer* is not after all the *feralis exercitus* of Tac. *Germ.* 43, but the στρατιὰ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων of Plat. *Phaedr.* 246 E. See further K. Dilthey 'Die Artemis des Apelles und die wilde Jagd' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1870 xxv. 321 ff., P. Sartori 'Das wilde Heer' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1894 iv. 289—292, L. Weniger 'Feralis exercitus' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 201—247 ('Das schwarze Heer der Harier'), 1907 x. 61—81 and 229—256 ('Das weisse Heer der Phoker') with L. R. Farnell in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1907 p. 63.

On the common equation of Wodan with Mercurius see J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 119 ff., E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 229 f., W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* Leipzig 1895 p. 295 n. 2, K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde* Berlin 1900 iv. 212 f., P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 pp. 103, 221 f., E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 331, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 226, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 259, 356 ff.

[1] The Germanic god **þunaraz* bore a name derived from the Indo-European root **(s)ten-*, 'to growl, to roar' (Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 630 f. *s.v.* 'tono'), which occurs in Norse as *þórr* (for **þonraz*), on the larger *fibula* from Nordendorf in Bavaria as *þonar* (R. Henning *Die deutschen Runendenkmäler* Strassburg 1889 p. 102, G. Stephens *The Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England* ed. S. O. M. Söderberg London 1901 iv. 9), in a Saxon baptismal vow as *Thuner* (K. Müllenhoff—W. Scherer *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem viii—xii Jahrhundert*[3] Berlin 1892 i. 198, ii. 316 ff. no. LI), in Old English as *Thunor* (cp. J. M. Kemble *The Saxons in England*[2] London 1876 i. 346 ff.), and in Germanic designations for the fifth day of the week (Old High German *Donarestac*, Old Frisian *Thunresdey*, Anglo-Saxon *Thunresdæg*, Norse *þórsdagr*). These names, as J. Grimm long ago pointed out (J. Grimm 'Über die Namen des Donners' in his *Kleinere Schriften* Berlin 1865 ii. 410 ff. and in his *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 166), stand in obvious relation to the Germanic words for 'thunder' (Old High German *donar*, Middle High German *doner*, Anglo-Saxon *þunor*). Since, however, the name of a natural phenomenon raised to the rank of a personal deity tends to drop out of common parlance (H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 316 f.), it has been conjectured that the living words *Donner*, *thunder*, etc. have come from the name of the god, not *vice versa* (K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 275 n. 86). In any case Donar was essentially a thunder-god. Not impossibly he, like Wodan (*supra* p. 62 n. 1), was a by-form differentiated from the early Germanic sky-god Ziu (so E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 354).

In common with many another storm-god Donar was also a fertilising power (E. Mogk in Hoops *Reallex.* i. 481, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 278 f.): cp. Thor, who fructifies the bride (E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 212 f., W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* Leipzig 1895 p. 251 f.), brings to life again his team of goats that have been cooked in a cauldron (W. Golther *ib.* p. 276), etc. Such a divinity, storm-god and fertility-god in one, might well serve as the Germanic representative of autumn.

As regards the *interpretatio Romana*, Donar was at first perhaps equated with Volcanus (Caes. *de bell. Gall.* 6. 21, cp. H. Rueckert *Culturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes in der Zeit des Uebergangs aus dem Heidenthum in das Christenthum* Leipzig 1853 i. 126), then with Hercules (Tac. *Germ.* 3, 9, 34 (?), *ann.* 2. 12, cp. E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 202, 211, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 pp. 103 ff., 235, 239 n. 3, E. Mogk in the *Grundriss*

der germanischen Philologie[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 355 and in Hoops *Reallex.* i. 480, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 282, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 274 ff., 363 ff.), and finally from *s.* vi onwards with Iupiter (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 189 ff., 1888 iv. 1345 f., E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 20, 48, 51, 202, 205 f., 217, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 235, E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 354 f. and in Hoops *Reallex.* i. 480, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 282, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 275, cp. 278).

The Germani identified their Donar with Hercules primarily because of his strength. Thus, when going into battle, they sang of Hercules as 'primum...omnium virorum fortium' (Tac. *Germ.* 3). The Batavi in particular worshipped Hercules *Magusanus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 31162 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2188 cp. no. 4628 n. 1 (Rome, dedicated by *cives Batavi sive Thraces adlecti ex provincia Germania inferiori* on Sept. 29, 219 A.D.) Herculi Magusano | etc.; *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8705 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4629 (Betuwe in Holland) Herculi Ma|gusano et | Haevae etc.; *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8771 (Rummel, North Brabant, dedicated by the *summus magistratus civitatis Batavorum*) Magusa|no Hercul[i] | etc.; *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8777 (Westkapelle in the island of Walcheren, Zeeland) Herculi | Magusano | etc.; *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8010 (Bonn) Herculi | Magusano | etc.; *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8492 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4630 (near Deutz)---| [Herc]uli Magusan[o] [? Matron]is Alāremi[a]s | [Sil]vano et Genio [loc.] | [Dia]ne Mahal[inis] | [Vic]torie Mercu[rio] | [cete]risque dis dea[bus] | [om]nibus etc.; *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8610 (Xanten) Herculi Mag[usano] | etc.; *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 1090 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4628 (Mumerills, near Falkirk, on the Antonine Wall, dedicated by a *duplicarius alae Tungrorum*) Herculi | Magusan|[o] etc.; but hardly *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 4141 (near Trèves) M[a](e)usa etc. See further *supra* p. 57 n. 3, F. Kauffmann 'Hercules Magusanus' in H. Paul—W. Braune *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* Halle a/S 1891 xv. 553—562, R. Peter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 3018—3020, M. Schönfeld *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* Heidelberg 1911 p. 158, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 363—365), whose cult-title, denoting 'the Strong,' survived in the mediaeval *Mahusenhem* (now *Muyswinkel*) near Durstede (R. Peter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 3019 f., Haug in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 611) and is comparable with the name of Thor's son *Magni* (E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 355, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 239 with n. 3, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 364 f.). Hercules on the *Viergöttersteine* is regularly bearded (F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 146), and an inscription found at Brohl in 1840 A.D. records the cult of Hercules *Barbatus* (Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5726 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3460 Herculi | barbato | etc.): Thor too in the best extant representation of him, a relief on a granite baptismal basin from the old church at Ottrava in Wester Göthland, Sweden (G. Stephens *Thunor the Thunderer, carved on a Scandinavian font of about the year 1000* London 1878 p. 24 f. with fig. on p. 15 = my fig. 26), has a pointed beard. Again, Hercules, like Donar, was armed with a primitive weapon: the club of the former was a rough equivalent for the hammer of the latter. Hence these attributes were interchangeable. On the one hand, Saxo Grammaticus *hist. Dan.* 3 p. 73, 29 ff. Holder describes Thor as armed with a club (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 180, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 204, E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 357, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 283). On the other hand, we hear of a Hercules *Maliator* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 6619 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4627 (Obernburg in Bavaria) Herculi | Maliator(i)), whose title presumably denotes 'the Hammer-god' (so K. Zangemeister in the *Neue*

Minerva is Holda, the patroness of spinning, as a winter-goddess[1].



Fig. 26.

Heidelberger Jahrbücher 1895 v. 55, followed by Dessau *loc. cit.*, Boehm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 597, Haug *ib.* viii. 610, E. Mogk in Hoops *Reallex.* i. 481, though C. Christ in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1878 lxii. 49, followed by K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 365, would read *Herculi* | *maliator(es)* cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi nos. 43 f. = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1635 (Rome, dated Jan. 28, 119 A.D.) Herculi Aug. sacr. | Felix Aug. l. optio et | exactor auri arg. aeris, | item signat. suppostores malliatores: | etc.).

[1] The Germanic goddess *Hluθena* or *Hludana*, known to us from inscriptions (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 7944 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4745 (near Iversheim) in h(onorem) [d(omus) d(ivinae)] | Hluθenae sa[crum] | pro salute im[p. Caes. M. Aur.] | [S]everi Alexa[ndri pii] | fel(icis) invicti [Aug. et Iul.] | Mamae(a)e ma[tris Aug. n(ostri)] | vexillat(io) leg(ionis) [i M(inerviae) Sev(erianae) Alex(andrianae)] | [p(oni?)] fac(i)ent(ium?) in c[ustodia?], *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8611 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2014 (Birten near Xanten) deae | Hludanae | sacrum | C. Tiberius | Verus, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8661 (the Monterberg near Calcar) deae Hlu|θenae cen|--, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8723 (Holtedoorn near Nijmwegen) [H]lud(anae) sac(rum) | [···]ammi[·] | [··]cund[··]|[·]i leg(ionis) xxx[·] | v. s. l. [m.] | [L]aterano [cos?], *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8830 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1461 (Beetgum near Leeuwarden in Friesland) deae Hludanae | conductores | piscatus, mancipe | Q. Valerio Secu|ndo, v. s. l. m.), of which one—that from

Holtedoorn—is probably dated 197 A.D. and another—that from Iversheim—falls between 222 and 235 A.D., has been plausibly identified with the Old Norse *Hlóðyn*, the mother of Thor (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 256 f., 266 n. 2, F. Kauffmann 'Dea Hluðana' in H. Paul—W. Braune *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* Halle a/S 1894 xviii. 134—157, E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 358 f., 370, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 307. The connexion is denied by E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 203, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 105, and others. M. Schönfeld *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* Heidelberg 1911 p. 140 f. concludes: 'Fraglich is die von Kauffmann und Mogk angenommene Identität mit an. *Hlóðyn* (*Hlūðana* mit *lu* aus *l* gegenüber *Hlóðyn* mit der Dehnstufe *lō*?).' But K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 381 sums up: 'Immer noch ist trotz allen dagegen geäusserten Bedenken ihre Zusammengehörigkeit mit der nordischen *Hlódyn* am wahrscheinlichsten, wodurch allerdings nicht viel gewonnen ist, da Hlódyn selbst sehr wenig klar ist'). Further, both *Hluðana* or *Hludana* and *Hlóðyn* have been related (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 266 n. 2, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 381—383. *E contra* E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 203, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 105) to the *Holden*, *i.e.* the 'Good Folk,' the sprites, and their representative Frau *Holda* (*Hulda*, *Holle*, *Hulle*, *Holl*), a goddess who—like Wodan (*supra* p. 62 n. 1)—belongs to the Furious Host (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 265 ff., 1883 ii. 456, 487, 596, 883, 1883 iii. 933 ff., 946 ff., 1055, 1888 iv. 1367, *alib.*, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 21, 74, 242 ff., 247 f., 266, 272 ff., 282 ff., *alib.*, E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 278 ff., P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 273 f., R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 114 f., K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 381—383). In Middle Dutch Frau Holda is called *Verelde* (for *Ver Elde* = *Frau Hilde* or *Frau Hulde*) and gives her name to the Milky Way (*Vroneldenstraet* = *Frauen Hilde* or *Hulde Strasse*: see J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 285).

In the nursery-tales and popular superstitions of Germany Frau Holda plays a considerable part. When it snows, she is making her bed and the feathers fly—a notion as old as Hdt. 4. 7, 4. 31 (J. Grimm *op. cit.* i. 262 f.), cp. J. C. F. Bähr *ad loc.* Such a goddess might well be selected to typify the winter.

Holda would be Romanised as Minerva because both alike patronised spinning. On the one hand, '*Holla* is set before us as a *spinning*-wife; the cultivation of flax is assigned to her. [Was *Hludana* worshipped by the Frisian *conductores piscatus* as helping them to make their fishing-nets? A. B. C.] Industrious maids she presents with *spindles*, and spins their reels full for them over night; a slothful spinner's distaff she *sets on fire*, or *soils* it.' Etc. (J. Grimm *op. cit.* i. 269 f.) On the other hand, Minerva, who at Rome in republican times had figured mainly as a mistress of arts and crafts, under the empire became more and more specialised into a goddess of spinning and weaving (Tertull. *de pallio* 3 p. 929 Oehler, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 21, 5. 45, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 5. 284, 7. 805—cited by G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2988 and G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1929) presumably through assimilation to Athena (see especially Ov. *fast.* 3. 815 ff.), the Greek patroness of distaff and loom (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1215 n. 13, cp. *ib.* p. 1184 n. 7, p. 1212 n. 1).

At this point it is of interest to remember that in the Platonic myth the 'straight light like a pillar' becomes, as we read on, the 'spindle of Ananke' (*supra* p. 44 f.). Had Platon a Germanic source, not only for the former, but also for the latter? In China too the Milky Way is associated with a Weaving Damsel, whose shuttle is the star α Lyrae (*infra* § 3 (a) vi (λ)).

This hypothesis, though not definitely established[1], is *a priori* probable enough, and may be at least provisionally accepted.

Among the deviations from the normal type of *Viergötterstein* perhaps the most interesting are those furnished by a group of plinths found mainly in the north-western portion of the Gallo-Germanic area[2]. Here the encroachment of Wodan (Mercurius) upon Ziu (Iupiter) has led to the duplication or differentiation of Frija, who appears not only as Ziu's consort (Iuno) but also as Wodan's consort (Venus), and in this latter capacity is associated with Wodan or even supersedes him in the series. Thus we get:

Normal Type[3].	Messancy[4].	Les Fontaines[5].	Mont Heilpert[6].	Brumath[7].
1 Iuno.	Iuno.	Iuno.	Iuno.	Iuno.
2 Mercurius.	Venus + Mercurius.	Venus.	Venus.	Venus.
3 Hercules.	Apollo.	Diana (?) + Mercurius.	Hercules.	Hercules.
4 Minerva.	Minerva.	——	——	——

The plinth discovered at Les Fontaines, between Maubeuge and Avesnes, in 1725 A.D. and now preserved at Brussels (fig. 27)[8] merits closer inspection. Of the first side only the left half (fig. 27 *a*) is extant; but this suffices to show a draped female standing beneath a canopy with a veil over her head and shoulder, a peacock perched on her arm, and a *patera* held in her right hand above a small flaming altar or *turibulum*[9]. Clearly she is Iuno. The second side (fig. 27 *b*) has an undraped female standing beneath a similar canopy: her hair is knotted in a *chignon*; her raised right hand and lowered left draw back a fringed mantle; her feet are

[1] Haug in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 611. The foregoing notes should do something to dispel Haug's misgivings.

[2] On this group see especially F. Hertlein *Die Iuppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 153.

[3] *Supra* p. 377[t].

[4] Haug 'Die Viergöttersteine' in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 147 no. 183, Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 114, 117, 153 f., Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* v. 290 f. no. 4130.

[5] Haug *op. cit.* 1891 x. 135 no. 157, Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 100, 117, 153, Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* v. 190 ff. no. 3984.

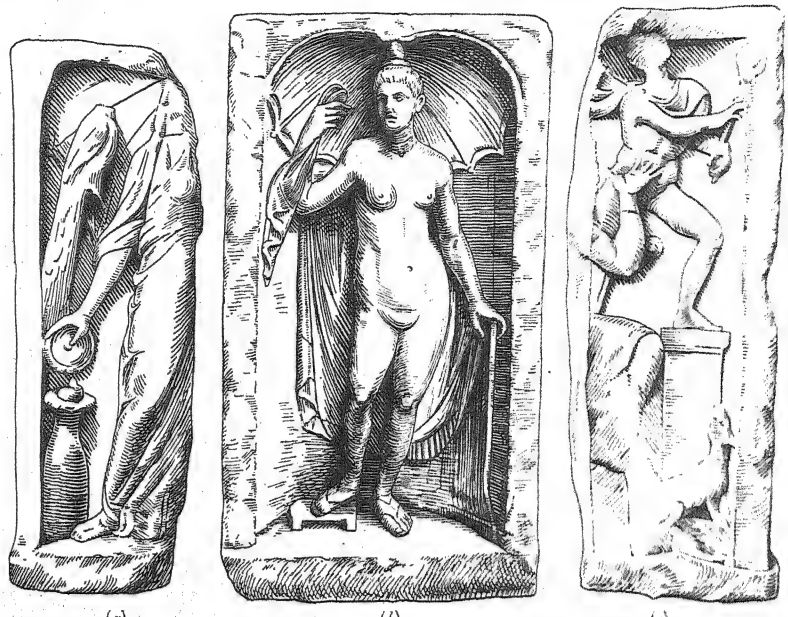
[6] Haug *op. cit.* 1891 x. 142 f. no. 172, Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 95, 98 f., 112 f., 117.

[7] Haug *op. cit.* 1891 x. 37 f. no. 67, Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 103, 105, 153.

[8] F. Cumont *Catalogue des sculptures & inscriptions antiques (monuments lapidaires) des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*[2] Bruxelles 1913 p. 210 ff. no. 173: height 0·98[m], breadth 0·53[m], depth 0·28[m].

[9] F. Cumont *loc. cit.* says: 'Elle abaisse la main, vers une urne allongée ou une aiguière (*praefericulum*), dans laquelle elle paraît verser le contenu d'une patère.' But analogous representations of Iuno on other *Viergöttersteine* make it certain that Haug *op. cit.* 1891 x. 135 rightly recognised 'ein brennendes Altärchen.'

shod in sandals, and one of them rests upon a footstool[1]. She is



(*a*) (*b*) (*c*)

Fig. 27.

Venus; and the canopy common to her with Iuno suggests that she is but another form of the same celestial goddess[2]—very

[1] Perhaps a simplification of the tortoise, on which her foot rests in a *Viergötterstein*-relief from Lamerey (Haug *op. cit.* 1891 x. 158 cp. 315). Pheidias made a chryselephantine Aphrodite Οὐρανία at Elis with one foot set on a tortoise (Paus. 6. 25. 1, Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 76, *coniug. praecept.* 32: see further Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 105, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 681 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 150, 197 n. 2, 1333 n. 11, 1349 n. 3 f., O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 250, A. Frickenhaus in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1913 xxviii. 363 ff. fig. 7 f.).

[2] Venus *Caelestis*, who in name at least was the Roman counterpart of Aphrodite Οὐρανία (Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 354—357 and Index p. 942, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1363—1365 and Index p. 1701), is known to us from inscriptions (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 8137 f. Pola, *ib.* vi no. 780 Rome, *ib.* ix no. 2562 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3169 Bovianum Undecimanorum, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 1596 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4271 Puteoli) and coins (*a*) Agrippina Iunior: Rasche *Lex. Num.* x. 887 VENVS CAELESTIS, cp. *ib.* 889 f. (*b*) Iulia Domna: Rasche *Lex. Num.* x. 887 VENVS CAELESTIS, cp. *ib.* 890. (*c*) Elagabalos: Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iv. 351 no. 286 VENVS CAEL. (*d*) Aquilia Severa: Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iv. 381 f. no. 10 VENVS CAELESTIS. (*e*) Iulia Soaemias: Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iv. 388 f. nos. 8—20 VENVS CAELESTIS. (*f*) Alexander Severus: Rasche *Lex. Num.* x. 889 VENVS CAELESTIS, cp. *ib.* 890 f. (*g*) Magnia Urbica: Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] vi. 407 no. 9 VENVS CELEST. These coins show the goddess standing, or sitting, with an apple in one hand, a sceptre in the other, and sometimes a star in the field, or a child at her feet); and it is noteworthy that the title *Caelestis* was borne by Iuno also (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 10407 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3109 Aquincum, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no. 1424 Thibursicum Bure, Mart. Cap. 58). Both

possibly it symbolises the sky itself. On the third side (fig. 27 *c*)[1] there is a design of exceptional, indeed of unique, character. A draped female sitting with uplifted hand occupies the foreground. Her sleeveless arm and the hound at her feet make it probable that she is Diana, goddess of the chase[2]. Her gesture and the upward glance of the hound direct attention to a singular figure in the background—Mercurius, who rushes from left to right with upturned face and wind-blown *chlamýs*, both hands grasping a *caduceus* and one foot planted on the top of a pillar[3]. Now Mercurius, as we have seen, stands for Wodan; and Wodan was the leader of the Wild Hunt or Furious Host, which on windy nights in autumn might be heard sweeping along the Milky Way[4]. I should therefore conjecture that this relief gives us an autumnal scene, the huntress Diana and the Wild Huntsman himself.

Above the *Viergötterstein*, at least in the case of large and important columns, came the *Wochengötterstein*—a block, usually octagonal or cylindrical, more rarely quadrangular hexagonal or heptagonal, which was decorated with the deities representing the days of the week[5]. These deities, arranged in a series from left to

Venus *Caelestis* and Iuno *Caelestis* were forms of the Carthaginian goddess Tanit, whose worship spread far and wide over the Roman world (see De Vit *Onomasticon* i. 29, iii. 722, F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1247—1250, A. von Domaszewski *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* Leipzig and Berlin 1909 pp. 148—150, W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 p. 268 ff., Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] pp. 373—375): they must not hastily be connected with Iupiter *Caelestis* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 1948 Salonae, *ib.* iii Suppl. no. 8668 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3041 Salonae, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 4852 Venafrum) or with other deities bearing the same cult-epithet (Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 374 n. 7).

[1] A drawing of this plinth made for B. de Montfaucon and preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale (nouv. fonds lat., 11917, f° 12, cp. f° 11) shows the third scene as it appeared when its details were somewhat fresher and sharper than now. Accordingly I have used the drawing to supplement the photograph of the scene. F. Cumont *Catalogue des sculptures & inscriptions antiques* (*monuments lapidaires*) *des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*[2] Bruxelles 1913 p. 212 publishes the two side by side.

[2] For Diana in sleeveless attire accompanied by her hound see Haug 'Die Viergötterstein' in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 315 f.

[3] Mercurius as a runner appears in Roman paintings (*e.g.* Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 7 no. 15, p. 8 no. 18 = *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1830 vi pl. 2 = Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1819 fig. 4960), gems (*e.g.* Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 126 no. 2736 pl. 24, cp. L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 17 n. 3), and bronzes (*e.g.* Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 158 no. 359 fig.). A statue of this sort (cp. the famous Mercury by Giovanni da Bologna in the Bargello at Florence) mounted on a high pedestal has presumably furnished the sculptor of our relief with a classical type for his Germanic theme.

[4] *Supra* p. 62 n. 1.

[5] See L. Lersch 'Der planetarische Götterkreis' in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1844 iv. 147—176, 1844 v—vi. 299—314, 1846 viii. 145—152, J. de Witte 'Les divinités des sept jours de la semaine' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1877 iii. 50—57,

right or right to left, were Saturnus, Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercurius, Iupiter, Venus (fig. 28)[1]. If for reasons of architectural symmetry

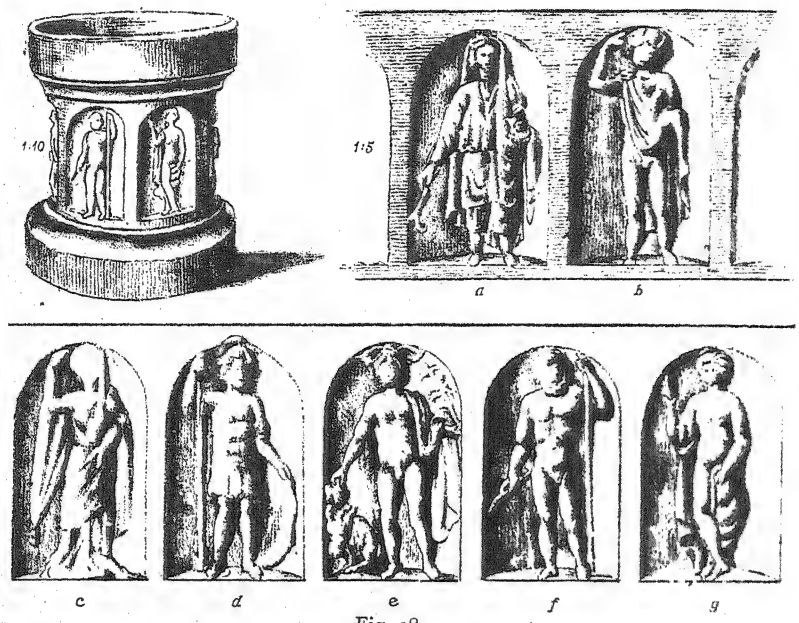


Fig. 28.

the block so adorned was octagonal, its eighth side might be

77—85, *ib.* 1879 v. 1—6, F. Hettner 'Juppitersäulen' in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1885 iv. 365 ff., especially pp. 383—385, S. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 171—173, Haug 'Die Wochengöttersteine' in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1890 ix. 17—53, E. Maass *Die Tagesgötter in Rom und den Provinzen aus der Kultur des Niederganges der antiken Welt* Berlin 1902 pp. 169—236, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2535, 2538, F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 pp. 82—84. The clearest introduction to the subject together with the fullest collection of material will be found in Haug's article, which is a model of concise and accurate investigation.

[1] This sandstone drum (height $0{\cdot}51^{m}$, diameter $0{\cdot}44^{m}$) stood formerly in the Templars' Church at Neckarelz, its upper surface having been hollowed out to contain a copper basin for holy water. In 1873 it passed into the collection of the *Altertumsverein* at Mannheim. It is described and figured by Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1890 ix. 29 f. pl. 1, 1 (=my fig. 28), cp. Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 68 nos. 1—3. Of the individual deities (*a*) Saturnus wears hose, sleeved garment with girdle, and veil; in his right hand he holds the *hárpe*, in his left a bull's head (? cp. Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 172 fig. 2403, *supra* i. 298 n. 7): (*b*) Sol, wearing *chlamýs*, raises his right hand towards his flowing locks: (*c*) Luna, in *chitón*, *himátion*, and tasselled veil, likewise raises her right hand towards her head: (*d*) Mars, clad in tunic and cuirass, has a helmet on his head, a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left: (*e*) Mercurius wears a winged cap (?) and a *chlamýs* over his left shoulder; his left hand holds the *caduceus*, his right hand a purse; and beside him crouches a misshapen goat: (*f*) Iupiter, quite naked, has a thunderbolt in his right hand, a long sceptre in his left: (*g*) Venus stands with crossed legs, her left hand pressing against her garment, her right uplifting a mirror.

occupied either by an inscription[1] or by some additional divinity naturally associated with the week-days—a Genius or Bonus Eventus[2], a Fortuna or Felicitas[3] or Victoria[4].

The *Viergötterstein* and the *Wochengötterstein* together formed a double plinth, from which rose the actual shaft of the column. This might on occasion be left smooth (fig. 29)[5], but was normally covered with a scale-pattern (fig. 30)[6], and sometimes adorned with vine-leaves etc. (fig. 31)[7]. F. Hertlein points out that such deco-

[1] Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1890 ix. 33 no. 12 Castel near Mayence (IN • H • D • D • =in honorem domus divinae), *id. ib.* 1890 ix. 34 f. no. 15 Havange in Lorraine (I • O • M), F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 83 Mainz (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 6728 *a* latter part of inscription alone extant).

[2] Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1890 ix. 28 no. 4 Metzingen, *id. ib.* 1890 ix. 35 no. 17 Agnin (Isère).

[3] Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1890 ix. 33 f. no. 13 Heddernheim (?).

[4] F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 82 n. 2 Merten in Lorraine.

[5] Fig. 29 is a column, 15·50^{m} high, found at Merten near Saarlouis in 1878 and now preserved in the Museum at Metz (for bibliography see F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 13 f. and Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* v. 452 ff. no. 4425 with six photographic cuts. Add Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*[2] p. 742 ff. fig. 817). The restoration by E. Arnold published in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1878 lxiv. 94—99 pl. 7 is far from accurate, and the same may be said of that by O. A. Hoffmann in the *Gesellschaft für Lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*: *Jahrbuch* 1889 i. 14 ff. Much better is that by A. Prost in the *Rev. Arch.* 1879 i. 1—20 pl. 1 f. and in the *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1879 p. 64 (*Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* Série IV Tome x), or that by Tornow in the *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 1879 no. 53 (reproduced by F. X. Kraus in *Kunst und Altertum in Elsass-Lothringen* 1886—1889 iii. 2. 316—325 fig. 87). My own restoration is based on that of Prost, from which however it varies in the character of its steps, in the arrangement of its reliefs, and in the reconstruction of its equestrian group.

Remains of other smooth 'Jupiter-columns' have come to light at Hägen near Saverne in the Wasserwald, at Butterstadt near Hanau, and at Trèves (Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 84).

[6] Fig. 30 is a column, 5·44^{m} high, found in 1884 in a fountain within the Roman walls at Heddernheim together with an altar to Iupiter and a smaller column topped by a figure of Iupiter enthroned. The whole group is now in the Historical Museum at Frankfurt: see O. Donner-von Richter and A. Riese *Heddernheimer Ausgrabungen* Frankfurt am Main 1885 (an Stelle des Neujahrs-Blattes des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde für 1885 und 1886) pp. 1—20, whose pl. 1, 1 I reproduce. Note that the *Wochengötterstein* is in the case of this column replaced by a *Sechsgötterstein*, on which see Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1890 ix. 48 f. no. 4 Heddernheim.

[7] Fig. 31 is a sandstone column, some 3·50^{m} high, found in 1838 at Neuenheim near Heidelberg, along with a *Viergötterstein* (Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 26 no. 40 Neuenheim) and a fragmentary Mithraic figure (F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 ii. 508 fig. 461), and now preserved in the Museum at Karlsruhe. The shaft is embellished with vine-leaves and birds perched among them: the four small heads of its capital are apparently female (F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 89). F. Cumont, whose illustration (*op. cit.* ii. 508 f. fig. 462) is here copied, supposes that the *Viergötterstein* mentioned above formed the base of this shaft. But F. Hertlein (*op. cit.* pp. 84, 89, 93) states that their respective dimensions are unsuitable.

Fig. 32 is a drum of white limestone, 0·84^{m} high, found in 1726 at Les Fontaines,

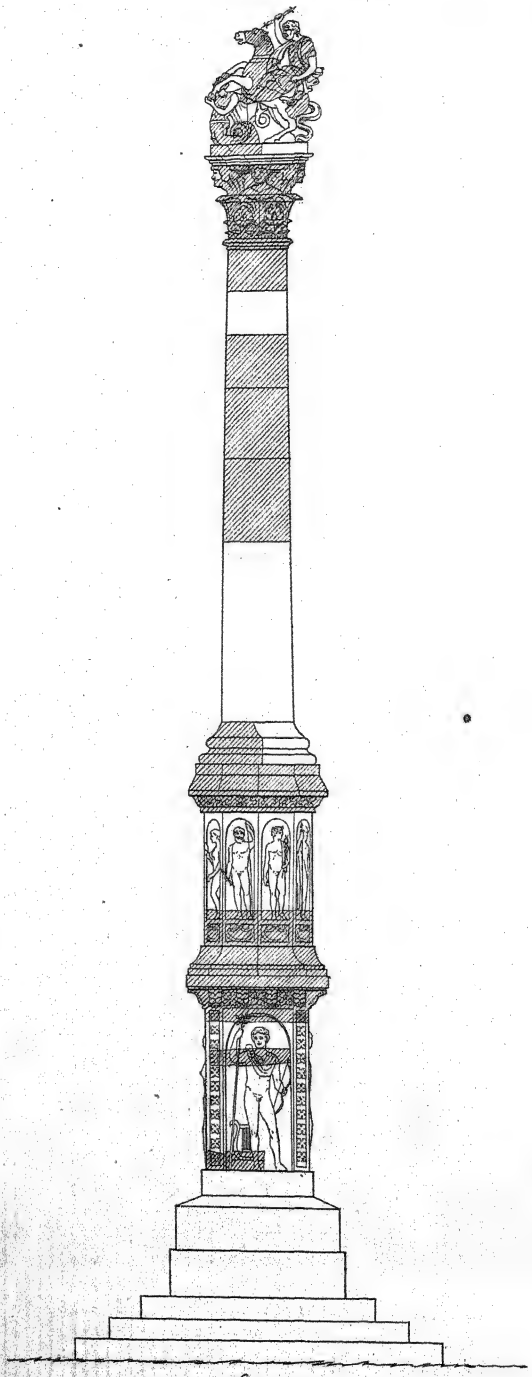


Fig. 29.

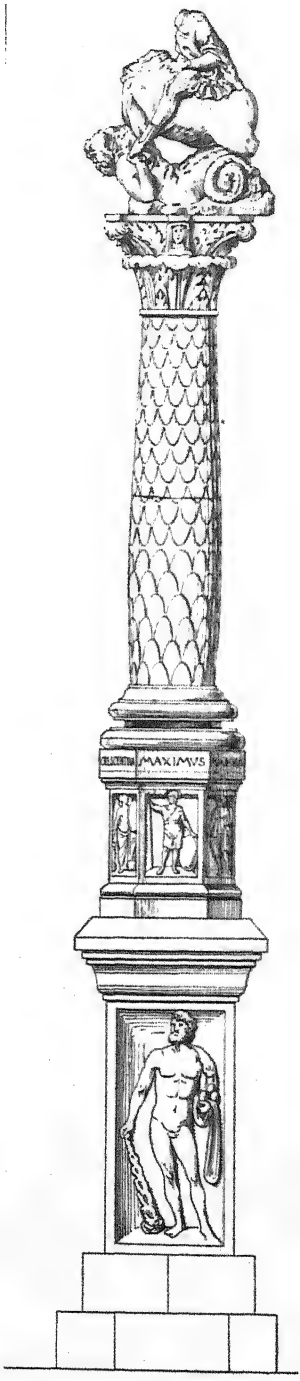


Fig. 30.

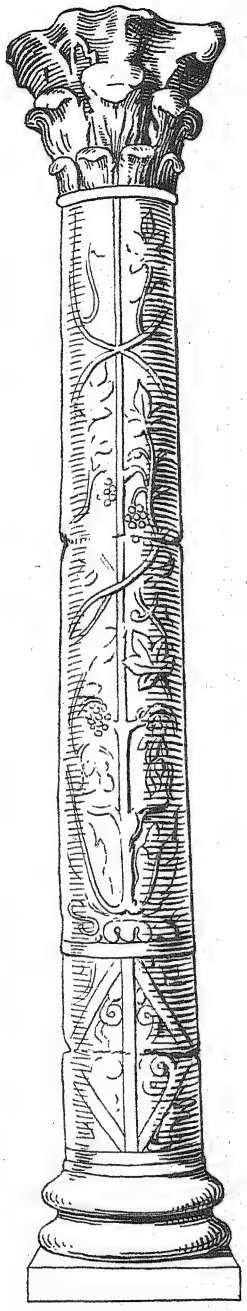


Fig. 31.



a *b*

Fig. 32.

ration was suggestive of a tree-stem[1] and thus served to bring the hard stone of the Roman monument

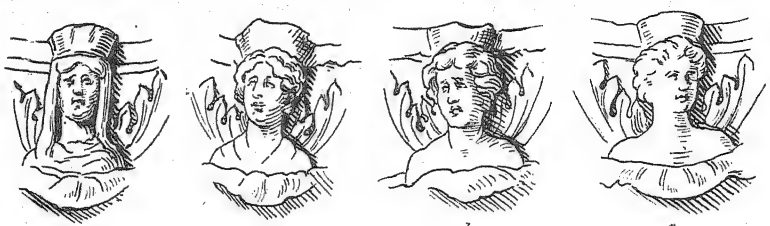
between Maubeuge and Avesnes, and now at Brussels (F. Cumont *Catalogue des sculptures & inscriptions antiques (monuments lapidaires) des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*[2] Bruxelles 1913 p. 213 ff. no. 173, Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* v. 192 f. no. 3985). The surface is covered with a tangle of vine-leaves. Against these is seen a nude Bacchant, who bounds along with streaming hair: she holds a *thýrsos* in her left hand, and with her right pours the contents of a horn or *rhytón* into her mouth. Behind her flies a winged Cupid, who with his right hand steadies a basket of grapes on his head, and in his left carries some indistinct object: beneath his feet is a small quadruped (rabbit?) nibbling a grape-bunch. When first discovered, this relief was in better condition and showed other animals half-hidden in the vine-shoots. F. Cumont thinks it certain that the drum and the *Viergötterstein* found on the same site (*supra* p. 67 ff. fig. 27) belong to one monument, and F. Hertlein (*op. cit.* p. 84) regards the combination as possible.

On the vine-leaf column as a Syrian *motif* that made its way throughout the Mediterranean area see S. Gsell in the *Atti del II Congr. di arch. crist.* p. 203 ff., C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie*[2] Paderborn 1913 p. 483 f.

[1] Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*[2] p. 388 f. fig. 426, cp. M. Meurer *Vergleichende Formenlehre des Ornamentes und der Pflanze* Dresden 1909 p. 572 ff.

nearer to its prototype—the wooden trunk of the old Germanic *Irminsûl*[1].

The shaft was surmounted by a capital displaying four small heads or busts (fig. 33)[2], which have been interpreted by O. Donner-von Richter[3] and F. Hertlein[4] as the four divisions of the day—



d *c* *b* *a*

Fig. 33.

Matutinus, Meridies, Vespera, Nox. Since these divisions correspond with the main points of the compass, the series runs from right to left. Nox always, and Meridies usually, is represented full-face, whereas Vespera and Matutinus are more often shown in profile.

On the top of the column thus constituted was a sculptural group of peculiar aspect—a galloping rider supported on the shoulders and hands of a figure that bent or lay beneath him[5]. The rider has normally the face of a bearded Iupiter and the costume of a Roman general (fig. 34)[6], very seldom a beardless

[1] F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 84.

[2] Fig. 33 shows the heads on the capital of the column found in 1884 at Heddernheim (*supra* p. 71 n. 6) as published by O. Donner-von Richter and A. Riese *Heddernheimer Ausgrabungen* Frankfurt am Main 1885 (an Stelle des Neujahrs-Blattes des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde für 1885 und 1886) pl. 1, 1—M.

[3] O. Donner-von Richter and A. Riese *op. cit.* p. 12.

[4] F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 pp. 87—93 gives a careful summary of the evidence, and succeeds in establishing his interpretation as against previous hypotheses. F. X. Kraus in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1878 lxiv. 99 and A. Hammeran in the *Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift* 1885 iv. 3 had regarded the heads as allegorical representations of the four seasons. E. aus'm Weerth in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1878 lxiv. 99 n. 1 had suggested that they might be the four ages of man. Haug in the *Fundberichte aus Schwaben* 1907 xv. 82 had been content to view them as merely decorative.

[5] By far the best account of this group is that given in F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 pp. 1—27 ('Verzeichnis der Gruppen des Gigantenreiters (oder Gigantenfahrers)'), 28—50 ('Gesamtbeschreibung der Gruppe und Folgerung aus der Darstellung'), 51—69 ('Ursprung der Gruppe aus germanischen Vorstellungen'), 70—86 ('Die Juppitergigantensäule eine Irminsäule'), though we shall see reason to traverse his conclusion with regard to the significance of the reclining figure (*infra* p. 82).

[6] Group in Jura-limestone (height without base 0·86^{m}), found at Ehrang in 1890 and now in the Museum at Trèves (F. Hettner in the *Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 72 f. with fig., *id. Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums*

barbaric head and native dress (fig. 35)[1]. Once he appears as driver



Fig. 34.



Fig. 35.

of a dashing two-horse chariot, the likeness to Iupiter being pronounced (fig. 36)[2]. By way of offensive armour the rider brandishes

zu Trier Trier 1893 p. 23 f. no. 32 with fig. = my fig. 34, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 529 no. 5, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 21 f., 30 n. 1, 33 f., 35, 43, 45, Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* vi. 424 f. no. 5246 with two photographic cuts). The rider wears *tunica*, *lorica*, *paludamentum*: his left hand held the reins, his right was raised. The crouching figure grins with open mouth: his left hand held the left forefoot of the horse; his right probably grasped a club (a suitable fragment was found), on which rested the right hoof of the horse.

[1] Group in yellowish grey sandstone (maximum height $0{\cdot}78^{m}$), found at Ehrang in 1890 and now in the Museum at Trèves (F. Hettner in the *Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 73 f. with fig., *id. Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier* Trier 1893 p. 21 f. no. 31 with fig. = my fig. 35, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 528 no. 5, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 21, 30 with n. 1, 32, 34, 35, 42, 43, Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* vi. 412 ff. no. 5233 with photographic cuts). The rider wears a close-fitting jacket, which has a seam on the right side and reaches to his hips (edge visible in good light); whether it was sleeved or not is uncertain. His belt has a round disk at the back. His left hand held the reins; his right, connected with his head by a clumsy support, probably held a thunderbolt, not a spear (see F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 32). The horse has a saddle with pommels, back, saddle-cloth, etc. The crouching figure, a young and beardless male, bears the weight on his hunched shoulders. This group was found together with a *Viergötterstein* and other fragments in the same sandstone of a 'Jupiter-column' (F. Hettner in the *Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 75 ff., *id. Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier* Trier 1893 p. 18 ff. nos. 27—30, Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 136 no. 159 Ehrang, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 21, 94, 95), to which—despite the obvious difference in style—it may have belonged.

[2] Group in stone (plinth $0{\cdot}65^{m}$ long, $0{\cdot}45^{m}$ broad, $0{\cdot}09^{m}$ thick; driver $1{\cdot}05^{m}$ high), found at Weissenhof near Besigheim in 1897 and now in the Lapidarium at Stuttgart (G. Sixt in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1897 xvi. 293—296 with two figs. of which the

either a thunderbolt (pl. iii)[1] or a spear (fig. 37)[2]: in one case he

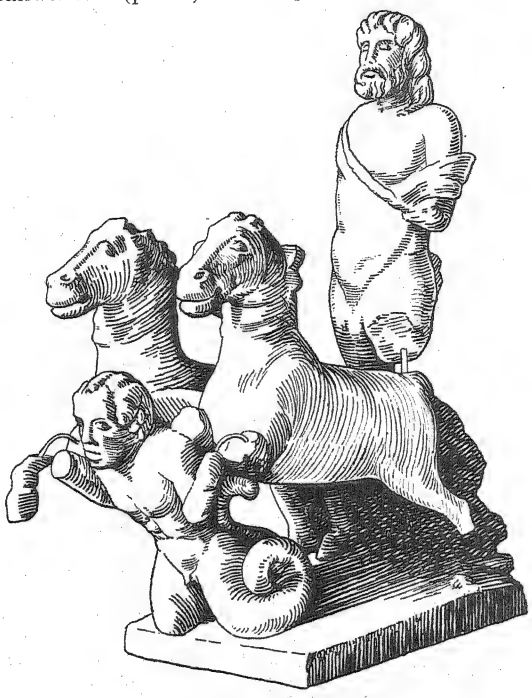
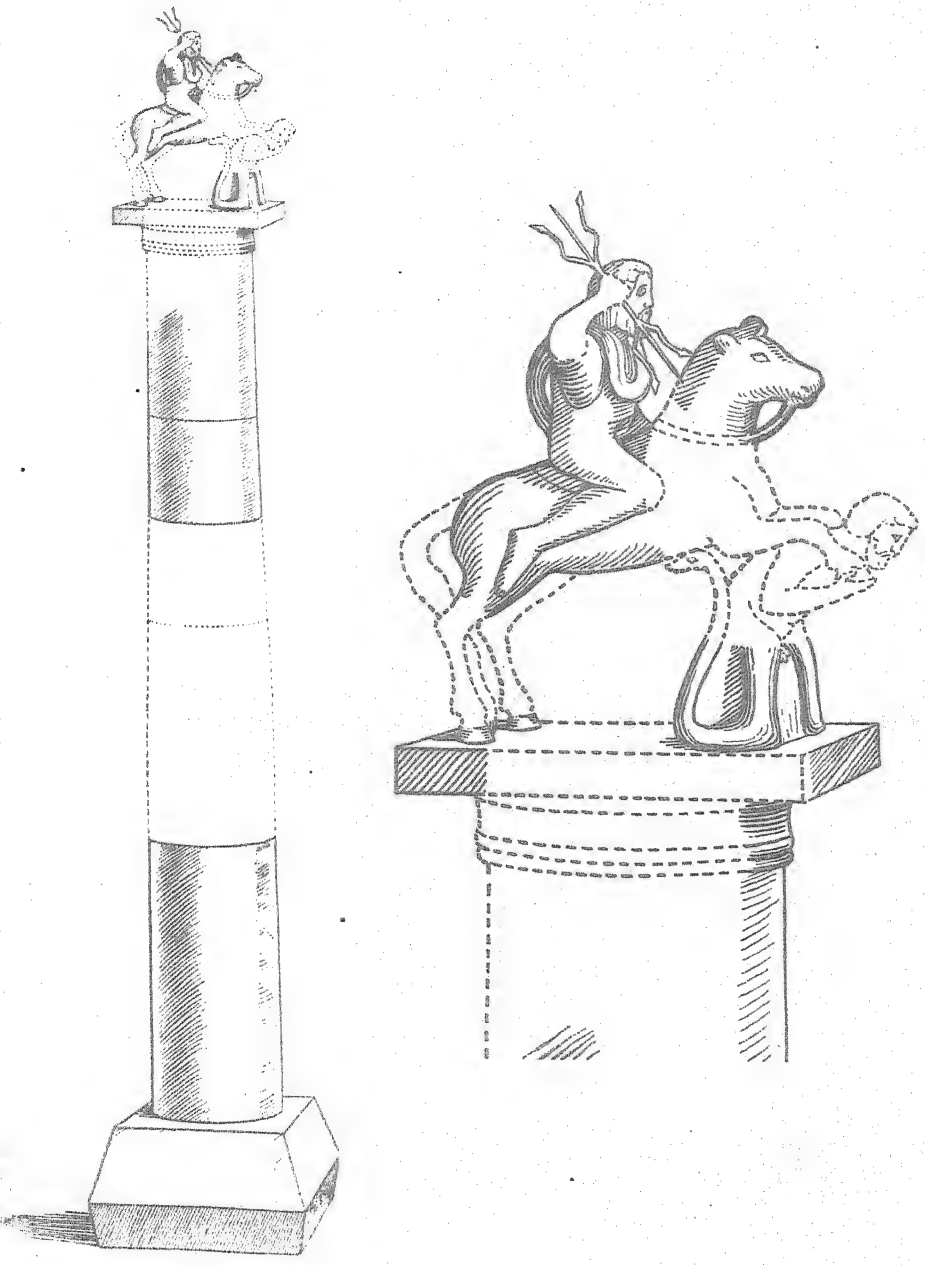


Fig. 36.

second = my fig. 36, F. Haug und G. Sixt *Die römischen Inschriften und Bildwerke Württembergs*, im Auftrag des württ. Geschichts- und Altertumsvereins herausgegeben Stuttgart 1900 no. 343 with the same two figs., F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 3 f., 29, 30 with n. 1, 35, 37, 43, 46, 65 with the second fig. as title-vignette). Iupiter, wearing *himátion* only, which is fastened by a brooch on his right shoulder and leaves the left shoulder bare, stands erect in a small chariot: his left hand originally held the reins, his right was somewhat drawn back and raised. The two horses, harnessed under a yoke, gallop onwards, their forefeet supported on the shoulders and hands of a beardless male figure with serpentiform legs.

[1] Group in red Vosges sandstone (original height *c.* 0·70^{m} to 0·80^{m}), found in 1908 in the inner court of a *villa rustica* in the Wasserwald six kilometres S.W. of Saverne and now in the Museum of that town (A. Fuchs in the *Anzeiger für elsässische Altertumskunde* 1909 i. 32 with fig., *id.* in the *Elsässische Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Volkskunde* 1911 ii. 472—480, *id. Die Kultur der keltischen Vogesensiedelungen* Zabern i. E. 1914 pp. 120—124 with pl. 23, 1 (base and shaft), pl. 24, 1, 2, pl. 25, 1, 2 (four views of rider), E. Wendling *Die keltisch-römischen Steindenkmäler des Zaberner Museums* Zabern 1912 nos. 62 and 63, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 9, 30 n. 1, 31, 37, 43). With it was the rest of the monument, *viz.* a plain base, a smooth turned shaft (*supra* p. 71 n. 5), and a simple capital. The rider, whose head resembles that of Iupiter, wears nothing but a cloak: he grasps in his raised right hand an iron thunderbolt (length 0·45^{m}) with tines. The horse, equipped with a saddle-cloth, was supported by the usual kneeling figure. I am indebted to Prof. L. Bachmeyer, Director of the Museum at Saverne, for a minutely accurate description of the whole monument together with tracings of its several parts and a coloured restoration of the group (followed in my pl. iii).

[2] Group in stone (present height 0·54^{m}, length 0·72^{m}), found at Diedelkopf near Kusel



The Jupiter-Column of Saverne.

See page 76 n. 1.

has a sword also slung on his left side[1]; and he sometimes[2] carries a four-spoked wheel, thrusting his left hand between two of its

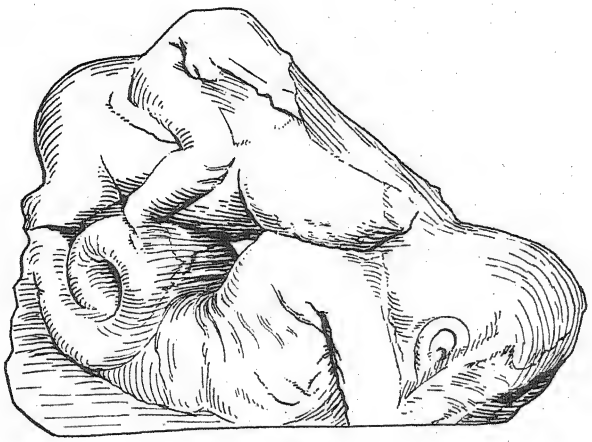


Fig. 37.

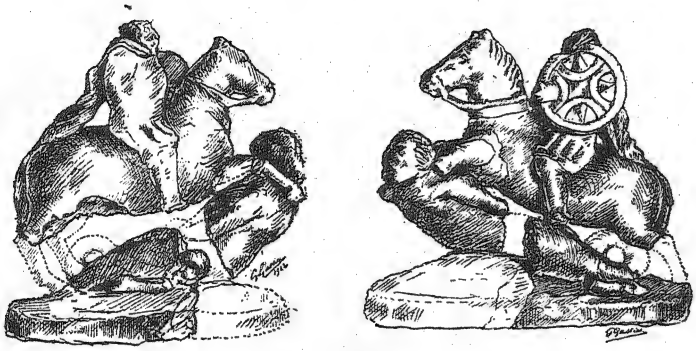


Fig. 38.

(E. Wagner in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1882 i. 39, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 17, 31, 38, 43, 44, 46, 49 fig.=my fig. 37). The rider wore a smooth *tunica* or jerkin, and in his right hand carried a spear, the end of which is visible against his horse. The crouching figure has large staring eyes and no beard: leaning on elbows and chin, he supported the horse's hoofs with his hands.

[1] So in the group found at Butterstadt near Hanau (F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 5, 33).

[2] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 33 'Das merkwürdigste Attribut des Reiters ist entschieden das vierspeichige *Rad*. Es hat sich mehreremal gefunden, an weit entfernten Orten, in Butterstadt bei Hanau [*ib.* p. 5], in Les Ronchers, Départ. Meuse [*ib.* p. 26], in Meaux, Départ. Seine et Marne [*ib.* p. 27], und wohl auch an dem Bruchstück von Zabern IV [*ib.* p. 9]... Wir werden dem Rad wieder begegnen auf Viergöttersteinen [*ib.* pp. 109 with n. 3, 148 Niederwürzbach, Amt Zweibrücken; Dunzweiler, Amt Homburg; Theley, Kreis Ottweiler].' On the reliefs from Niederwürzbach and Dunzweiler see Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 48 f. nos. 94, 95. I figure that from Theley (*supra* i. 289 n. 1 wrongly called 'an altar') after F. Hettner *Die römischen Steindenkmäler des*

spokes as he reaches forward to grasp the reins (figs. 38[1], 39[2]). The

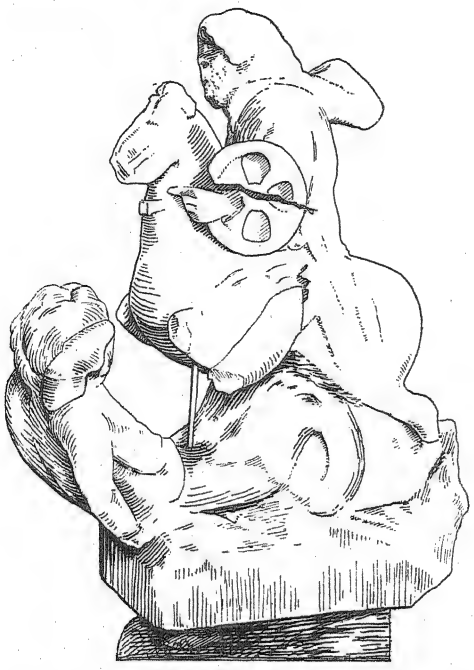


Fig. 39.

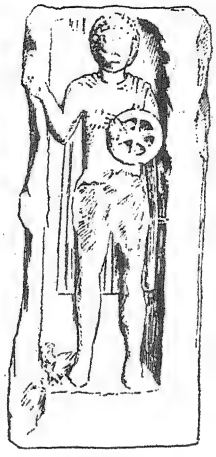


Fig. 40.

Provinzialmuseums zu Trier Trier 1893 p. 29 ff. no. 40 (plinth of red sandstone, height 0·84^{m}, breadth of side here shown 0·36^{m}: Iupiter with wreath and *chlamys*, holding sceptre (?) in right hand, six-spoked wheel in left; a small bird beside his right foot). F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 109 n. 3 prefers to call this deity Mars (the head is beardless, the alleged wreath a 'Lockenkranz,' the *chlamys* a *sagum*).

[1] Group in stone (original height not more than 0·50^{m}) from Meaux (Seine-et-Marne) presumably found with a fragment of scale-patterned column (G. Gassies 'Cavalier et anguipède sur un monument de Meaux' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1902 iv. 287—297 with figs. 1—3, of which fig. 1 f. = my fig. 38, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 270 no. 2, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 27, 29, 33, 34, 43, 60, Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* iv. 258 f. no. 3207 with photographic cuts). The rider, whose head and right arm are missing, wears a wide tunic, a fluttering cloak, and hose: he passes his left hand through a rosette-like wheel to hold the reins. The horse has neither saddle nor saddle-cloth. The reclining figure is beardless, but male.

[2] Group from a column (*c.* 4·50^{m} high) found at Butterstadt near Hanau and now in the Museum des Geschichtsvereins at Hanau (W. Küster in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1901 xx. 325 f. with fig. = my fig. 39, G. Gassies in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1902 iv. 290 fig. 3, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 151 no. 7, F. Hertlein *op. cit* pp. 5 f., 30 n. 1, 33, 34, 39 f., 43, 60). The rider, a Iupiter in type, wears *tunica* and *paludamentum*: his right arm was drawn back and raised; his left passes through a four-spoked wheel to hold the reins. The second figure, beardless but male, lies on his back and turns his face towards the left side of the rider: his right hand is pressed against the ground; his left probably held the right hoof of the horse on his left shoulder, the left hoof of the horse resting on his right shoulder.

crouching or reclining figure commonly[1] turns his back towards the rider, whose horse he supports on his shoulders or hands (fig. 42)[2] or

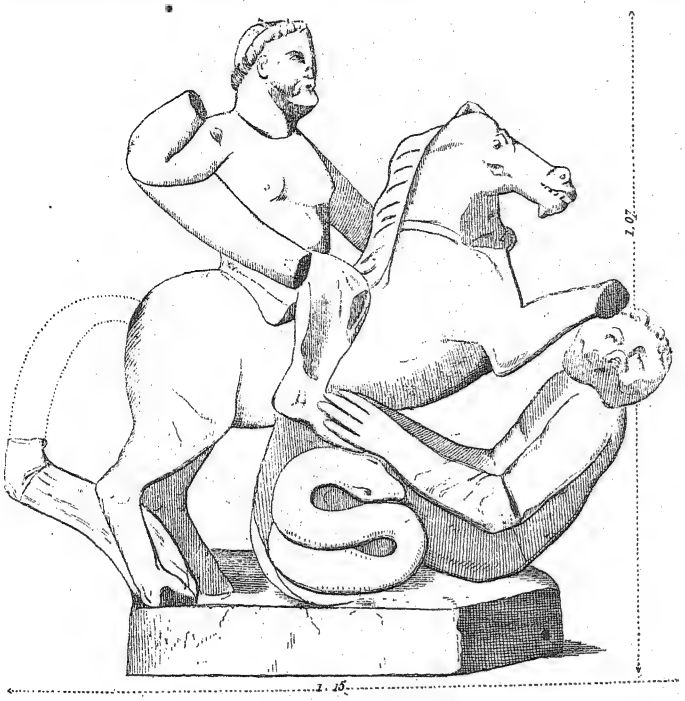


Fig. 41.

even on his head. He is bearded or unbearded, but always male[3]; his legs end in snakes with snaky heads of their own; and he

[1] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 39 f. notes the exceptions—Heddernheim 1884 (*ib.* p. 6, *supra* p. 71 n. 6), Butterstadt (*ib.* p. 5 f., *supra* p. 78 n. 2), Higny (*ib.* p. 25), Arlon (*ib.* p. 23), Hommert (*ib.* p. 11). The last-named group is unusually complete (height $1{\cdot}15^{m}$, breadth $0{\cdot}51^{m}$). It was found in the forest of Hommert and is now in the Nancy Museum (L. Wiener *Catalogue du Musée historique Lorrain* Nancy 1895 p. 33 no. 243, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 11, 30 n. 1, 31, 33, 34, 35, 40, 42, Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* vi. 24 f. no. 4557 with photographic cut). I reproduce the engraving given by P. Morey in the *Mémoires de l'Académie de Stanilas* 1867 p. 143 ff. with pl. facing p. 135, fig. A = my fig. 41. The rider is bearded and, except for his clumsy-looking cloak, nude. The right forefoot of the horse seems to have pawed the air; the left is broken off short. The other figure, half sitting up in a very awkward attitude, turns his face towards the left side of the rider, whose feet he touches with both hands.

[2] Group in stone (height $0{\cdot}67^{m}$, length of plinth $0{\cdot}34^{m}$) found at Pforzheim in 1869 and now at Karlsruhe (E. Wagner in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1882 i. 36 ff. pl. 1, 2 = my fig. 42, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 529 no. 2, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 4, 29, 37 f., 42, 46). The galloping rider wears *tunica*, *lorica* with belt, and *paludamentum*. The giant is bearded, and supports both forefeet of the horse on his hands.

[3] This is convincingly shown by F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 42 ff.

sometimes has as his attribute a club[1] or a pair of clubs (fig. 43)[2].



Fig. 42.

It has frequently been supposed that he is a vanquished foe trampled under foot by the victor[3]. But careful examination shows that this

[1] Thus *e.g.* the group found at Ladenburg in 1865 and now in the Museum at Mannheim (J. B. Stark in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1868 xliv. 27 pl. 2b, figs. 1a, b, c and 2, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 529 no 3, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 5, 30 n. 1, 43, 46f., 85 n. 1) represents the lower figure as holding a club with his right hand. Cp. *supra* p. 74 n. 6.

[2] Group in stone (height 0·66^{m}, length of plinth 0·44^{m}) found at Pforzheim in 1872 and now at Karlsruhe (E. Wagner in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1882 i. 36 ff. pl. 1, 1 = my fig. 43, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 528 no. 6, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 4, 30 n. 1, 32, 34, 36 f., 43 f., 46, 52). The rider, whose head resembles that of Iupiter, wears a smooth leathern jerkin with a girdle and a cloak. The figure beneath him, beardless but male, crouches on his knees and grasps two clubs, upon which the front hoofs of the horse are supported. Similarly in a group (height 0·37^{m}, length 0·40^{m}) found at Dalheim (F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 22, 34, 38, 43) he shoulders two clubs, which support the forefeet of the horse; and in the stone group (height 0·56^{m}) found at Schierstein in 1889 and now at Wiesbaden (G. A. Müller *Die Reitergruppe auf den römisch-germanischen Giganten-Säulen* Strassburg and Bühl 1894 p. 12 f. pl. 2, 3—5, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 814 no. 1, F. Köpp *Die Römer in Deutschland* Bielefeld 1905 p. 140 f. fig., Forrer *Reallex.* p. 390 fig. 283, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 7, 30 n. 1, 33, 34, 35, 38, 43, 44, 46, 60, 85 n. 1, 133) he grips a pair of clubs, on one of which rests the horse's right forefoot.

[3] Hence *supra* i. 178 n. 1 spoke of 'a warlike Iupiter on horse-back spearing a serpent-legged giant.' I was wrong.

is not so. The *motif* throughout is that of support, not active resistence[1]. The god and the giant are allies now, whatever they may have been once.

This curious group has beyond doubt preserved to us in Romanised form the contents of a long-standing local belief. And F. Hertlein deserves all credit for recognising that the rider, who



Fig. 43.

has the guise of a warlike Iupiter, is none other than the old Germanic Ziu[2]. As a sky-god Ziu would control both sunshine and storm. The sun appears as the rider's wheel[3], if not as his radiate crown[4]; the lightning, as his brandished bolt or lance[5].

[1] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 28 ff. proves conclusively, as I now think, that the type in question implies support rather than continued hostility. He notes that the rider pays no attention to the giant, that the horse never tramples on the giant's back or front, that the giant makes no effort to attack the rider, etc. But of course it remains open to us to suppose that the giant, formerly an enemy, has been reduced to serve as a footstool.

[2] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 70 ff.

[3] *Supra* p. 77 f. Cp. *supra* i. 197 ff. ('The Sun as a Wheel') and i. 882 (Index ii *s.v.* 'Sun').

[4] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 31, 73 maintains that several of the riders were fitted with a '*Strahlenkranz.*' But the evidence adduced by him is insufficient to prove his point. A dowel-hole on the head of rider or horse more probably implies a metal spike to keep birds from settling.

[5] *Supra* p. 76. Cp. *infra* § 3 (c) ii ('The Spear of Zeus').

So far, then, we can accept Hertlein's view. But when, following A. Riese[1], he contends that the prone or prostrate giant represents the earth[2], he seems to be deserting the principle of interpretation that he has himself propounded. For the Germanic earth-power would have been a goddess (Nerthus[3] or the like) rather than a god. Besides, she would surely have been figured below, not above, the Romanised *Irminsûl*—a pillar that *ex hypothesi* linked earth with heaven. I should therefore prefer to explain the giant along other lines. The provincial sculptor, bound to express himself in



Fig. 44.



Fig. 45.

the art-speech of Rome, would naturally draw his design for a warlike Iupiter from the Graeco-Roman type of the Gigantomachy. Hence his Iupiter as rider or driver with uplifted bolt. Hence too his giant always with serpentine legs[4], sometimes with a club[5], and in one case with a second giant beside him[6]. Further, when this pictorial composition, suitable enough for relief-work or intaglio or painting on the flat, was translated into sculpture in the round,

[1] A. Riese in the *Gesellschaft für lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde: Jahrbuch* 1900 xii. 324 ff.

[2] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 47 f.

[3] Tac. *Germ.* 40. For recent opinion with regard to Nerthus see W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1904 i. 567—602, M. Ihm in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 274—277, E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 367—369, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 pp. 204—209, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 311—321.

[4] This feature of the Gigantes is discussed by E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1670 ff., M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 pp. 274—282 ('Typhoeus; Schlangenfüssler'), cp. *ib.* pp. 216, 223 with n. 167, A. von Salis *Der Altar von Pergamon* Berlin 1912 p. 67 f., E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 pp. 95—97.

[5] *Supra* p. 80.

[6] A group from Pfalz (?) now in the Museum at Mayence (F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 18, 40 f., 42 f., 45) has a pair of giants, one bearded, the other beardless. This exceptional arrangement, like the occasional duplication of the giant's club (*supra* p. 80 n. 2), might be referred to a mere feeling for symmetry (as is perhaps the case with some of the doublets cited by E. Gerhard *Zwei Minerven* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* viii) Berlin 1848, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 257 n.[c]), but is more probably to be explained as a reminiscence of the Gigantomachy.

the pose taken by the defeated combatant was modified to form the necessary support for the galloping horse. Thus owing to a definite structural requirement[1] the vanquished giant of Graeco-Roman art (figs. 44[2], 45[3], 46[4]) became the subservient giant of the 'Jupiter-column.'

An exceptional group from Grand in the canton of Neufchâteau shows an even quainter perversion of a classical type (fig. 48)[5]. For here the god on horseback, with a thunder-drum (?)[6] beneath him,

[1] It is, however, possible that, where the giant is represented as a half-length figure bent or bowed beneath the sky-god's feet, there has been some contamination with the type of Caelus (*supra* i. 59 ff.).

[2] A sardonyx cameo at Naples (Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 18 pl. 3, 34, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 78 f. pl. 8, 3, E. Babelon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1475 fig. 3513, *id. La gravure en pierres fines* Paris 1894 p. 130 ff. fig. 102, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 391 Gemmentaf. 5, 2, A. Furtwängler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 215 f. pl. 8, 19 = *id. Kleine Schriften* München 1913 ii. 207 f. pl. 26, 19, *id. Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 57, 2 = my fig. 44, ii. 259, iii. 158) signed by ΑΟΗΝΙΩΝ, a gem-engraver who probably worked at Pergamon for the court of Eumenes ii. Zeus in a chariot drawn by four horses drives over two serpent-legged giants. He brandishes a thunderbolt in his right hand, while he holds the reins and a sceptre in his left. Of the giants one is dead, the other still full of fight swings a torch in his right hand.

[3] A green paste at Berlin (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 335 no. 9452, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 52 pl. 7, 78a = my fig. 45, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1865 p. 173, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Poseidon p. 333 Gemmentaf. 3, 1, M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 394 ff. fig. 3, p. 405) represents a god on horseback attacking a giant with snaky legs. It is usual to dub this group Poseidon and Polybotes on the strength of Paus. 1. 2. 4. But the weapon in the god's hand is more like a thunderbolt than a 'spear.' I should therefore regard him as Zeus, despite the rarity of the equestrian type (*supra* i. 19). It should be noted that Furtwängler *loc. cit.* includes this paste among the 'Bei Winckelmann und Tölken irrthümlich als antik verzeichnete moderne Glaspasten der Stoschischen Sammlung, zumeist nach antiken Steinen.'

[4] An *oinochóe* of *s.* iii. B.C. from Canusium published by H. Heydemann in the *Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* i. pl. 1 = my fig. 46 (cp. E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1662, M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 392 ff. fig. 1, H. Steinmetz in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv. 36) shows Zeus fulminant in a four-horse chariot, with Hermes as charioteer, pursuing across the sea a giant, who heaves up a rock in both hands: above the horses of Zeus are four stars; above the giant, the head of a wind-god breathing out a mighty blast.

[5] A group in common stone (height 1·60^{m}), found in 1895 inside an ancient cistern at Champ-Marguerite near Grand and now in the Museum at Nancy (G. Save—A. Schuler 'Le groupe équestre de Grand au Musée lorrain' in the *Mémoires de la Société d'archéologie lorraine* 1899 xlix. 5—34 with figs., F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 23, Espérandieu *Basreliefs de la Gaule Rom.* vi. 202 ff. with photographic cuts of which the first two = my fig. 47). The rider wears bay-wreath, *lorica*, and *paludamentum*. His uplifted right hand held a weapon. The forefeet of his horse are supported on the wings of a nude male figure, who bears a lightning-flash—an obvious modification of Victory with a fillet.

[6] Cp. *e.g.* Reinach *Bronzes Figurés* p. 156 no. 176 fig., p. 175 f. fig. (= Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 21 no. 6), p. 176 fig., Harrison *Themis* p. 114 f. fig. 21, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 248, ii. 183. *Supra* i. 650.

is preceded by a nude male figure, who flies through the air with



Fig. 46.

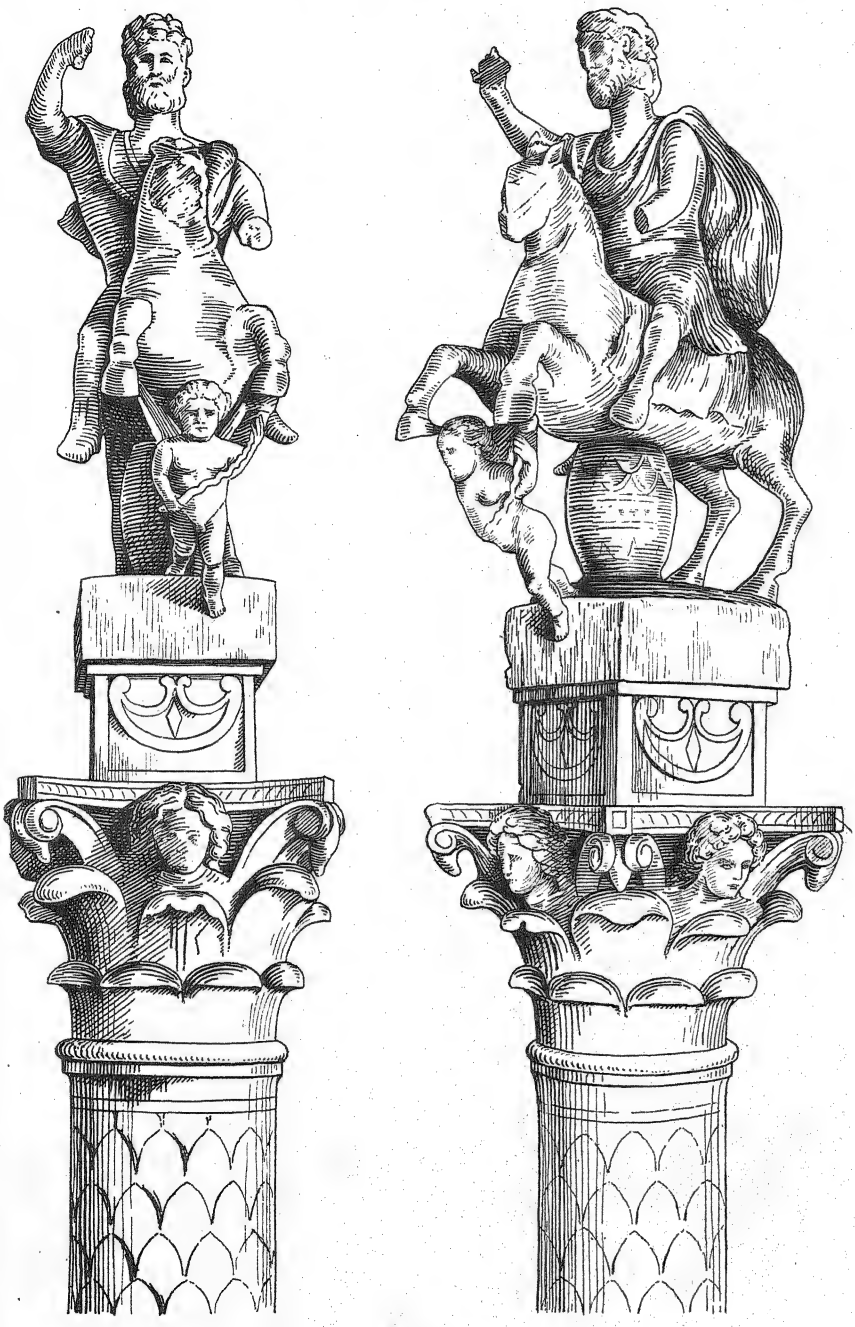


Fig. 47.

a flash of lightning held across his body. As he steps out from the top of the column, he looks like an incredibly clumsy caricature of Paionios' Victory.

Equally *bizarre* is a group from Luxovium (*Luxeuil*) in Germania Superior (fig. 48)[1]. This shows the rider-god thrusting his right



a *b*

Fig. 48.

hand between the spokes[2] of a wheel and resting his left on the shoulder of a partially draped female figure, who appears to be floating through the air at his side. The giant is reduced to a mere head supporting the left forefoot of the horse. The precise significance of the group is uncertain. It is possible that the god and his attendant should be identified with Luxovius and Brixia, mentioned together in an inscription from *Luxeuil*[3]. But in any case the rider must be regarded as a form of the Celtic Iupiter, who is represented by statuettes in white clay from Moulins (Allier) as a bearded god in military garb holding a wheel in his right hand

[1] A. C. P. de Tubières Comte de Caylus *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines et gauloises* Paris 1759 iii. 367 f. pl. 99, 3 (=my fig. 48), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 532 nos. 3 and 6. Found at Luxeuil in 1755. Local stone. Height 5 ft.

[2] Caylus says: 'une roue à sept rayes.'

[3] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 5426=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* 4680 Luxovio et Brixiae G. Iul. Firma(n)us v.s.l.m., cp. 5425=4680a [Lu]ssoio | et Briciae | Divixti|us Cons|tans | v.s.(l.)m. On Luxovius see M. Ihm in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2163 ('Es scheint der Quellgott von Luxeuil-les-Bains zu sein') and on Brixia A. Holder *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* Leipzig 1896 i. 531 and 616 ('vielleicht zu fl. Breuchin (Brêche) und O. Breuches und Breuchotte bei Luxeuil'), M. Ihm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 835 f., Ruggiero *Dizion. epigr.* i. 1027 and 1046.

and sometimes resting his left on the head of a nude female beside him (figs. 49, 50)[1].

The seasons of the year, the days of the week, the divisions of the day, all surmounted by a group representing the triumphant



Fig. 49.

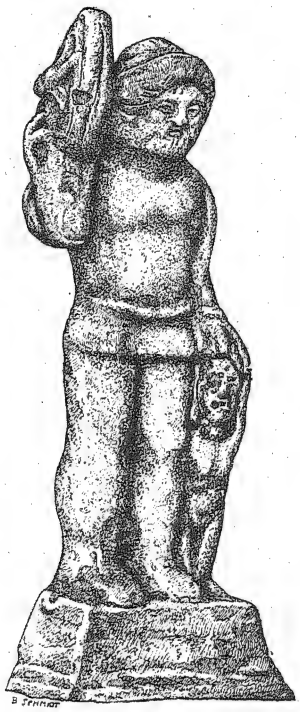


Fig. 50.

sky-god. We can hardly conceive a better scheme of decoration for the Romano-Germanic *Irminsûl*. It was appropriately dedicated 'to Iupiter Best and Greatest[2]' or 'to Iupiter Best and Greatest and to Iuno the Queen[3],' in one case 'to Iupiter Best and Greatest, the

[1] H. Gaidoz in the *Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 8 f. figs. 1—5 (4 and 5 = my figs. 49 and 50), A. Bertrand *La religion des Gaulois* Paris 1897 p. 319 pl. 28. Cp. *supra* i. 288 f.

[2] *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)*. So on the *Viergöttersteine* of Brötzingen (Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 22 no. 30), Schierstein (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 33 no. 56), Godramstein (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 45 no. 86), Mayence (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 59 no. 129), Kreuznach (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 126 no. 135), Metz (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 132 no. 150 [I]OM), Ahrgebiet (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 138 no. 164 = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 7784), Mosbach (F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 119), Kreuznach *bis* (*id. ib.* p. 124 [I]. O. M = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 7528), and on the *Wochengötterstein* of Havange (Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1890 ix. 34 f. no. 15, *supra* p. 71 n. 1). See further F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 80.

[3] *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Iunoni Reginae*. So on the *Viergöttersteine* of Kastel (Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 30 f. no 50 [I. O. M.] et I[uno]ni Re[g(inae)]), Kastel *bis* (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 32 no. 53 I. O. M. et Iun. Reg.), Kastel *ter* (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 32 f.

Preserver[1],' in another 'to Iupiter Best and Greatest and to all the other gods and goddesses immortal[2].' Thus with simple time-honoured phrases the tribes of Rhenic Germany attested their belief that heaven, the abode of the sky-god, rested on a world-pillar. Their ancestors, could we have questioned them, would probably have held the same opinion in a slightly different form, speaking not of a pillar but of a tree—a notion that still lingers in the cottage-homes of their descendants[3].

Finally, since the holy tree of a primitive cult is apt to be associated with a holy well[4], F. Hertlein rightly draws attention to the fact that a noticeable proportion of these 'Jupiter-columns' has been discovered in Roman wells or beside a spring or river[5].

no. 55 I.O.M. e[t Iun.] = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 7270 I.O.M. e[t I.R.]), Bierstadt (Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 34 no. 58 [I.]O.M. [Iu]noni Reg.), Liederbach (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 34 no. 59 I.O.M. et Iunon(i) Re(ginae)), Heddernheim (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 35 no. 61 [I.O.M. et Iunoni Regi]nae), Heddernheim *bis* (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 35 f. no. 62 [I.]O.M. Iunoni Regina[e]), Mayence (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 55 f. no. 120 I.O.M, which J. Becker *Die römischen Inschriften und Steinsculpturen des Museums der Stadt Mainz* Mainz 1875 p. 3 no. 11 completes [Iun. Reg.], the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 6699 [et I.R.], F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 81 n. 1 [(et) I.R.]), Mayence *bis* (Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 56 no. 121 I.O.M. et Iunoni Reginae), Mayence *ter* (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 57 no. 124 I.O.M. et Iunoni Reginae), Heddernheim *ter* (F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 6 [I.O.M. et I.]R.), Mayence *quater* (*id. ib.* p. 123, cp. Körber in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* 1906 xxv Korrespondenzbl. p. 168 f. [I.O.M. et Iunoni Re]gin(a)e), Weisenau (*id. ib.* p. 123 [I.O.M. et] Iunoni Reg.).

[1] *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Conservato[ri]*. So on a *Viergötterstein* of Kastel (Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 31 f. no. 52). For *Conservator* as an epithet of gods in general and of Iupiter in particular see the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* iv. 418, 37 ff., Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*[3] i. 208, 238, Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 128 f. : cp. *supra* i. 276 n. 5, 551 n. 11, 608 n. 7.

[2] *Iovi Optimo Maximo et caeteris dis deabusq(ue) immortalibus.* So on the *Wochengötterstein* of Agnin (Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5653, Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* 1890 ix. 35 no. 17).

[3] The idea of a world-tree (on which see *e.g.* J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 796 ff., 1888 iv. 1536 f., P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 347 ff., R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 pp. 69, 474 ff., 547 f. ; *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 56 f., 158 f. ; R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 565 f., 584, 604, 677 ; A. de Gubernatis *La mythologie des plantes* Paris 1878 i. 93 ff., 1882 ii. 75 ff. ; Mrs J. H. Philpot *The Sacred Tree* London 1897 p. 109 ff.) enters into tales of the 'Jack and Beanstalk' type (C. S. Burne *The Handbook of Folklore* London 1914 p. 350 no. 33), which are of wide-spread occurrence (E. B. Tylor *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization* London 1865 pp. 341—349, W. R. S. Ralston *Russian Folk-Tales* London 1873 pp. 291—298, J. Jacobs *English Fairy Tales*[3] London 1898 pp. 59 ff., 238) and have left traces of themselves in France (P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* 1906 iii. 439) and Germany (*Grimm's Household Tales* trans. M. Hunt London 1901 ii. 107 f. no. 112, *ib.* ii. 413, cp. *ib.* ii. 506—508).

[4] *Supra* i. 76 f., 368 f., 526 n. 4.

[5] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 85 f., following up an observation by F. Hettner in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1885 iv. 387.

Another variety of 'Jupiter-column,' found over a wider area[1] and dating, it would seem, from a somewhat earlier period[2], was surmounted merely by a seated or standing figure of the sky-god[3]. These columns were characterised by much sculptural decoration[4]. Their square plinth was regularly a *Viergötterstein* carved with deities: indeed, it seems probable that the practice of thus adorning the plinth began with the makers of the earlier columns and spread from them to the makers of the rider-and-giant series, who improved upon the earlier plan by restricting the deities in question to representatives of the seasons, soon afterwards adding the heads or busts on the capital to denote the divisions of the day, and at the same time or but little later introducing the *Wochengötterstein* as a secondary plinth[5]. The shaft of the earlier columns might be left smooth (fig. 51)[6], but was often patterned with scales etc.[7], and sometimes also embellished with the figures of deities, *e.g.* Mercurius, Minerva, Iuno (fig. 52)[8] or Hercules, Minerva, Iuno in

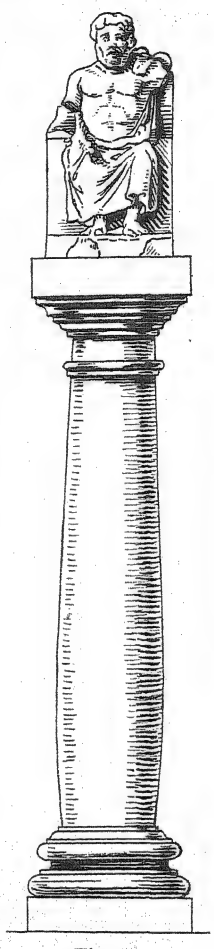


Fig. 51.

[1] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 51 : 'derartige Säulen mit stehendem oder thronendem Juppiter finden sich häufig ausserhalb des Gebietes der Gigantengruppen und an der Peripherie derselben, wo diese sehr selten sind, wie in der Kölner Gegend' (cp. *ib.* pp. 53, 158).

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 159.

[3] Hence F. Hertlein *op. cit. passim* would distinguish them as '*Juppitersäulen*' from the '*Juppitergigantensäulen*' already discussed. This convenient nomenclature is more possible in German than in English.

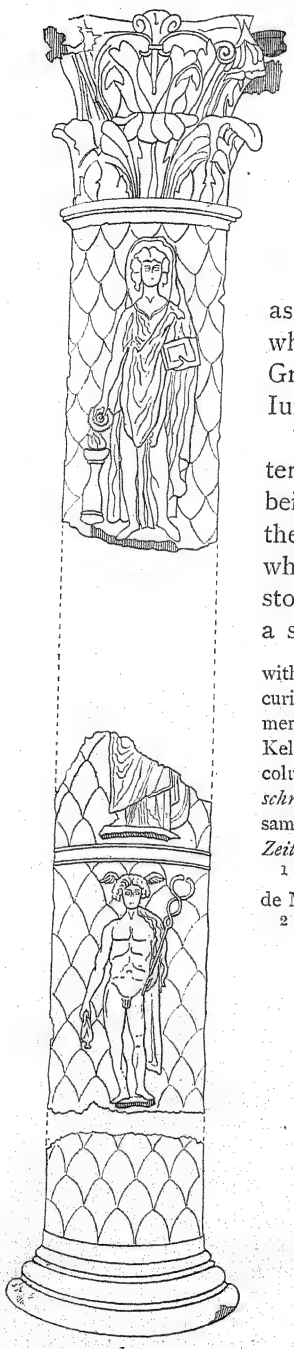
[4] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 157.

[5] *Id. ib.* pp. 159—161.

[6] So in the case of the smaller column from Heddernheim (O. Donner-von Richter and A. Riese *Heddernheimer Ausgrabungen* Frankfurt am Main 1885 (an Stelle des Neujahrs-Blattes des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde für 1885 und 1886) pl. 1, 2 f. = my fig. 51, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 6, 158, *supra* p. 71 n. 6), which has a total height of 2·30^{m} and is accompanied by an altar 0·625^{m} high inscribed *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)*.

[7] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 158, cp. *ib.* p. 84.

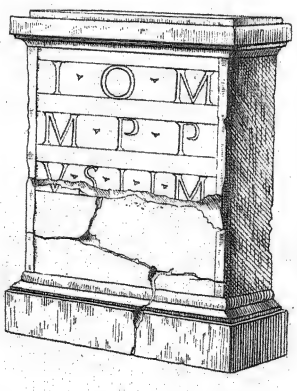
[8] *Id. ib.* p. 157 f. I figure the limestone altar, column, and statue found in 1880 at Mayence among the ruins of a large Roman building and now in the Mayence Museum (J. Keller in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1881 lxx. 1 ff. pl. 1, F. Hettner in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1885 iv. 370 f., Körber in the *Mainzer Zeitschrift* 1906 i. 62 fig., F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 157 f.). The altar (height 0·50^{m}, length and breadth 0·315^{m}) is inscribed *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *M.P.P.* | *v.s.l.l.m.* The column (upper diameter 0·18^{m}, height *c.* 1·60^{m}), once mounted on a plinth, is decorated



b



c



a

Fig. 52.

ascending order (fig. 53)[1]. The column as a whole was dedicated 'to Iupiter Best and Greatest,' but not—so far as we know—to Iuno in combination with him[2].

The earlier, like the later, variety of 'Jupiter-column' had a long history behind it, being in all probability itself descended from the Germanic *Irminsûl*. The one example of which any trace subsists in our own country stood at Durocornovium (*Cirencester*). Here a small sandstone plinth has come to light

with a scale-pattern and three superposed figures of Mercurius, Minerva, Iuno. The statue, to judge from its dimensions, stood upon the capital of the column, not—as Keller supposed—on the altar. Hertlein notes that the column of Klein-Bouslar near Erkelenz (*Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1907 xxvi. 321) exhibits the same three deities in the same order. See further F. Hettner in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1885 iv. 386.

[1] S. Reinach in the *Rev. arch.* 1913 i. 27 fig. 2 'Colonne de Mülfort.'

[2] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 158, cp. *ib.* p. 81.

inscribed with careful lettering of Diocletian's age (284—305 A.D.). In front is a dedication 'To Iupiter Best and Greatest. L. Septimius..., an equestrian, governor of the first province of Britain, restored this by the agency of C. Iust....' To left and right are two very indifferent verses:

The statue and the column here in ancient days adored
Britannia Prima's ruler Septimius restored[1].



Fig. 53.

The object of Septimius' pious and politic care was certainly a 'Jupiter-column' of some sort. And, if the road connecting Calleva (*Silchester*) with Durocornovium (*Cirencester*) was really, as E. Hübner supposed, an Ermine Street[2], it may fairly be assumed that the column had taken the place of an older *Irminsûl*. Nor need we be deterred from regarding the 'Jupiter-column' as a Romanised *Irminsûl* by the fact that deities were carved upon its shaft. The *Irminsûl* near Eresburg[3] was itself described by a Saxon poet, who wrote in the reign of Arnulf, as a thing 'of beauty[4].' And a similar sacred post at Austa

[1] E. Hübner in the *Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 254 f. reads the dedication as follows: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) [M(aximo)] | L. Sept[imius...] | v(ir) p(erfectissimus) pr(aeses) [prov(inciae) Brit(anniae) pr(imae)] | rest[ituit] | c(urante) Iust[ino...]* and the hexameters thus: *[Sig]num et | [er]ectam | [p]risca re|[i]gione co[lu]mnam || Septimius | renovat, | primae | provinciae | rector.* F. Bücheler *Carmina Latina epigraphica* Lipsiae 1895 i. 135 no. 277 prefers: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) [M(aximo)] | L. Sept[imius...] | v(ir) p(erfectissimus) pr(aeses) [prov(inciae) Brit(anniae) primae] | rest[ituit curam agente] | C. Iust...* and *[Sig]num et | [der]ectam | [p]risca re|gione co|[lu]mnam || Septimius | renovat | primae | provinciae | rector.* F. Haverfield in the *English Historical Review* for July 1896 figures the plinth and (followed by E. Conybeare *Roman Britain* London 1903 p. 225 n. 1) reads the hexameters in the inverse order. Cp. also *Ephem. epigr.* ix. 517 f. no. 997, F. Haverfield *The Romanization of Roman Britain*[3] Oxford 1915 p. 70 n. 1.

[2] See the map appended to *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii. Cp. T. Codrington *Roman Roads in Britain* London 1903 p. 29 f. 'Higden, following another of King Belinus's roads in Geoffrey of Monmouth's account, says that Erming Street tends from west to east, beginning at St. David's, and goes to Southampton, that is, roughly parallel to Watling Street, and extending from sea to sea. There can be little doubt that he referred to the line of Roman roads through Gloucester, Cirencester, Cricklade, to near Wanborough, and then south by Marlborough to Winchester and Bitterne near Southampton, a route which in Gloucestershire and North Wiltshire still bears the name of the Ermin Way.'

[3] *Supra* p. 53.

[4] Poeta Saxo *annalium de gestis Caroli Magni imperatoris* lib. i anno 772 v. 45 ff. (G. H. Pertz *Monumenta Germaniae historica* Hannoverae 1826 i. 228) Gens eadem coluit simulacrum, quod vocitabant | Irminsul, cuius factura similis (sic cod.: *similis factura* corr. Leibnitius) columne (*factura simulque columna* cj. Reineccius) | Non operis parvi fuerat pariterque decoris.

(*le Bourg d'Augst* near *Eu*) in Neustria mentioned in an eighth-century *Life of Walaricus, Abbot of Leuconaus*, who died *c.* 622 A.D.[1], was 'figured with diverse images[2].' Such examples lend some support to the statement of Simon Grunau[3] that in the great evergreen

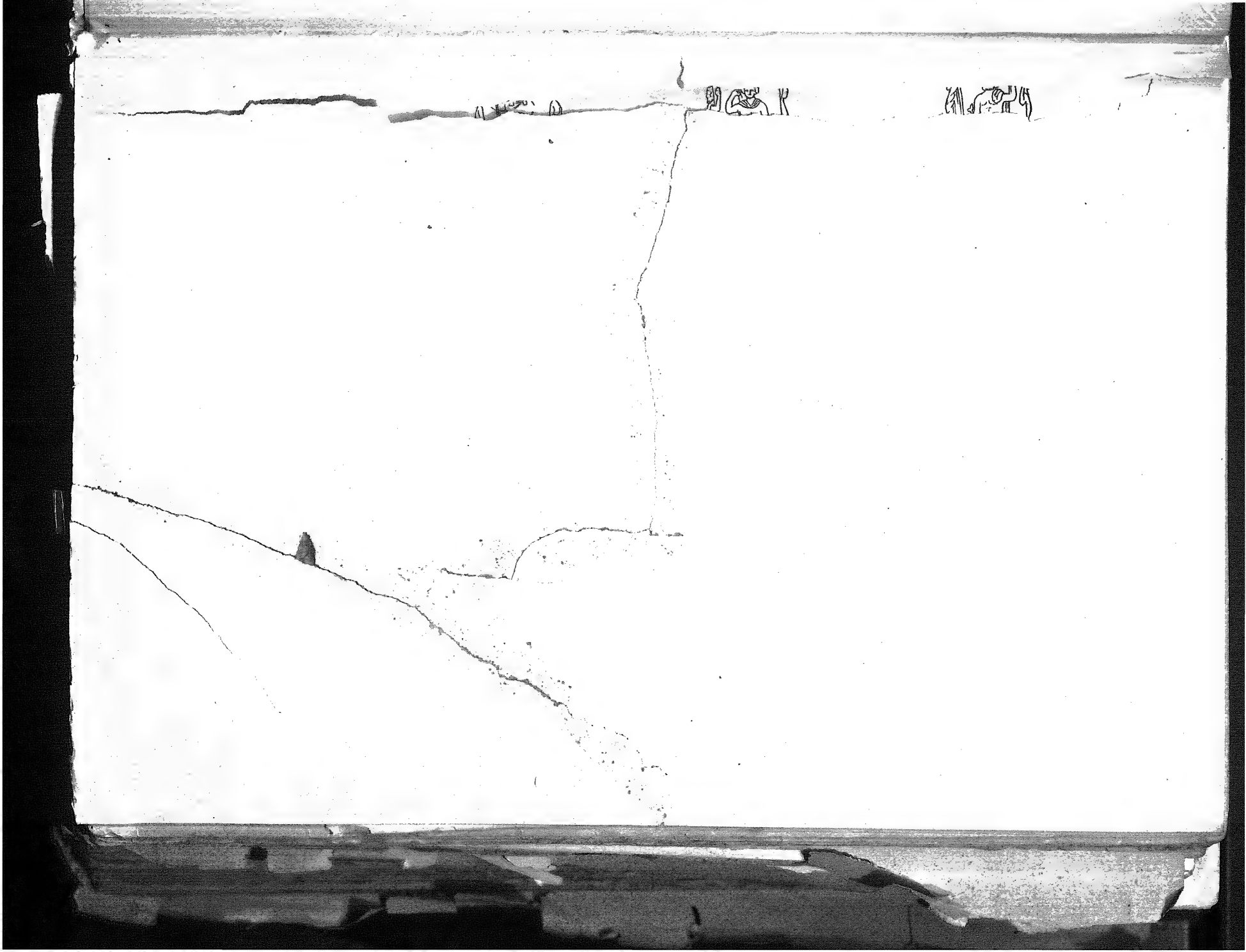
[1] S. A. Bennett in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. 1169.

[2] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Aprilis i. 21 (Ragimbertus Abbas *v. S. Walarici* 16) Et juxta ripam ipsius fluminis stipes erat magnus, diversis imaginibus figuratus, atque ibi in terram magna virtute immissus, qui nimio cultu, more Gentilium, à rusticis colebatur. Cumque hoc Confessor Domini vidisset, confestim zelo Dei accensus, ad puerum dixit: Fili mi, impinge hunc in ruinam cadendum. Qui nihil hæsitans nec moratus, manu hunc tantummodo contigit; & pondus immensum, quod vix multitudo hominum magna vi posset evellere vel securibus incidere, à tactu unius obedientis monachi, quasi madidus & putrefactus, nimio fragore & magno impetu subito ad terram cecidit, atque in semetipsum totus confractus apparuit. Et hic quidem rusticis, habitantibus in loco, non parvum tam mœrorem quam & stuporem omnibus præbuit: sed undique illis certatim concurrentibus cum armis & fustibus, indigne hoc ferentes invicem, ut quasi injuriam Dei sui vindicarent, cum in eum unanimiter magno furore erupissent, & extensis brachiis colaphos ictusque suos in aëre suspendissent; ille, ut erat semper animo intrepidus atque robustus, fertur eis illud dixisse: Si Dominus hoc permittit, nullus ei resistere valebit. At illi è contrario perterriti, ab intentione animi sui statim divino nutu repressi, ab eo recesserunt. Sed his ita dimissis, cœpit Sacerdos divino spiritu afflatus eos instruere, ut relictis idolis omnipotenti Deo deservirent. Et in ipso eodemque loco postea in honorem B. Walarici basilicam construxerunt, juxta fontem aliquem, ex quo fertur ipse se lavisse; ubi plurima beneficia recta fide petentibus à Domino præstantur.

It will be observed that this post, like the 'Jupiter-columns' (*supra* p. 88), was set up beside a spring and not far from a river.

[3] S. Grunau *Preussische Chronik* ed. M. Perlbach Leipzig 1876 i. 78 (Tractat. ii cap. 5 sect. 2 'Vonn der gelegenheit der eichenn, inn welchin do worenn die götthe.') 'Die grosse dicke und mechtige hohe eiche, in welcher der teuffel sein gespenst hette und die bilde der abgötte ynne woren, halt ich ausz vorplendungk des teufels, war stetis grün, winter und sommer, und war obene weit und breit so dicke von lobe, damit kein regen dardurch kunt fallen, und umb und umb woren hubsche tuchir vorgezogen ein schrit aber 3 von der eichen wol 7 elen hoch, do mocht niemandt eingehen ag der kirwaito und die obirsten waidolotten, sonder so imandes quam, sie die tuchir wegk zogen. Und die eiche war (*wol* cod. A) gleich in 3 teil geteilet, in iglichem wie in eim gemachten fenster stundt ein abgott und hett vor sich sein cleinott. Die eine seite hilt das bilde Perkuno inne, wies oben ist gesagt wurden, und sein cleinott war, domit man stetis feuir hette von eichenem holtze tag und nacht, und so is von vorseumnis ausginge, is koste dem zugeeigenten waidlotten den hals, auff man brandte die oppherungk. Dy andre seite hilt ynne das bildt Potrumppi und het vor sein cleinot eine slange, und die wardt in einem grosen toppe irnert mit milch von den waydolottinnen und stetis mit garwen des getreides bedeckt. Das dritte bilde Patolli hilt inne die dritten seitte, und sein cleinott war ein todten kopff vonn eim menschin, pferde und ku, und diesen zu zeiten in iren festen in eim toppe unslitt brandten zur erungk. Umb und umb in ihren gezelten wonten die wadolotteu (leg. *wadolotten*).'

Simon Grunau's good faith has been doubted or denied, especially in regard to these three images (M. Toeppen *Geschichte der Preussischen Historiographie von P. v. Dusburg bis auf K. Schütz* Berlin 1853 pp. 122—201, H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 83). But he lived as an itinerant Dominican friar early in the sixteenth century in that part of Prussia, which had been ceded to Poland (Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 366 n. 2); and such a man would have had excellent opportunities of becoming acquainted with the old heathen customs of the district.



oak at Romove[1] were images of the three Lithuanian gods Perkúnas, Potrympus, and Pikùlas[2].

(ζ) The Column of Mayence.

Perhaps the earliest, certainly the finest, example of the figured variety is the 'Jupiter-column' found within the *territorium* of the Roman camp at Mogontiacum (*Mayence*) in 1905 and now preserved in the Mayence Museum (pl. iv)[3]. From a double plinth (2·98^{m} high) rose a base, shaft, and capital (together 5·60^{m} high) supporting a pedestal (0·62^{m} high), on which stood a bronze statue of Iupiter. The front of the upper plinth was inscribed: 'To Iupiter Best and Greatest on behalf of the emperor Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus (this monument was dedicated) by the public action of the Canabarii[4], when L. Sulpicius Scribonius Proculus imperial legate was propraetor[5], through the agency and at the charges of Q. Iulius Priscus and Q. Iulius Auctus[6].' The sculptors, who decorated the column, added their names on the cornice of the lower plinth: 'Samus and Severus, sons of Venicarus, did the carving[7].' This lower plinth was in effect a *Viergötterstein.* It

[1] On the oak at Romove see further W. J. A. von Tettau und J. D. H. Temme *Die Volkssagen Ostpreussens, Litthauens und Westpreussens* Berlin 1837 pp. 19—22, 35—38, J. Voigt *Geschichte Preussens* Königsberg 1827 i. 580 ff., 595 ff., P. Wagler *Die Eiche in alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1891 ii. 46—48, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 365—367.

[2] The names of the three gods are discussed by H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 pp. 97, 98, 98 f.

[3] K. Körber 'Die grosse Iuppiter-Säule von Mainz' in the *Mainzer Zeitschrift* 1906 i. 54 ff., A. von Domaszewski 'Die Iuppitersäule in Mainz' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 303—311 pl. 2 (from which my pl. iv is redrawn), E. Maass 'Die Griechen in Südgallien' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 85 ff. with figs. 33—38, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 186 f., F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 155 ff., cp. *ib.* pp. 80, 96, 123, 127, 131, A. Oxé in the *Mainzer Zeitschrift* 1912 vii. 28 ff. pls. 3 f., E. Neeb *Die Juppitersäule, eine kurze Erklärung ihres Bildschmuckes mit 4 Tafeln* Stuttgart s.a., S. Reinach 'La colonne historiée de Mayence' in the *Rev. arch.* 1913 i. 25—30 figs. 1—4, E. Strong 'On the storied column of Mayence' *ib.* 1913 ii. 321—332 figs. 1—5, S. Reinach 'Rosmerta ou Maia?' *ib.* 1913 ii. 333 f.

[4] These *Canabarii* or *Canabenses* were the *cives Romani ad Canabas* of Mayence, *i.e.* shop-keepers, traders, veterans etc. occupying the wooden shanties (*canabae*), which alone were permitted in the vicinity of the Roman camp (A. von Domaszewski in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 153 ff.).

[5] Scribonius Proculus and his brother Rufus, governors of Germania Superior and Inferior respectively, were recalled by Nero in 67 A.D. (Dion Cass. 63. 17, cp. Tac. *ann.* 13. 48, *hist.* 4. 41).

[6] A. von Domaszewski in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 303 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 9235 *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *pro* [*sa*]*l*[*ute Ner*ọ*n*]|[*is*] *Clau*[*d*]*i Cae*|*saris Au*[*g*(*usti*)] *imp*(*eratoris*) | *Canaba*[*rı*] *pub*[*l*]*ice* | *P. Sulpicio Scri*[*b*]*onio Proculo leg*(*ato*) *Aug*(*usti*) *p*[*r*(*o*) *p*]*r*(*aetore*)*;* | *cura et impensa* | *Q. Iuli Pris*[*i*] *et Q. Iuli Aucti.*

[7] A. von Domaszewski in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 304 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 9235 *Samus et Severus Venicari f*(*ilii*) *sculpserunt.*

exhibits the seasonal (?) series[1] from right to left with sundry slight modifications—Iupiter replacing Iuno as patron of the opening year[2], Mercurius being provided with a partner, possibly Maia (?)[3],

[1] Iuno (=Frija) as goddess of spring, Mercurius (=Wodan) as god of summer, Hercules (=Donar) as god of autumn, Minerva (=Holda) as goddess of winter. See *supra* p. 58 ff.

[2] Iupiter heads the climatic series because he was 'the Author of Good Weather' (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 6=Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5615=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3060 a marble altar from Lescure (Ariège) inscribed *I. o. m.* | *auctori* | *bonarum* | *Tempes*|*tatium*, | *Val. Iustus* between a *patera* carved to the left and a *guttus* to the right, cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no. 2609=Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1271=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3061 an altar found near Lambaesis *Iovi o. m.* | *Tempestatium* | *divinarum* | *potenti*, | *leg. III Aug.* | *dedicante* | *Q. Fabio Catullino* | *leg. Aug. pr. pr.* together with a twin altar *Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no. 2610=Orelli *loc. cit.*=Dessau *loc. cit. Ventis* | *bonarum* | *Tempes*|*tatium* | *potentibus* | *leg. III Aug.* | *dedicante* | *Q. Fabio Catullino* | *leg. Aug. pr. pr.*). Similarly Zeus, the author of days and years (*supra* i. 16 n. 3, 187 n. 8), is associated with the Horai as powers of the 'year' (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 653 f., Schrader *Reallex.* p. 395, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 523) throughout the whole of their long development (on which see J. H. Krause *Musen Grazien Horen und Nymphen* Halle 1871 pp. 109—127, P. Herrmann *De Horarum apud veteres figuris* Berlin 1887, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 477—480, A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2712—2741, J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 249—256, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 382 n. 1, 1063 n. 3, Jolles in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2300—2313). Thus the Διὸς ὧραι of Homer (*Od.* 24. 344 with Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1964, 28, cp. Pind. *Ol.* 4. 1 ff. ἐλατὴρ ὑπέρτατε βρον|τᾶς ἀκαμαντόποδος | Ζεῦ· τεαὶ γὰρ Ὧραι κ.τ.λ. with scholl. *ad loc.*) become in Hesiod and later writers the daughters of Zeus by Themis (Hes. *theog.* 901 ff., cp. *o. d.* 256; Pind. *frag.* 30 Schroeder=*supra* p. 37 n. 1, cp. *Ol.* 13. 6 ff.; Orph. *h. Hor.* 43. 1 ff.; Apollod. 1. 3. 1; Hyg. *fab. praef.* p. 12, 6 Schmidt and *fab.* 183; Cornut. *theol.* 29 p. 57, 6 ff. Lang; Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 21; Eudok. *viol.* 1019), or at least the daughters (Diod. 5. 72, Paus. 5. 11. 7) or attendants of Zeus (Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 5, 8. 33, cp. 7. 106 f.). Hence they figured as decorative details on the throne of Zeus at Olympia (Paus. 5. 11. 7) and at Megara (Paus. 1. 40. 4).

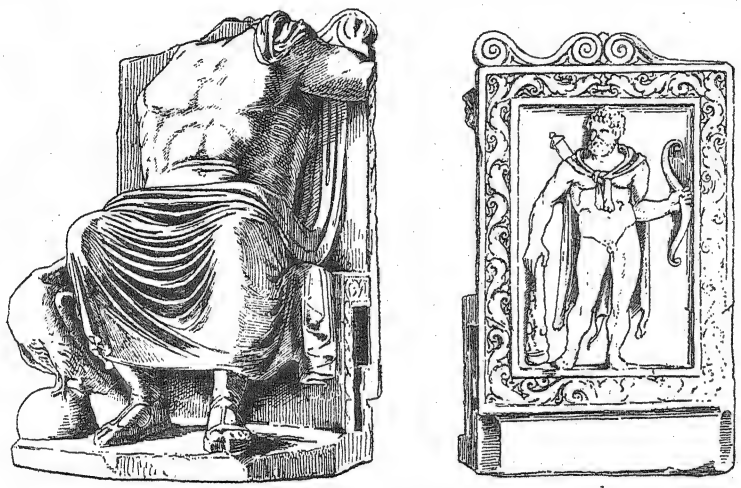
But, apart from the general connexion of Iupiter with the Tempestates or Zeus with the Horai, there seems to have been a special reason why this deity was chosen as the representative of spring, *viz.* a May-festival of Iupiter in the Gallo-Germanic area (E. Maass in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 108 ff. cites Eligius, bishop of Noyon (640—648 A.D.), *de rectitudine catholicae conversationis* (xl. 1172 Migne) Nullus diem Iovis absque sanctis festivitatibus nec in Maio nec in ullo tempore in otio observet).

[3] Mercurius, clad in *chlamys*, winged *pétasos* and sandals, holds a *caduceus* in his left hand and offers a purse with his right, while a cock—his frequent attribute—hovers above it. His companion, in *chitón* and *himátion*, holds out towards him a winged *pétasos* in her left hand, a *caduceus* in her right. Beneath the latter is a stepped omphaloid stone, round which a snake is coiled. K. Körber and A. von Domaszewski suppose that this goddess is Rosmerta, the Gallic partner of Mercurius (on whom see the excellent article by M. Ihm in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 209—225). E. Maass in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 87—90 wants to call her Emporia as goddess of the local mart: but his arguments are unconvincing. A. Oxé in the *Mainzer Zeitschrift* 1912 vii. 28 ff., followed by E. Strong in the *Rev. arch.* 1913 ii. 324, makes her out to be Salus, the Romanized Hygieia, whose presence was required by the *pro salute Neronis* of the inscription (*supra* p. 93 n. 6). J. Zingerle in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 338 n. 29, M. Ihm in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 220 ff., S. Reinach in the *Rev. arch.* 1913 i. 25 revert to the name Rosmerta. Reinach *ib.* 1913 ii. 333 f. further identifies Rosmerta with Maia as the mother of Mercurius.

and Minerva bringing the year to a prosperous close with Fortuna conceived as her second self[1]. The front and back of the lower plinth show Iupiter and Hercules[2] standing between acanthus-pilasters, which are adorned with flowers, grapes, squirrels, etc. and topped by four male heads or masks—two Satyroi with pointed ears on the side of Iupiter, two Silenoi wreathed with ivy and vine on that of Hercules[3]. The upper plinth displays Apollo flanked by

[1] Minerva, wearing sleeved *chitón*, *himátion*, *aigís*, and helmet with reclining griffin as crest-support, drops a pinch of incense from her right hand into a small brazier set upon a stone base: her owl is visible beneath her left hand. Fortuna, draped in a sleeveless *chitón*, which has slipped from her right shoulder, and a *himátion*, has a *stephánē* in her hair, holds the tiller of a steering-paddle in her right hand, and carries a goat's horn as *cornu copiae* over her left shoulder.

F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 156 notes that Fortuna appears as representative of the winter on *Viergöttersteine* from Kreuznach (*ib.* pp. 109, 126, 131) and Heinzenhausen (*ib.* pp. 109, 122, 126). Moreover, he is able to cite an altar



a *b*

Fig. 54.

found at Mayence in 1832, which is dedicated [*I.*] *o. m.* | [*Iu*]*noni Reginae* | [*For*]*tunae Minervae* | ... (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 6728): this implies a close association, though hardly an actual identification, of Fortuna with Minerva (cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ix no. 4674 Reate *Iovi o. m. Minervae Fortunae Herculi*).

[2] For Iupiter and Hercules as obverse and reverse of the same monument cp. a limestone figure found in 1885 on the Petersberg near Trèves (F. Hettner *Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier* Trier 1893 p. 12 f. no. 21 fig. = my fig. 54). Iupiter in *himátion* and sandals, with his eagle on a globe beside him, is seated on a throne, the back of which forms a floral frame filled by a standing Hercules with lion-skin and club, bow and quiver. It was perhaps felt that Hercules was the heroic counterpart of Iupiter: Donar at least was equated first with the former and then with the latter (*supra* p. 63 n. 1). A Gallic Iupiter approximating in type to Hercules has been figured *supra* i. 288 fig. 208.

[3] These Dionysiac heads together with the vegetable and animal decoration of the pilasters recall the vine-leaf shafts of Neuenheim and Les Fontaines (*supra* p. 71 n. 7).

Castor and Pollux, all three being sons of Iupiter who in various ways inherited their father's light-giving prerogative. The shaft of the column is covered with five zones of deities arranged as in the following table:

	FRONT	LEFT SIDE	BACK	RIGHT SIDE
SHAFT OF THE COLUMN	IVNO *Regina*	Luna		Sol
	Genius Neronis	Lar	Bacchus	Lar
	Pax	Iuno *Sancta*	VESTA	VENVS
	CERES	Honos	VOLCANVS	Virtus
	Victoria	MARS	DIANA	NEPTVNVS
UPPER PLINTH	Inscription	Castor	APOLLO	Pollux
LOWER PLINTH	IVPITER	MERCVRIVS and Maia(?)	Hercules	MINERVA and Fortuna

Immediately below the bronze statue of Iupiter Best and Greatest is his consort Iuno the Queen[1], standing sceptre in hand between the chariots of Sol and Luna. Next in order of dignity comes Nero, to whom the second drum is devoted. As a Genius[2] with portrait features, veiled and sacrificing, he is flanked by the imperial Lares. He is further brought into connexion with Bacchus, possibly as being himself a *Néos Diónysos*[3]. To interpret the three

[1] *Supra* p. 87 n. 3. Numerous inscriptions found at Mayence associate Iupiter *Optimus Maximus* with Iuno *Regina* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii nos. 6713—6728).

[2] Local inscriptions repeatedly link the names of Iupiter *Optimus Maximus* or Iuno *Regina* or both with that of the Genius (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii nos. 6696 Iunoni Reg. et | Genio loci, 6710 I. o. m. et Genio, 6711 I. o. m. | et Genio | beneme|renti, 6712 I. o. m. | et Genio loci, 6726 I. o. m. [Iun. Reg.] | et Ge[nio], 6730 I. o. m. | Sucaelo et | Gen. loci), whose cult survived in the Gallo-Germanic region till the seventh century (see E. Maass in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 109 f.).

[3] So Mrs Strong in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 327: 'Nor does it seem fanciful to suppose that *Liber* appears on the same drum as Nero, in compliment to the Emperor not averse doubtless to seeing himself alluded to as the *néos* Διόνυσος.' This title was actually assumed by Mithradates vi Eupator, king of Pontos 120—63 B.C. (Poseidonios *frag.* 41 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 266 ff. Müller) *ap.* Athen. 212 D, cp. Cic. *pro Flacco* 60, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 370, 1, W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. xxv, G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 162 f.), Ptolemy xiii Auletes, king of Egypt 80—51 B.C. (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 186, 8 f., no. 187, 2, no. 191, 1 f., no. 193, 9, no. 741, 1 f. with notes on no. 182, 1, B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1899 ii. 139 f. no. 236 *b*, 1, B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt —D. G. Hogarth *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri* London 1900 p. 304 no. 236, Porphyrios

lower drums aright, we must view them from the front, bearing in

ap. Euseb. *chron.* i. 22. 6 (p. 120 ed. A. Mai—J. Zohrab), cp. Loukian. *de calumn.* 16, *supra* i. 709 n. 1), M. Antonius the *triumvir* (Vell. Pat. 2. 82. 4, cp. Sokrates of Rhodes *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 326 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 148 C, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 776, 30 f.), Caligula (Philon *de legat. ad Cai.* 12, Athen. 148 D, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 776, 29 f.), and probably Hadrian (E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1890 iii. 2. 161 no. 600, 46). Demetrios Poliorketes too had posed as Dionysos (Plout. *v. Demetr.* 2), as had Antiochos vi, son of Alexandros i Balas (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 63 ff. pl. 19, 1—3, 5—14, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 72 ff. pl. 68, 2—10, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 766 f. fig. 337); and in later times Antinoos (*supra* i. 714 n. 6, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. pp. lxxxix, 189 ΝΕΩΙΑΚΧΩ on a copper of Tarsos) and various scions of the imperial house (*supra* i. 714 f.) were represented as Dionysos incarnate. That Nero claimed to be Dionysos is not, I think, recorded by any ancient authority: but his worship, like that of other emperors (see W. Quandt *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* Halis Saxonum 1913 p. 275), might be associated with the worship of Dionysos (*e.g. Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 158 [Διονύσῳ Ἐλ]ευθερι<u>εῖ</u> καὶ [Νέρωνι] Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι Σε[βαστῷ Γερμανικῷ κ.τ.λ.]), and he takes on occasion the *rôle* of Zeus *Eleuthérios* (fig. 55 is a copper of Sikyon (this attribution was first made by F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Revue suisse de numismatique* 1896 vi. 240, 1897 vii. 40, cp. R. Münsterberg in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1911 iv. 122) from my collection: obv. ΝΕ·ΚΑΙ·ΣΕ ΥϹ·ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟϹ· head of Nero to right; rev. ΕΠΙΓ(αΐου)·ΙΟΥ(λίου) ΠΟΛΥΑΙΝΟΥ·ΔΑ (for δυανδρικοῦ?) ϹΙ(κυωνίων) emperor on horseback to left. So *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 2713, 41, 49, 51 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 376, 41 Akraiphia [Νέρων] Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος, 49 Διὶ Ἐλευθερίῳ [Νέρων]ι, 51 f. [Νέρωνος] Διὸς | Ἐλευθερίου, cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 1085, 3 f. Similarly Theophanes, the friend of Cn. Pompeius Magnus, in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 163 *b*, 1 ff. Mytilene [θ]έω Δ[ὶ Ἐλευθε]|ρίω Φιλοπάτριδι | Θεοφάνη τῷ σώ|τηρι καὶ εὐεργέ|τα καὶ κτίστα δευ|τέρω τᾶς πάτριδος = C. T. Newton *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1883 ii. 47 f. no. 211 = Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 373 no. 1720 *b* = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 339. Augustus in *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4715, 1 Denderah ὑπὲρ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος, θεοῦ υἱοῦ, Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου Σεβαστοῦ κ.τ.λ. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 659, 1, S. de Ricci in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 1903 ii. 431 no. 8 Καίσαρα αὐτοκράτορα θεοῦ υἱὸν Δία Ἐ[λευ]θέριον Σεβαστόν, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4923, 1 ff. Philai Καίσαρι ποντομέδοντι καὶ ἀπείρων κρατέοντι | Ζανί, τῶι ἐκ Ζανὸς πατρός, Ἐλευθερίῳ, | δεσπόται Εὐρώπας τε καὶ Ἀσίδος, ἄστρωι ἁπάσας | Ἑλλάδος, (ὃς) σωτ(ὴ)ρ Ζεὺ(ς) ἀν(έ)τ(ει)λ[ε] μέγας, κ.τ.λ. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 159. 1 ff., *Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 156 Mytilene αὐτοκράτορι | Καίσαρι Σε|βαστῷ | Ἐλε[υ|θερίῳ], G. Cousin and G. Deschamps in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 306 ff. no. 1, 5 ff. Kys in Karia Ἐρατοφάνης Χαρείνου Ῥόδιος ὁ ἐνεστὼς στεφα|νηφόρος καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ ἀρχηγέτου | τῆς πόλεως Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου, cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii Add. no. 2903 *f* Alabanda Ἀπόλλωνος | Ἐλευθερίου Σεβαστοῦ = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 457. Domitian in *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 1091, 1 ff. ἐπ[ὶ] αὐτοκράτορος Καίσ[α]ρος, θεοῦ | Οὐεσπα[σ]ιανοῦ υἱοῦ, Δομετιανο[ῦ Σ]εβαστοῦ | Γ<u>ε</u>ρμανικοῦ Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου [ἄρχο]ντος, | κ.τ.λ., *Fouilles de Delphes* iii. 2 no. 65, 1 ff. [Ἐ]πὶ α[ὐ]τοκράτορο[ς] Καίσαρο[ς Σεβ]αστοῦ Δ[ο|μ]ιτιανοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Διὸς Ἐλευθε[ρ]ίου ἄρχοντο[ς | ἐ]ν Ἀθήναις κ.τ.λ. Hadrian in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii nos. 183, 185, 191—198, 214 a series of votive inscriptions from Mytilene, of which one will serve—185 αὐτοκράτορι | Καίσαρι Τραια|νῷ Ἀδριανῷ Σε|βαστῷ Ἐλευθ|ερίῳ Ὀλυμπίω | σωτῆρι καὶ κτίσ|τη χαριστήριον, G. G. Tocilescu 'Neue Inschriften aus Rumänien' in the *Arch.-ep.*



Fig. 55.

mind that, just as Iuno *Regina* stands between Sol and Luna, or the Genius Neronis between the Lares, so each figure beneath Nero is flanked by two appropriate supporters. Read downwards the column will speak for itself: Iupiter, Iuno, Nero, Pax[1], Ceres[2], Victoria. The mere names convey their message: 'Under the blessing of Iupiter and Iuno, Nero has brought Peace and Plenty in the train of Victory.' The side-figures emphasise and enhance this gracious announcement. Peace with olive-branch and *caduceus* is attended by the civic virtues of Sanctity and Love, who appear in august yet popular form as Iuno *Sancta*[3] and Venus

Mitth. 1896 xix. 97 no. 45 Constantza αὐτοκρά[το]|ρι Καίσαρι [..|...]νῷ Σεβα[σ]|τῷ Ἐλε(υ)θ[ερί]|ω Ὀλυμπ[ίω | σ]ωτῆρι | [χα]ριστή[ρι ο]ν, *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 492 [Ζ]ανὸ[ς | Ἐ]λευθερί[ου ?] | [θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ υἱόν, θεοῦ ?] Νέρουα υ[ἱωνὸν ? | Τ]ραιανὸ]ν Ἀδριαν[ὸν Σεβαστόν ?]. Antoninus Pius in archaising inscriptions from Sparta etc. quoted *infra* p. 101 n. 1), Apollon (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 62 pl. 13, 4, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 314 coppers of Apollonia Illyrici with obv. ΝЄΡΩΝΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΚΤΙCΤΗ Nero to right, in long *chitón* and *chlamýs*, playing lyre, cp. Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 125 pl. 14, 21 f. obv. ΝΕΡΩΝΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ Nero to right, in long *chitón* and *chlamýs*, playing lyre, *ib.* ii. 124 f. pl. 14, 19 f. rev. ΝΕΡΩΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ head of Nero to right; J. J. Bernoulli *Römische Ikonographie* Berlin und Stuttgart 1886 ii. 1. 390, 392, 411 f., Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* ii. 478 f. no. 277 pl. 63, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 142 no. 215. See further Dion Cass. 61. 20 ὁ καλὸς Καῖσαρ, ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ὁ Αὔγουστος, εἷς ὡς Πύθιος, 63. 20 Νέρωνι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, cp. Suet. *Ner.* 53), Herakles (Dion Cass. 63. 20 Νέρωνι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, cp. Suet. *Ner.* 53), Helios (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 2713, 31 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 376, 31 ff. Akraiphia ὁ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου κύριος Νέρων... | νέος Ἥλιος ἐπιλάμψας τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, cp. Suet. *Ner.* 53), and the Agathos Daimon (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria etc. p. 20 f. pl. 26, 171, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 413, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 863 billon coins of Alexandreia with rev. ΝΕΟ·ΑΓΑΘ·ΔΑΙΜ Agathos Daimon as a snake wearing *skhent* and holding in its coils poppy-heads and corn-ears. Cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4699, 2 ff. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 666, 2 ff. Gizeh [Νέρων] Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς | Γερμανικὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, ὁ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων τῆς οἰκουμένης). *Infra* § 3 (a) iii (ψ).

[1] This identification is made by Mrs Strong in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 324. Others had conjectured Maia (A. von Domaszewski), Rosmerta (S. Reinach), Libera? (A. Oxé), Felicitas (Quilling).

[2] So named by K. Körber, Quilling, and E. Neeb. A. von Domaszewski, A. Oxé, and S. Reinach call this figure Pax. Mrs Strong in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 326 proposes the name Tellus on the ground that Ceres must be recognised elsewhere. But that ground, as we shall see (*infra* n. 3), is fallacious.

[3] A. von Domaszewski fancies that this goddess is Persephone. A. Oxé dubs her Gallia Aquitanica, the province being famous for its trade in leather! Quilling no less absurdly conjectures a *Parca Itala* standing on the head of a *vitulus*! S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 29 says Ceres because (*a*) room must be found for Ceres somewhere, (*b*) she holds an object which may be a double torch, (*c*) a statuette in the British Museum, figured by S. Lysons *An account of Roman Antiquities discovered at Woodchester in the county of Gloucester* London 1797 p. 10 pls. 38 and 39 (Diana *Lucifera*), represents Ceres with her foot on the head of an ox. But (*a*) Ceres is more probably the goddess with corn-ears (*supra* n. 2), (*b*) Reinach's Ceres is holding no torch, but a sceptre in her left hand, a *patera* in her right (see Mrs Strong in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 323 n. 1), (*c*) the marble statuette from Woodchester was labelled Luna by Sir A. W. Franks, presumably because the

Verticordia[1], the former with sceptre and *patera* setting her foot on a cow's head, the latter holding the scales of justice. Plenty, typified by Ceres with *patera* and corn-topped sceptre, is companioned by a pair of more martial virtues—Honour grasping a sheathed sword and a suit of captured armour, Prowess proudly displaying her banner[2]. Below these in turn is Victory, who having won her triumphs by land and sea stands with her palm-branch midway between Mars and Neptunus. The back of the column was designed with equal care. Diana figures next to her brother Apollo. Above her come two other deities closely associated in Gallic inscriptions[3]—Volcanus and Vesta[4]. Volcanus is aptly placed between

flame of a torch is visible against her right shoulder. But it is more likely that she is Iuno *Sancta*, the consort of Iupiter *Dolichenus* (*supra* i. 610 f.). The fragment of a triangular bronze plate, originally gilded, which was found at Aalen, shows this goddess standing on her cow (*supra* i. 619, O. von Sarwey—E. Fabricius *Der obergermanisch-raetische Limes des Roemerreiches* Lieferung xxiii no. 66 Heidelberg 1904 p. 15 f. with fig.).

[1] K. Körber saw in this figure Iustitia; A. von Domaszewski, Aequitas. A. Oxé took her to be Gallia Lugudunensis, the scales symbolising her trade and her mint. Quilling surmised a *Parca Gallica* for the same reason. S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 29 f. first showed that she is Venus *Verticordia* by comparing the *denarii* of the *gens Cordia*, on which Venus appears as here with a sceptre in her left hand and the scales in her right (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 383 nos. 1 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 523 f. pl. 51, 11 f.). Scales are an attribute that has come to Venus as mistress of hearts from the great mythological type of the ψυχοστασία (on which see O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1143 f., R. Holland *ib.* ii. 2674 ff., O. Waser *ib.* iii. 3224 ff., F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 131 ff.), itself based ultimately on a religious conception of the Otherworld (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 681 n. 6, 863, Sir G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*[4] London 1901 p. 190 f., A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 pp. 102, 230, A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 113 f.). It is, however, probable that in imperial times Venus with the scales was regarded as a goddess meting out just measures like Aequitas or Iustitia or Moneta, who on Roman coins often have scales and *cornu copiae*, sceptre and *patera*, etc. (Aequitas: E. Aust in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 604 f., Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 135 ff., Suppl. i. 282 ff. Iustitia: Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 499, Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 1243 ff., Suppl. iii. 287 f. Moneta: H. W. Stoll and W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3200 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 560 f., Rasche *Lex. Num.* v. 786—832). So, after all, K. Körber and A. von Domaszewski were not far wrong.

[2] The only dissentient is Quilling, who holds that these figures stand for *Roma deleta* and *Roma restituta*—a queer notion.

[3] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 1676 Lyon, an *epistylium* dedicated *Marti Vestae Volkano*, no. 2940 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 7050 Sens, the site of Agedincum Senonum, a *stylobates* dedicated by the same persons to *Mart. Volk. et deae sancti[s]s. Vestae.* On Vesta as paired with Volcanus see further Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 231.

[4] A. von Domaszewski makes this goddess Demeter to suit his neighbouring Persephone. A. Oxé completes his *tres Galliae* by interpreting her as Gallia Belgica, famous for its horse-breeding, chariot-making, etc.; Quilling, his *tres Parcae* by inventing a *Parca Germana* to serve as one of the Norns with her horse! There was more to be said (*pace* Mrs Strong) for the Epona of K. Körber. But I do not doubt that S. Reinach was right to insist in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 29 that the disputed figure is simply Vesta with her ass (on which see G. Wissowa *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions-*

Honour and Prowess, for whom he forges the weapons of war. And Vesta is next to Venus, whose scales commemorate the penalty meted out to unfaithful Vestals[1]. Moreover, it will be observed that the back of this column is no less eloquent than the front. Vesta, Volcanus, Diana, Apollo—what are these but domestic and elemental fire, moonshine and sunshine, fit denizens for a veritable 'pillar of light'? Indeed, S. Reinach[2] points out that on the column as a whole all the twelve deities recognised by Ennius[3] find a place, dominated by the flashing figure of the sky-god. Our thoughts travel back to Platon, in whose cosmic scheme 'Zeus, the great chieftain in heaven,' followed by 'a host of gods and inferior deities,' comes 'by an uphill path to the summit of the heavenly vault,' thereby arriving at the apex of that 'straight light like a pillar' which stretches along the axis of the universe[4].

(η) Commemorative Columns.

The earlier type of 'Jupiter-column' was not without its influence on the great commemorative pillars of Rome and Constantinople. These masterpieces of columnar art were indeed no longer dedicated to the sky-god. But it must be remembered that latterly the emperor had stepped into the sky-god's shoes[5]. Trajan[6] and

und Stadtgeschichte München 1904 p. 67 ff., *id. Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 158, W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1911 p. 148, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 92).

[1] Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 290.

[2] S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 29.

[3] Ennius *frag.* 79 Baehrens *ap.* Ap. *de deo Socr.* 2 and Mart. Cap. 42 Iuno Vesta Minerva Ceres Diana Venus Mars | Mercurius Iovis Neptunus Volcanus Apollo.

A. von Domaszewski 'Die Iuppitersäule in Mainz' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 303—311 supposes that the column of Mogontiacum was a copy of one at Massilia erected between 17 and 12 B.C. He would recognise on it the twelve deities of the Massiliotes, *viz.* Zeus, Athena, Herakles, Hera, Apollon, Poseidon, Artemis, Ares, Hephaistos, Demeter, Persephone, Dionysos. This whimsical idea is brushed aside by E. Maass in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 85 and need not detain us.

[4] *Supra* pp. 43—45.

[5] *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 308 ff.

[6] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1213 = *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 701 (cited *infra* Append. N *med.*) speaks of Trajan as Zeus Ἐμβατήριος—a god to whom vows would be made by travellers going on board their vessel. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi no. 1147 = Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 2845 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 6675 a *tabula alimentaria* from Veleia *ex indulgentia Optimi Maximique principis imp. Caes. Nervae | Traiani Aug. Germanici Dacici* applies to Trajan the cult-epithet of Iupiter *Optimus Maximus*, and numerous inscriptions include *Optimus* among the emperor's titles (Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* iii. 1. 274 Index), *e.g.* the dedication of the arch at Beneventum (on which see *infra* Append. N *med.*). Greek inscriptions render this *Optimus* by Ἄριστος (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 677, 1 f. ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος



Fig. 56.

Antoninus Pius[1] were definitely dubbed Zeus and honoured with

Νέρουα | Τραϊανοῦ Ἀρίστου Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ τύχης, *ib.* 4 f., cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1306, 2, ii nos. 1801, 7, 2178, 3, 2572, 3, 2634, 2, 2707, 2, iii nos. 4843, 2, 4948, 2, Add. 4443 *c*, 2).

Copper coins of Selinous (Traianopolis) in Kilikia, struck by Septimius Severus and Severus Alexander, show Trajan as Zeus enthroned in a tetrastyle temple with thunderbolt and sceptre (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 143 pl. 24, 9=my fig. 56, Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 43 no. 294).

[1] Many altars, bases, and *stêlai* found at Sparta are inscribed Ζανὶ Ἐλευθερίοι Ἀντωνείνοι (less often Ἀντωνίνοι) Σωτῆρι (*Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i nos. 407—444, M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 24, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 37 f. nos. 4492 f.). One dedication shows the slightly extended formula [Ζ]ανὶ | Ἐλευθε|ρίοι καὶ Ὀλυμπί|οι Ἀντωνεί|νοι Σωτῆ|ρι (*Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 445, M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *op. cit.* p. 45 no. 230, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 38 no. 4494), and another, found at Athens, read Ζανὶ | [Ἐ]λευθε|[ρ]ίο Ἀντο|νίνοι Σω|τῆρι Ὀ[λυ|μπίοι? *supplevi*] (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 350) or ὁ [δῆμος ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων?] (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 527). These archaising inscriptions were apparently intended to be hexametrical. They are normally accompanied by the representation of a wreath and two palm-branches. A base found at Kyaneai (*Yarvoo*) in Lykia is dedicated θεῶ Μεγάλω Ἄρει καὶ Ἐλευθερ<ι>α | Ἀρχηγέτιδι Ἐπιφανεῖ θεᾶ καὶ Διὶ | Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τίτω Αἰλίω Ἁ|δριανῶ Ἀντωνείνω Σεβαστῶ Εὐ|σεβεῖ π(ατρὶ) π(ατρίδος) (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 4303 *h*[1]). Again, Antoninus Pius, like Trajan (*supra* p. 100 n. 6), bears the titles of Iupiter *Optimus Maximus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi no. 5632=Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 804=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2735 from Camerinum *optimi maximique imp. Anto|nini Aug. Pii*, Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 7170=Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 692 *a*=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2666 *a* from Tuficum *ab optimo | maximoque principe Antonino Aug(usto) Pio*, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi no. 1924=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5503 from Perusia *divo Antonino | Pio |... ... optimo maximoq. princ.*, cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 532 i 10=Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 693, 10=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 6680 i 10 from Tergeste *apu(t) optimum principem Antoninum Aug. Pium*).



Fig. 57.

Copper coins of Tarsos represent Antoninus Pius enthroned as Zeus: he wears a *himátion* wrapped about his legs and holds a wreath-bearing Nike in his right hand, a sceptre in his left (fig. 57=*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 190 no. 160, cp. Rasche *Lex. Num.* ix. 580). Bronze medallions of Antoninus Pius have obv. DIVVS ANTONINVS head of



Fig. 58.

emperor to right, rev. CONSECRATIO emperor, with *himátion* wrapped about legs and sceptre in right hand, borne aloft on the back of an eagle away from a reclining male figure

(Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 10 no. 6 pl. 43, 5, Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 73 f. fig. (=my fig. 58), Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 287 no. 153 fig., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 248 fig.): it seems probable that here too the divinised emperor is assimilated to the sky-god (Fröhner *loc. cit.*), though this is certainly not proved by the presence of the eagle as carrier; indeed the late *motif* of Zeus seated or recumbent on an eagle, which occurs on coins of Alexandreia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 48 no. 397 and 398 (=my fig. 59) Trajan pl. 1, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 433 no. 241 Trajan, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 264, 602 Münztaf. 3, 30; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 80 nos. 673—675 (=my fig. 60) Hadrian, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 447 no. 332 Hadrian; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 118 no. 1014 (=my fig. 61) and



Fig. 59.



Fig. 60.



Fig. 62.



Fig. 61.



Fig. 63.

1015 Antoninus Pius pl. 1, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 470 no. 471 Antoninus Pius; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 221 no. 1724 (=my fig. 62) Iulia Mamaea; *ib.* p. 227 no. 1768 (=my fig. 63) and 1769 Maximinus, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 504 no. 713 Maximinus; *ib.* iii. 522 no. 867 Philippus Iunior), in the stucco relief of a vaulted tomb on the Via Latina (E. Petersen in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 203 f., *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 49), and elsewhere (*supra* i. 754 n. 2, Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 121 no. 2609 pl. 23, *ib.* p. 150 no. 3445 f. pl. 28, *ib.* p. 246 no. 6715 pl. 48, *ib.* p. 299 no. 8154 pl. 59, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 91 no. 581, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps* p. 95 f. no. 629 f., p. 113 no. 751 fig. 138, p. 121 no. 804, p. 124 nos. 824 fig. 149, 825, p. 142 no. 942, p. 156 nos. 1046, 1047, 1048 pl. 31, 1049 (cp. my fig. 64 from a fine specimen in the Lewis collection—diam. $4\frac{5}{8}$ ins.—photographed by Mr W. H. Hayles), p. 203 no. 1357: see further Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 263—266, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 45 f. pl. 4, 6), is itself presumably derived from the *consecratio*-type (K. Sittl *Der Adler und die Weltkugel als Attribute des Zeus* (Besonderer Abdruck aus dem vierzehnten Supplementbande der Jahrbücher für classische Philologie) Leipzig 1884 p. 37 f., L. Deubner 'Die Apotheose des Antoninus Pius' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1912 xxvii. 1—20 figs. 1—4. See further an interesting chapter in F. Cumont *Études Syriennes* Paris

1917 pp. 35—118 ('L'aigle funéraire d'Hiérapolis et l'apothéose des empereurs')). The reverse design of the medallions of Antoninus Pius is best explained by comparison with the southern or principal relief on the marble base of his column, now in the apse of the Giardino della Pigna at the Vatican (Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* i. 883 ff. no. 223 pls. 116 (=my fig. 65)—118, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen*



Fig. 64.

klassischer Altertümer in Rom[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 74 f. no. 123, Mrs A. Strong *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* London 1907 p. 270 ff. pl. 82, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 291 f.). This relief represents the Dea Roma seated on the right, the personified Campus Martius reclining on the left: the former uplifts her right hand in greeting, the latter clasps with his left the obelisk of Augustus (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 72); between them is a pile of weapons. Soaring up into the air is a youthful *genius*, who in his left hand bears a globe marked with zodiac (Pisces, Aries, Taurus), moon, and stars, and a snake resting upon it. Above his broad wings are seen the half-length figures of Antoninus Pius with eagle-sceptre and Faustina Senior with veil, crown, and sceptre. Flanked by a pair of eagles, the emperor and his wife are probably conceived as the new rivals of Iupiter and Iuno (R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Breslau* 1867) p. 34 n. 5).

In the Hope collection at Deepdene was a fine statue of Zeus, erect with an eagle beside him, in Thasian marble, transformed into Antoninus Pius by the addition of a modern head and neck (A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 282 no. 5, *Hope Sale Catalogue* London 1917 p. 42 no. 253).

the titles of Iupiter. Marcus Aurelius[1], too wise to ape divinity, was

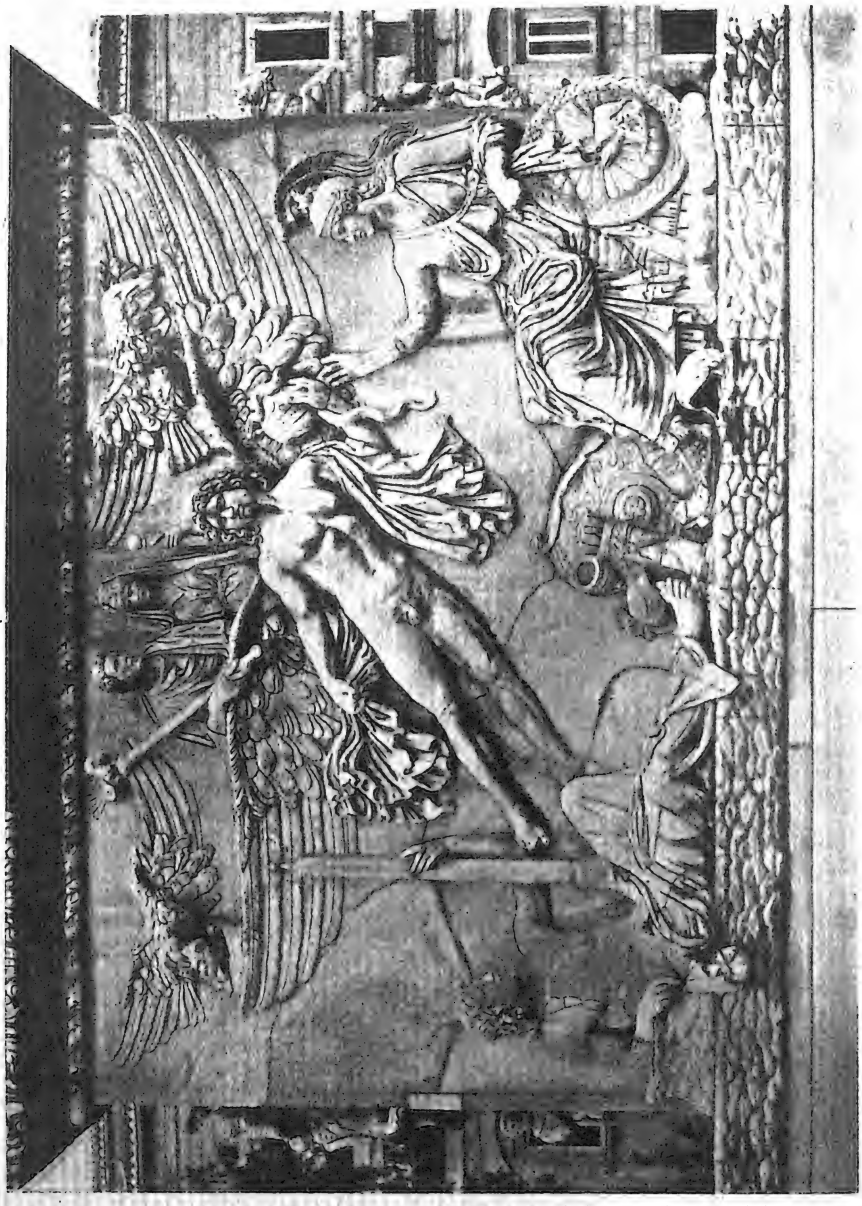


Fig. 65.

[1] Bronze medallions struck in the year 168 A.D. have as their reverse type a colossal Iupiter, with thunderbolt and sceptre, protecting beneath his spread cloak the diminutive figures of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 33 no. 52 f. pl. 63, 3 f., Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 91 f. figs., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 14 no. 10 pl. 21, 1, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 87 no. 886 f. fig.): cp. *supra* i. 276 n. 5 fig. 201.

recognised at least as the *protégé* of Iupiter and the imitator of Zeus. Even the late Roman emperors inherited the same tradition and viewed themselves as the viceroys of Iupiter *Capitolinus*[1]. Hence the comparison of the Germanic with the classical column is not far-fetched or unreal. The smooth variety of the former supporting the figure of Iupiter *Optimus Maximus*[2] may fairly be regarded as analogous to the column of Antoninus Pius[3], a plain granite shaft, on which stood the divinised emperor, *optimus maximusque princeps*[4], holding —if coins can be trusted—the eagle and sceptre (figs. 66—67)[5] of

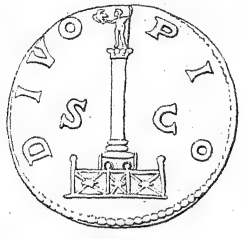


Fig. 66.



Fig. 67.

Iupiter. Again, monuments like that of Mogontiacum[6] showed the possibilities of columnar relief and furnished a starting-point for yet more ambitious efforts, the columns of Trajan (figs. 68—69)[7] and

Ioul. *symp.* 333 B ff. describes Marcus Aurelius as an imitator of the gods, who acted κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ μεγίστου Διός (334 D) and was fain to follow the lead of both Zeus and Kronos (335 D). He too is *optimus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 4003=Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3364=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 6225 Ficulea) and *maximus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi no. 5635=Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2172=Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 2104=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 6640 Camerinum).

[1] *Supra* i. 46 f.

[2] *Supra* p. 89 f.

[3] *Supra* p. 103 n.

[4] *Supra* p. 101 n. 1.

[5] Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 305 f. nos. 353 fig.—356 describes the type as 'la statue d'Antonin debout, tenant un globe et un sceptre.' Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 708 f. says 'Imperator...d. hastam gerens.' Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 235 fig. have 'a colossal statue of the *Imperator*...holding a spear in his right hand.' I illustrate a first brass in the British Museum (fig. 66) and another in my possession (fig. 67). Mr G. F. Hill, who kindly looked through all the specimens in the national collection for me, writes (June 19, 1915): 'The figure on the Antonine column certainly holds an eagle, when it is possible to make out what he holds at all.'

[6] *Supra* p. 93 ff.

[7] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 960=Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 935=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 294, Dion Cass. 68. 16, 69. 2, *curiosum urbis regionum xiv* and *notitia regionum urbis xiv* reg. 8 (H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1871 ii. 552), Aur. Vict. *epit.* 13. 11, Hieron. *chron. ann. Abr.* 2132, Amm. Marc. 16. 10. 15, *mirabilia Romae* 16 (H. Jordan *op. cit.* ii. 620). The most important publications of Trajan's column are W. Froehner *La Colonne Trajane* Paris 1872–1874 (text and four vols. of 220 photolithographic pls.), C. Cichorius *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule* Berlin 1896–1900 (text and two vols. of 113 heliographic pls.),—both sets of plates being reproductions from the plaster casts taken by order of Napoleon iii in 1861–1862 A.D. Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 330—369 gives in reduced form the plates of P. S. Bartoli—A. Ciaccone—G. P. Bellori

Marcus Aurelius[1], of Theodosios[2] and Arkadios[3]. Isolated zones



Fig. 68.



Fig. 69.

Colonna Trajana Romae s. a. (1672), which are inexact but convenient. See also W. Froehner *La Colonne Trajane* Paris 1865 pp. 1—168 with map and figs., S. Reinach *La Colonne Trajane au musée de St. Germain* Paris 1886, E. Petersen *Trajans dakische Kriege nach dem Säulenrelief erzählt* i ii Leipzig 1899, 1903, Mrs A. Strong *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* London 1907 pp. 166—213 pls. 51—62. Further bibliography in H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 72.

Fig. 68 is from a specimen in the British Museum, on which Trajan is shown with a sceptre (?) in his left hand, a thunderbolt (?) in his right, and a *paludamentum* covering his back. Fig. 69 is from a specimen in my collection, which represents him with sceptre (?) and thunderbolt (?), but without the *paludamentum*. Cp. Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 711 f., viii. 594 f., 1561 f., Suppl. i. 1880, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 55 f. no. 359 fig., nos. 360 f., *id. ib.*[2] ii. 75 f. nos. 555—564, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 236 f. fig.

[1] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi nos. 1585*a* and 1585*b*=Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 2840=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5920, *curiosum urbis regionum xiv* and *notitia regionum urbis xiv* reg. 9 (H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1871 ii. 556), Aur. Vict. *de Caes.* 16. 13, *epit.* 16. 14, *mirabilia Romae* 16 (H. Jordan *op. cit.* ii. 620). The chief modern work on the column of Marcus Aurelius is E. Petersen—A. von Domaszewski—G. Calderini *Die Marcus-Säule auf Piazza Colonna in Rom* München 1896 (text and two vols. of 128 pls. photographed from the original reliefs). Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 293—329 gives in reduced form the plates of P. S. Bartoli—G. P. Bellori *Columna Antoniniana* Romae s. a. (*c.* 1675), which have the same merits and defects as in the case of the Trajanic column. See further Mrs A. Strong *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* London 1907 pp. 270—291 pls. 82—89, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 605—607. Bibliography in H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 71.

[2] Konstantinos Rhodios 202—240 (*Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1896 ix. 42 f.), Anonymus *descriptio regionum urbis* reg. 7 (in Hesychios of Miletos ed. Orelli p. 316), Anonymos *πάτρια* p. 17 (in A. Banduri *Imperium Orientale sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitanæ* Parisiis 1711 Pars tertia, Lib. i—iii, p. 17), Kodinos *de signis Constantinopolitanis* 21 D, 24 B, 24 C (pp. 38, 42, 43 Bekker), Marcellinus Comes *chron.* ann. Chr. 480 (li. 932 Migne), Theophanes *chronogr.* ann. mund. 5878, 5970, 5998 (pp. 110, 195, 229 Classen), Io. Malal. *chron.* 16 p. 401 Dindorf, Leon Grammatikos *chronogr.* p. 118 Bekker, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 323 B (i. 566 Bekker), Niketas Choniates *de rebus post captam urbem gestis* p. 804 f. Bekker, Georgios Akropolites *annal.* 5 p. 11 Bekker, and the poems in later Greek *de Syria expugnata* 887 ff., *Constantinopolis expugnata* 343 ff. (*Recueil des historiens des Croisades.* Historiens grecs. Paris 1875 i. 618 A—C, 661 C). See further F. W. Unger *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* Wien 1878 i. 168 ff. nos. 401—420. Modern monographs are E. Müntz 'La colonne Théodosienne à Constantinople' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1888 i. 318—325 and T. Reinach 'Colonne de Théodose' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1896 ix. 74—78: cp. O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 pp. 123, 144.

of decoration were by a stroke of genius transformed into a continuous spiral[4], and the *columna cochlis* was thus enabled to set forth in stately sequence or effective episode the deeds by which the immortal had won his immortality.

'Their subject triumphed up from man to God.'

This marble column was erected by Theodosios i in 386 A.D. to commemorate his successful campaign against the Scythians, *i.e.* the Greuthungi, whom he drove out of Thrace. It stood in the seventh region of Constantinople, on the third hill, which went by the name of Tauros. It supported a statue of Theodosios, which was overthrown in 480 A.D. by an earthquake and replaced in 506 A.D. by a colossal bronze figure of Anastasios. This in turn was probably destroyed in 512 A.D., the summit of the column thenceforward being left vacant. The column itself was demolished by the Sultan Bajazet ii (1481–1512 A.D.), because it hindered the construction of his magnificent Baths. Drawings of its spiral relief-band, made by an Italian artist (Gentile Bellini?), were published by C. F. Menestrier *Description de la belle et grande Colonne historiée, dressée à l'honneur de l'Empereur Théodose, dessinée par G. Bellin* Paris 1702 with 16 pls., *id. Columna Theodosiana* s.l. (Venice?) s.a. (1765?) with 18 pls., A. Banduri *Imperium Orientale sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitanæ* Parisiis 1711 ii. 506 ff. pls. 1—18, and in reduced form by Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 103—111.

[3] Konstantinos Rhodios 241—254 (*Rev. Ét. Gr.* ix. 43 f.), Anonymus *descriptio regionum urbis* reg. 12 (in Hesychios of Miletos ed. Orelli p. 324), Anonymos πάτρια p. 18 (in A. Banduri *Imperium Orientale sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitanæ* Parisiis 1711 Pars tertia, Lib. i—iii, p. 18) = Souid. *s.v.* Ξηρόλοφος = Kodinos *de signis Constantinopolitanis* 17 B—C (p. 30 Bekker), *id. ib.* 24 C (p. 43 Bekker), Anonymos *breves enarrat. chronogr.* 103 C (in Kodinos ed. Bekker p. 188), Marcellinus Comes *chron.* ann. Chr. 421 (li. 924 B—C Migne), Theophanes *chronogr.* ann. mund. 5895, 6034, 6041, 6232 (pp. 121, 345 f., 351, 634 Classen), Theophanes continuatus 6. 21 (p. 411 f. Bekker), *Chron. Paschale* i. 579 Dindorf, Leon Grammatikos *chronogr.* p. 104 f. Bekker, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 323 C, 374 B (i. 567, 656 Bekker), Michael Glykas *annal.* 258 A (p. 478 Bekker), Ioelos *chronogr. comp.* 170 C (p. 40 Bekker), Io. Malal. *chron.* 18 p. 483 f. Dindorf, Nikephoros Patriarches *brev. hist.* p. 66, Zonar. *epit. hist.* 13. 20 (iii. 232 Dindorf). See further F. W. Unger *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* Wien 1878 i. 179 ff. nos. 434—447, J. Strzygowski 'Die Säule des Arkadius in Konstantinopel' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1893 viii. 230—249, A. Geffroy 'La colonne d'Arcadius à Constantinople d'après un dessin inédit' in the *Mon. Piot* 1895 ii. 99—130, T. Reinach 'Colonne d'Arcadius' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1896 ix. 78—82, O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 pp. 123, 144. This column, a pendant to that of Theodosios i, stood in the twelfth region, on the seventh hill, which was called Xerolophos. It was begun by Arkadios in 403 A.D. and finished by his son Theodosios ii, who in 421 A.D. placed a statue of Arkadios on its summit. The column was repeatedly damaged by lightning or earthquakes, and in 740 A.D. its statue fell. After the earthquake of 1719 A.D. the Turks decided to pull down the shaft; but its square base, much defaced by fire and neglect, still stands. The *rotulus* in all probability represented the war of 400 A.D. against the rebel Goth Gaïnas. The upper portion of the relief, drawn by Melchior Lorich (1557—1559 A.D.), was brought to light by A. Michaelis in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii. 91 f.; and a view of the whole column, drawn perhaps for M. de Nointel the French ambassador at Constantinople (1670 A.D.), was published by A. Geffroy in the *Mon. Piot* 1895 ii. 99—130 pls. 10—13: cp. Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 106 ff.

[4] I do not, of course, mean to imply that this was the first application of the spiral *motif* to architecture. Such decoration had long since had a wide vogue: see V. Chapot *La colonne torse et la décoration en hélice dans l'art antique* Paris 1907 pp. 1—176 with 210 figs. But this appears to be our earliest example of a spiral relief being used on a large scale to represent human figures in continuous action.

Here in truth was the 'uphill path' of ancient faith[1] convincingly filled with modern meaning. In the case of the Trajanic column—the first of its kind and the pattern for posterity—this celestial track led up and up to a plinth shaped like a hemisphere, on the top of which stood the figure of the divinised emperor (fig. 70[2]). His position recalls that of the immortals in the *Phaidros*, who 'go outside when they are come to the topmost height, and stand on the outer surface of heaven[3],' there to witness sights of unspeakable splendour. What the effect of this great pillar must have been on the popular mind, it is not hard to guess:

> They climbed the steep ascent of heaven
> Through peril, toil and pain.
> O God, to us may grace be given
> To follow in their train.

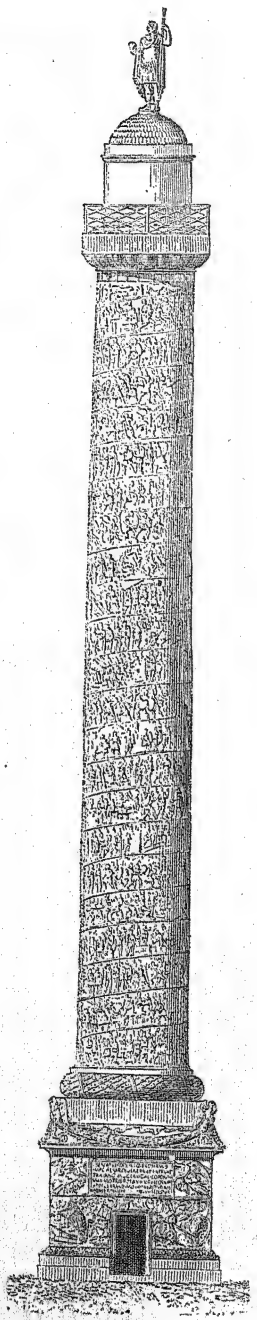


Fig. 70.

(θ) The Trophy.

But if the Germanic *Irminsûl* contributed something to the monumental art of Rome, it had points of contact also with the religious life of Greece. 'Jupiter-columns' were found as far south as the confines of Thrace. C. Jullian[4] quotes a passage of Valerius Flaccus, in which they are ascribed to the Coralli, a blonde[5] Sarmatian[6] tribe settled at the foot of Mount Haimos[7]. The poet is describing the hosts led by Perses against his brother Aietes:

> Next Phalces drives his bronze cloud o'er the plain
> With echoing cries, and the Corallians all
> Uplift their banners, who for ensigns bear
> Barbaric wheels and boars of jaggy back

[1] *Supra* p. 36 ff.

[2] After C. Chipiez in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1351 fig. 1788.

[3] *Supra* p. 44.

[4] C. Jullian in G. Gassies 'Cavalier et anguipède sur un monument de Meaux' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1902 iv. 290 n. 1.

[5] Ov. *ex Pont.* 4. 2. 37.

[6] Appian. *Mithr.* 69. C. Jullian *loc. cit.* says: 'Peut-être les *Coralli* étaient-ils celtiques (Reinach, *Revue celtique*, t. xx, 1899, p. 127 et s.).' But F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 78 n. 3 is not improbably right in regarding them as a Germanic tribe.

[7] Strab. 318.

And pillars lopped to be Jove's effigies.
Not theirs to fire the fray with bellowing horn :
True home-bred chiefs and prowess old they chant,
Till praise o' the past begets new valiancy[1].

The name *Phalces* means a 'beam[2],' being in fact the same word as our 'balk' of timber[3]. If we may assume that this name was traditional[4], it points perhaps to the existence of a pillar-cult among the Coralli[5]. However that may be, the 'pillars lopped to be Jove's effigies' were doubtless tree-trunks shorn of their boughs and viewed as vehicles of the sky-god. As such they had their parallel in the trophy-stand common throughout the classical area (figs. 71[6], 72[7], etc.[8]), a trimmed oak-trunk which likewise could be called the image of Zeus[9]. Moreover, just as the *Irminsûl* developed into the richly-carved column of Mogontiacum, so the rude trophy-log gave rise to such monuments as



Figs. 71—72.

[1] Val. Flacc. 6. 88 ff. hos super aeratam Phalces agit aequore nubem (P. Burmannus sen. cj. *pubem*) | cum fremitu, densique levant vexilla Coralli, | barbaricae quis signa rotae ferrataque (F. Hertlein cj. *serrataque*) dorso | forma suum truncaeque Iovis simulacra columnae ; | proelia nec rauco curant incendere cornu, | indigenas sed rite duces et prisca suorum | facta canunt veterumque viris hortamina laudes.

For wheels as solar emblems in the bronze and iron ages see J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 296 f., 413—418, *id. ib.* Paris 1913 ii. 2. 885—892 in addition to the literature cited *supra* i. 197 n. 7.

On boars as badges see Tac. *Germ.* 45, cp. *hist.* 4. 22, Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 16, Fest. p. 234*a* 31 ff. Müller, p. 266, 16 ff. Lindsay, Paul. ex Fest. p. 235, 7 f. Müller, p. 267, 6 ff. Lindsay, and the information collected by J. P. Cassel *Observationes antiquariae de porco in vexillis et in foederibus apud veteres Romanos* Magdeburgi 1748, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 213—215, *id. ib.* London 1888 iv. 1328, 1355, G. A. Müller *Die Reitergruppe auf den römisch-germanischen Giganten-Säulen* Strassburg i/E und Bühl (Baden) 1894 p. 15 pl. 2, 6 (a group of boar and snake-legged giant in the Museum at Wiesbaden), R. Forrer *Reallex.* p. 194 fig. 165, *id. Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donaulande* Strassburg 1908 p. 29 figs. 46, 48, p. 46 fig. 88, p. 114 fig. 203, p. 290 f. fig. 491, p. 346 figs. 539—541 (bronze statuettes from Hradischt near Stradonic and Gallo-Germanic coins in gold, silver, potin), A. von Domaszewski *Die Fahnen im römischen Heere* (*Abhandlungen des archäologisch-epigraphischen Seminares der Universität Wien* v) Wien 1885 pp. 12, 55, *id. Die Religion des römischen Heeres* Trier 1895 p. 119, *id. Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* Leipzig und Berlin 1909 p. 12 (= *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1892 xv. 192), and especially S. Reinach *Bronzes Figurés* pp. 254—258, *id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1905 i. 22 (= *Revue scientifique* 1900 ii. 454), 45 fig. 11, 52, 67 ff. (= *Revue celtique* 1900 xxi. 285, 297 ff.), 244, 262 ff. (= *Revue celtique* 1901 xxii. 157 ff.), *id. ib.* Paris 1908 iii. 177 (= *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 1907 lvi. 74).

[2] Poll. 1. 85 τὸ δὲ τῇ στείρᾳ προσηλούμενον φάλκης, ἐφ' οὗ ἡ δευτέρα τρόπις.

[3] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 481 cp. p. 480 *s.v.* φάλαγξ and p. 491 *s.v.* φλία, F. Kluge *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*[6] Strassburg 1899 p. 28 *s.v.*

'Balken,' J. H. Murray *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* Oxford 1888 i. 636 *s.v.* 'Balk, baulk.'

[4] The same name was borne by a leader of the Trojans (*Il.* 13. 791, 14. 513) and by a son of the Argive Temenos (on whom see H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2243).

[5] R. Meringer 'Zum verehrten Pflock' in *Wörter und Sachen* 1909 i. 199—204 thinks it possible that *Phol*, a Germanic deity mentioned in the second Merseburg charm, who has been identified with a variety of unpromising persons (*e.g.* Balder, Apollo, and even the Apostle Paul: see P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 126 ff., E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 324), was a sacred post comparable with such divinities as Iupiter *Tigillus* (Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 11 dixerunt eum (*sc.* Iovem)... Tigillum...quod tamquam tigillus mundum contineret ac sustineret etc.), his name being related to the Latus *palus*, 'Pfahl.' Meringer's suggestion is attractive, but not altogether free from phonetic difficulties.

[6] The trophy is very frequent as a design on Greek and Roman coins: see the classified list in Rasche *Lex. Num.* x. 201—255, and, for illustrations, Anson *Num. Gr.* ii. 106 ff. nos. 1152—1220 pl. 23 f. I give three typical examples.

Fig. 71 is a silver tetradrachm struck at Syracuse by Agathokles *c.* 310—304 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 195 f. fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 238 pl. 17, 16, G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 156 f. pl. 11, 13 f., *id. Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 pp. 110, 112 ff. pl. 8, 66, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 181 f. fig. 105): obv. ΚΟΡΑΣ head of Persephone with flowing hair; rev. ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ *sc.* *χαρακτήρ? στατήρ? νοῦμμος?* Nike with hammer and nail fastening helmet to trophy. I figure a specimen in the McClean collection at Cambridge.

[7] Fig. 72 is a copper struck at Thebes *c.* 288—244 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Central Greece p. 39 pl. 6, 2, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 37, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 353): obv. head of Athena in crested Corinthian helmet; rev. ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ trophy. I figure a specimen in the Leake collection at Cambridge (W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 European Greece p. 29).

[8] *E.g. infra* § 3 (c) i (*μ*) an *aureus* struck at Rome in 49 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 505 no. 3954 pl. 49, 12, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 17 fig., G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 p. 100 f. pl. 11, 58): obv. female head wearing oak-leaves and jewellery; behind ⊥II; rev. trophy of Gallic arms (tunic, horned helmet, shield, *kárnyx*); on the right, an axe adorned with an animal's head; across the field CAE SAR.

[9] The best collection of evidence with regard to trophies is that by A. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 497—518: see also Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 71 ff., 209, 231 figs. 55, 63, P. Wagler *Die Eiche in alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1891 ii. 20 ff., and some remarks of mine in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii 364 f., 372 n. 19, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 373 n. 25, *ib.* 1905 xvi. 319 f.

The Greek trophy was dedicated to Zeus Τροπαῖος (Soph. *Ant.* 141 ff. *ἑπτὰ λοχαγοὶ γὰρ ἐφ' ἑπτὰ πύλαις | ταχθέντες ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους ἔλιπον | Ζηνὶ Τροπαίῳ πάγχαλκα τέλη*, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 173, 1 f. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 39*a* Athens [*εἰ*] *τοιῶνδ' ἀνδρῶν εἴη πόλις, οὔποτ' ἂν αὐ[τῆς]* | [*ἐ*]*χθροὶ στήσαιεν Ζηνὶ τροπαῖον ἔδος*, *et. mag.* p. 768, 51 ff. Τροπαῖα (*sic*). *ἡ Ἥρα, διὰ τὸ τὰ τρόπαια...μὴ μόνον Διὶ ἀνατίθεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ*, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1328 Τροπαίας *δὲ τῆς Ἥρας, παρ' ὅσον καὶ αὐτῇ οἱ νικῶντες ὥσπερ τῷ Διὶ τρόπαιον ἀνετίθεσαν*), who was worshipped by the Dorians at Sparta (Paus. 3. 12. 9 *τοῦ δὲ Τροπαίου Διὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐποίησαν οἱ Δωριεῖς πολέμῳ τούς τε ἄλλους Ἀχαιούς, οἳ γῆν τὴν Λακωνικὴν τηνικαῦτα εἶχον, καὶ τοὺς Ἀμυκλαιεῖς κρατήσαντες*), by the Athenians at Salamis (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 467, 27 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 521, 27 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 610, 27 f. an ephebic decree of 100/99 B.C. *προαναπλεύσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τρόπαιον δυσὶ πλοίοις ἔθυσαν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Τρο|παίῳ*, cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 469, 17 f., *ib.* ii. 1 no. 471, 28 f., where the same *formula* is used), and by the Pergamenes (M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* Berlin 1895 i. 136 f. no. 237, 1 ff. = Dittenberger *Orient.*

that of La Turbie near Monaco (fig. 74)[1] or that of Adamklissi

Gr. inscr. sel. no. 300, 1 ff. on the lintel of a door, found in a Byzantine wall on the south side of the Agora, inscribed in lettering of the second century B.C. [Ἀ]πολλόδωρος Ἀρτέμωνος, Διονύσιος Νουμηνίου, Ἀριστόβουλος Ἡρακλείδου | [νο]μοφύλακες Διὶ Τροπαίωι καὶ τῶι δήμωι τό τε θύρωμα καὶ τὰς παραστάδας | [κ]αὶ τὴν ἐν [τῶ]ι νομοφυλακίωι ἐπισκευὴν καὶ τὰς παραθυρ[ίδας], Fränkel *op. cit.* i. 160 ff. no. 247 ii, 2 ff. κατ[ὰ] ψήφισμα ἐπὶ Πύρρου τοῦ Ἀθη|νοδώρου διὰ τὴν γενομένην ὑπὸ | τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Τροπαίου ἐπιφάνειαν) : he was also invoked as giver of victory on the Attic stage (Soph. *Trach.* 303 ὦ Ζεῦ Τροπαῖε, Eur. *Heracl.* 867 ὦ Ζεῦ Τροπαῖε, *El.* 671 ὦ Ζεῦ Πατρῷε καὶ Τροπαῖ' ἐχθρῶν ἐμῶν). Cp. Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 no. 97 τροπαίου, 267 no. 92 τροπαίου.

Similarly the Greeks recognised Zeus Τροπαιοῦχος (Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 22 f. καὶ στράτιος καὶ τροπαιοῦχος cp. Poll. 1. 23 f. θεοὶ...στράτιοι, τροπαιοῦχοι, Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 9, 16 f. Lang καὶ τροπαιοῦχον...αὐτὸν (*sc.* τὸν Δία) προσαγορεύουσιν), who was worshipped at Attaleia in Pamphylia (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 4340 *f*, 5 ff. Γαΐου Δικιννίου, Φλαμ[ένος,] | ἐπάρχου τεχνει|τῶν καὶ ἱερέως διὰ βίου | Διὸς Τροπαιούχου, *ib.* iii Add. no. 4340 *g*, 4 ff. a second base bearing the same honorary inscription of early Roman date) and probably elsewhere—since Othryades the Spartan after the fight with the Argives at Thyrea is said to have dedicated his trophy (fig. 73 from an engraved cornelian of Augustan date, in my wife's possession, to a scale of $\frac{2}{1}$: see also Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 23, 1, 5, 8—14, ii. 112 f.) to Zeus under this title (Plout. *parall. Gr. et Rom.* 3 τρόπαιον στήσας ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος ἐπέγραψε Διὶ Τροπαιούχῳ) and since Ζεὺς Τροπαιοῦχος was a possible equivalent for *Iupiter Feretrius* (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 34 τὸν δὲ Δία τὸν Φερέτριον, ᾧ τὰ ὅπλα ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἀνέθηκεν, εἴτε βούλεταί τις Τροπαιοῦχον, εἴτε Σκυλοφόρον καλεῖν, ὡς ἀξιοῦσί τινες, εἴθ', ὅτι πάντων ὑπερέχει καὶ πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ περιείληφε τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν τε καὶ κίνησιν, Ὑπερφερέτην, οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεται τῆς ἀληθείας).



Fig. 73.

In the *res gestae divi Augusti* 19 p. 22 f. Diehl *aedés in Capitolio Iovis Feretrí et Iovis Tonantis* is rendered ναοὺς ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ Διὸς Τροπαιοφόρου καὶ Διὸς Βροντησίου.

Just as the lopped pillars of the Coralli were called *Iovis simulacra* (*supra* p. 109 n. 1) or the high oak of the Celts ἄγαλμα Διός (Max. Tyr. *diss.* 8. 8 Dübner Κελτοὶ σέβουσι μὲν Δία, ἄγαλμα δὲ Διὸς Κελτικὸν ὑψηλὴ δρῦς, on which see *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 53), so the trophy is regarded by Euripides as the actual image of Zeus (Eur. *Heracl.* 936 f. Ἄλλος μὲν οὖν ὅ τ' ἐσθλὸς Ἰόλεως βρέτας | Διὸς Τροπαίου καλλίνικον ἵστασαν, *Phoen.* 1250 f. Πολύνεικες, ἐν σοὶ Ζηνὸς ὀρθῶσαι βρέτας | τροπαῖον, 1472 f. ὡς δ' ἐνικῶμεν μάχῃ, | οἱ μὲν Διὸς τροπαῖον ἵστασαν βρέτας, cp. *suppl.* 647 f. πῶς γὰρ τροπαῖα Ζηνὸς Αἰγέως τόκος | ἔστησεν οἵ τε συμμετασχόντες δορός;). But it is far from clear that this was the original intention (see W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 p. 99, *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 365, A. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 497 f.).

[1] O. Benndorf *La trophée d'Auguste près de Monaco* (*La Turbie*) Paris 1904, Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*[2] p. 733 f. fig. 803, J. C. Formigé 'Le trophée de la Turbie' in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1910 pp. 76—87 with 3 figs., C. J. Formigé 'Le trophée d'Auguste' *ib.* 1910 pp. 509—516 with 11 figs. and 2 pls., F. Lübker *Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums*[8] Leipzig-Berlin 1914 p. 50, A. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 512 fig. 7122. The *tropaeum Alpium* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 136) or τρόπαια Σεβαστοῦ (Ptol. 3. 1. 2, whence *Torbia*, *Turbia*, *Turbie*) commemorated the submission of 46 Alpine tribes. This great trophy was erected in 7/6 B.C. on the summit of La Corniche (454^{m} above Monaco), marking at once the highest point of the pass over the Maritime Alps and the frontier between Italy and Gaul (G. Parthey—M. Pinder *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum* Berolini 1848 p. 141=p. 296, 3 f. Wesseling). On a paved platform (38^{m} square), bordered by boundary stones (12 a side), stood a plinth (27^{m} square, 5^{m} high) supporting a rotunda (18^{m} in diameter, *c.* 13^{m} high) surrounded by 24 Doric columns (8.80^{m} high) with a stepped stylobate (3^{m} high) and

(fig. 75)[8] with their wealth of architectural and sculptural decoration.

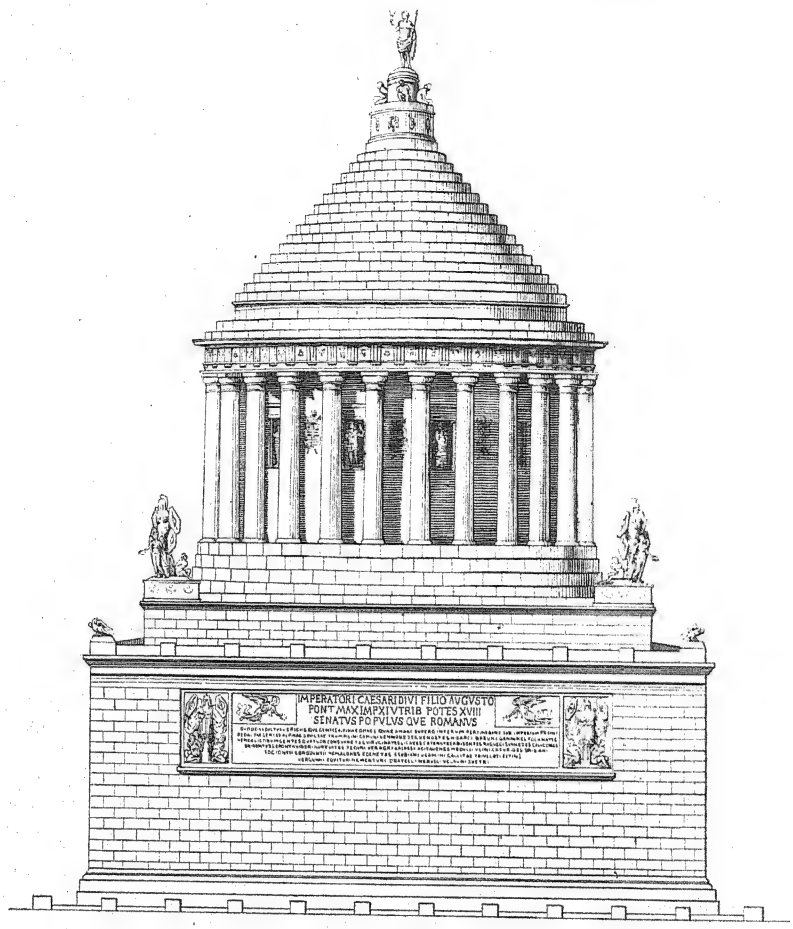


Fig. 74.

entablature (2[m] high). From this rose a pyramid of steps topped by a colossal trophy. The total height was some 46[m]. The metopes of the rotunda showed garlanded *bucrania* alternating with military or naval spoils. And on the east face of the plinth was an inscription (quoted in full by Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 136 f.: fragments in *Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 7817) flanked by Victories and Gallic trophies in relief.

[1] G. G. Tocilesco—O. Benndorf—G. Niemann *Das Monument von Adamklissi. Tropaeum Trajani.* Wien 1895 pp. 1—149 with pls. etc., G. Niemann 'Zur Basis des Tropaeums von Adamklissi' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 138—142 figs. 41—44, O. Benndorf 'Neues über Adamklissi' *ib.* 1903 vi. 247—266 figs. 131—136 (these archaeologists hold that the monument was built by Trajan to commemorate his victories over the Dacians), A. Furtwängler 'Das Monument von Adamklissi und die ältesten Darstellungen von Germanen' in his *Intermezzi* Leipzig und Berlin 1896 pp. 49—77 with figs., *id.* 'Zum Tropaion von Adamklissi' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d.*

Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 pp. 247—288 with figs., *id. Das Tropaion von Adamklissi und provinzialrömische Kunst* (*Abh. d. bayer. Akad.* Philos.-philol. Classe xxii. 453—516) München 1903 with pls. 1—12 of which pl. 1 = my fig. 75, *id.* 'Zum Tropaion von Adamklissi' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1904 pp. 383—413, *id.* in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* 1904 p. 1200 ff. (Furtwängler held to the last that the monument was built under Augustus in 27 B.C. to record the victory won by M. Licinius Crassus over the Bastarnae in 30 B.C., and that its inscription was added by Trajan), C. Cichorius 'Die Reliefs des Denkmals von Adamklissi' in *Philologisch-*



Fig. 75.

historische Beiträge Curt Wachsmuth zum sechzigsten Geburtstag überreicht Leipzig 1897 pp. 1—20, *id. Die römischen Denkmäler in der Dobroudscha* Berlin 1904 (Cichorius argues that the monument commemorates the victories of Trajan, but that the existing reliefs were due to a reconstruction by Constantine the Great). See further F. Studniczka *Tropaeum Trajani* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1904 xxii. 4. 1—152 with 86 figs.) Leipzig 1904, T. Antonesco *Le trophée d'Adamclissi. Étude archéologique.* Jassy 1905 pp. 1—252 with 10 pls. and 16 figs., Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*[2] p. 734 f.

(*i*) The Pillar of Light and the Soul-Ladder.

So, then, the *Irminsûl*, the pillar of the sky-god *Er* or *Irmin*[1] was a familiar sight to dwellers on the Thracian frontier. And Platon—it will be remembered—conceives of *Er* son of *Armenios* as standing on 'a straight light like a pillar[2].' I have already ventured to connect the Germanic cult with the Greek myth[3]: I would now add the conjecture that the link between Germany and Greece was Thrace, and that the myth in question reached Platon through Orphic channels. If so, we might look to find either among the Thracians or among the Orphists some trace at least of the 'light like a pillar' and of the allied belief in a soul-path leading up to the summit of the heavenly vault. In point of fact there is evidence of both.

In Krastonia we hear of 'a sanctuary of Dionysos, large and fine, where during the festival and sacrifice, if the god is about to cause a good year, there appears a great gleam of fire seen by all in the precinct, if a bad season, the light does not appear but darkness covers the place as on ordinary nights[4].' It would seem that in this Thracian[5] cult the presence of the god was betokened by a great

figs. 805—807, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 428—442, F. Lübker *Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums*[8] Leipzig-Berlin 1914 p. 9, A. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 513 f. fig. 7123. The *tropaeum Trajani* (the name is certified by inscriptions for the neighbouring town, which was presumably called after this famous monument) stands in the Roumanian district of Dobroudja not far from the site of Tomis (*Kostendje*), on the coins of which it appears in a simplified form (Rasche *Lex. Num.* ix. 1394 a 'third brass' of Trajan with rev. ΤΟΜΙΤΩΝ 'tropaeum in cippo,' Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 276 'Trophy between captives,' F. Imhoof-Blumer *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands* i Dacien und Moesien von B. Pick und K. Regling Berlin 1910 ii. 635, 680 f. nos. 2600 pl. 7. 1, 2601—2603). It was erected probably in 103 A.D. by Trajan, and it was dedicated to Mars *Ultor* possibly on the spot where in 87 A.D. Cornelius Fuscus had been defeated and slain by the Dacians (C. G. Brandis in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1966). From a circular stepped base rises a cylindrical drum (20[m] in diameter, 8[m] high) formerly adorned with triglyphs and 50 sculptured metopes, a frieze of arms, and a projecting cornice, which supported a crenelated parapet. The 50 battlements have reliefs representing barbarian prisoners with lions as gargoyles between them. Higher up comes a truncated cone, once covered with scale-like tiles and topped by a hexagonal plinth (8[m] high), on which rested a huge trophy (8[m] high) facing east with a barbarian standing before it and two female captives seated to right and left of it. The dedication (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 12467) was on the eastern side of the hexagon.

[1] *Supra* p. 50 ff. [2] *Supra* p. 44. [3] *Supra* p. 54.

[4] Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 122 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο αὐτόθι (*sc.* ἐν τῇ Κραστωνίᾳ παρὰ τὴν Βισαλτῶν χώραν) ἱερὸν Διονύσου μέγα καὶ καλόν, ἐν ᾧ τῆς ἑορτῆς καὶ τῆς θυσίας οὔσης λέγεται, ὅταν μὲν ὁ θεὸς εὐετηρίαν μέλλῃ ποιεῖν, ἐπιφαίνεσθαι μέγα σέλας πυρός, καὶ τοῦτο πάντας ὁρᾶν τοὺς περὶ τὸ τέμενος διατρίβοντας, ὅταν δ' ἀκαρπίαν, μὴ φαίνεσθαι τοῦτο τὸ φῶς, ἀλλὰ σκότος ἐπέχειν τὸν τόπον ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νύκτας.

[5] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κρήστων· πόλις Θράκης (cp. *ib. s.v.* Γρηστωνία· χώρα Θράκης πρὸς τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ), Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 937 Κρηστών<η> πόλις Θράκης. Κρηστώνη δὲ ἡ Θράκη

blaze or shaft of light. Similarly in the *Bakchai* of Euripides the voice of Dionysos is heard from the upper air addressing his Maenads:

> So spake he, and between the heaven and earth
> Set up a standing light of holy fire[1].

This Dionysiac pillar of light is presumably a genuine Thracian touch. Again, Thrasyboulos in his nocturnal march from Phyle to Mounychia (403 B.C.) was guided by a pillar of fire and, where it vanished, built an altar to *Phosphóros*, the 'Light-bearing' goddess[2]. Since at Mounychia his troops occupied the precincts of Artemis and of the Thracian Bendis[3], it is very possible that here too Thracian influence was at work.

In view of the kinship between Thracians and Phrygians it should be noticed that the pillar of fire reappears in a Phrygian miracle. The pagans of Laodikeia, wishing to flood the prayer-house and holy well of Saint Michael, made a new bed for the neighbouring streams Kouphos and Lykokapros. Thereupon, in answer to the prayers of the hermit Archippos, the archangel manifested himself, with a crash of thunder, in the form of a fiery pillar stretching from earth to heaven. Extending his right hand he split a gigantic rock, and bade the waters flow through the cleft of Chonai with renewed powers of healing[4].

ἀπὸ πόλεως μιᾶς οὕτω καλουμένης. On Thracian tribes in this district see O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 117.

[1] Eur. *Bacch.* 1082 f. *καὶ ταῦθ' ἅμ' ἠγόρευε καὶ πρὸς οὐρανὸν | καὶ γαῖαν ἐστήριζε* (sic cod. P : *ἐστήριξε* ed. Ald.) *φῶς σεμνοῦ πυρός.* Cp. *Christ. pat.* 2255 f. *ταύτῃ θ' ἅμ' ἐβρόντησε καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλον | καὶ γαῖαν ἐστήριξε φῶς σεμνοῦ πυρός* (when the stone was rolled away from the tomb).

[2] Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 24 p. 102, 3 ff. *ἀλλὰ καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας ἀπὸ Φυλῆς καταγαγόντι* (L. Dindorf cj. *κατάγοντι*) *καὶ βουλομένῳ λαθεῖν στῦλος ὁδηγὸς γίνεται διὰ τῶν ἀτριβῶν ἰόντι. τῷ Θρασυβούλῳ νύκτωρ ἀσελήνου καὶ δυσχειμέρου τοῦ καταστήματος γεγονότος πῦρ ἑωρᾶτο προηγούμενον, οπερ αὐτοὺς ἀπταίστως προπέμψαν κατὰ τὴν Μουνυχίαν ἐξέλιπεν, ἔνθα νῦν ὁ τῆς Φωσφόρου βωμός ἐστι.* The context compares the pillar of fire, which led the Hebrews through the wilderness (Ex. 13. 21 f., 14. 19 f., 24, 33. 9 f., Num. 12. 5, 14. 14, Deut. 31. 15, Neh. 9. 12, 19, Ps. 99. 7 : B. Stade *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments* Tübingen 1905 i. 41 f.). For Artemis *Φωσφόρος* at Athens and elsewhere see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2441 ff., cp. H. W. Stoll *ib.* ii. 3227, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1401, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 458 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 40 n. 7, 125 n. 13, 263 n. 8, 1298 n. 1. *Anth. Pal.* 7. 266. 1 ff. (Hegesippos) tells how Hagelocheia, daughter of Damaretos (*sc.* Damaratos, king of Sparta *c.* 500 B.C.), dedicated an Artemis by the cross-ways because the goddess had appeared to her at the loom *ὡς αὐγὰ πυρός.*

[3] Xen. *Hell.* 2. 4. 11 f. Topographical discussion by A. Wilhelm in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1902 v. 127 ff., W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 398 f.

[4] M. Bonnet *narratio de miraculo a Michaele Archangelo Chonis patrato* adjecto Symeonis Metaphrastae de eadem re libello in the *Analecta Bollandiana* Paris-Bruxelles

A similar manifestation is recorded in the life of Saint Sabas (Dec. 5), founder of the famous monastery near Jerusalem, who one night saw a pillar of fire connecting earth with heaven and found beneath it a cave well suited to serve as a church[1]. Sabas was a Cappadocian by birth; and it is perhaps more than a coincidence that another Cappadocian, Saint Basil the Great, appeared in a vision to Saint Ephraem the Syrian as a column of fire reaching to the sky[2]. Accordingly Saint Basil (June 14) is sometimes represented in art with a column of fire near by and a dove at his head[3], Saint Ephraem (Jan. 28 or Feb. 1 and July 9) with a pillar of light before him[4]. In the case of Celtic and Saxon saints the said pillar is almost a commonplace. When Saint Bridget of Kildare (Feb. 1) received the veil from Bishop Maccail at Usny Hill, Westmeath, a flame shaped like a column appeared above her[5]. So too when Saint Brioc of Brittany (May 1), son of an Irish father by a Saxon mother, was being ordained, a column of fire rose to the roof above his head[6]: he is sometimes figured with this attribute[7]. A column of fire likewise appeared on the head of Saint Cuthbert (March 20), while he was abbot of Melrose[8]. A pillar of light was seen shining over the thicket, where the body of Saint Kenelm (July 17 and

1889 viii. 287 ff. (p. 304, 2 ff. *καὶ τὴν μὲν φωνὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἤκουεν, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἔβλεπεν, στύλον πυρὸς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, p. 315, 8 f. *στύλον δὲ παραχρῆμα πυρὸς ἀπὸ γῆς ἕως αὐτοῦ διήκοντα ἰδεῖν οὐρανοῦ καὶ φωνῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἀκοῦσαι κ.τ.λ.*), G. Anrich *Die Anfänge des Heiligenkults in der christlichen Kirche* Tübingen 1904 p. 267.

[1] Kyrillos of Skythopolis *v. Sabae* 17 in J. B. Cotelerius *Ecclesiæ Græcæ monumenta* Luteciæ Parisiorum 1686 iii. 242 C *ὁρᾷ...στύλον πυρὸς ἐπεστηριγμένον ἐν τῇ γῇ οὗ ἡ κεφαλὴ ἀφικνεῖτο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*, 243 A—B *ἀνέβη μετὰ φόβου καὶ χαρᾶς μεγάλης, ἔνθα ὁ στύλος τοῦ πυρὸς ἐδείχθη· καὶ εὗρε σπήλαιον μέγα τε καὶ θαυμάσιον, ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ ἐκτύπωμα ἔχον*.

[2] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1658 Februarius i. 75 D (ex Vitâ S. Basilii Magni | Auctore (ut vulgo creditur) S. Amphilochio) In extasi ergo factus, vidit columnam ignis, cuius caput pertingebat cœlum, & vocem desuper dicentem audiuit: Effrem, Effrem, quemadmodùm vidisti columnam istam ignis, talis est magnus Basilius. Cp. Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* ii. 138.

[3] M. and W. Drake *Saints and their Emblems* London 1916 pp. 17, 175.

[4] M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 41, 200, R. Pfleiderer *Die Attribute der Heiligen* Ulm 1898 p. 139.

[5] C. Cahier *Caractéristiques des Saints dans l'art populaire* Paris 1867 i. 246 quoting [J. E.] Nieremberg[ius] *De [miris et] miraculosis [naturis in Europa* Antverpiæ 1635] lib. II cap. xi.

[6] *Vita S. Brioci* 19 in the *Analecta Bollandiana* Paris-Bruxelles 1883 ii. 170 apparuit super caput Brioccii, qui prope erat episcopo, quasi columna ignis, attingens ecclesiæ laquearia.

[7] C. Cahier *op. cit.* i. 245, R. Pfleiderer *op. cit.* p. 139, D. H. Kerler *Die Patronate der Heiligen* Ulm 1905 p. 36 f., M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 21, 175, 200.

[8] C. Cahier *op. cit.* i. 245. Cp. R. Pfleiderer *op. cit.* p. 139 ('Säule, glühende, über ihm'), D. H. Kerler *op. cit.* p. 168 ('Glühende Säule'), M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 31, 200 ('pillars of light above him').

Dec. 13), the little king of Mercia, lay hidden[1]. A column of light protected the church at Deventer, beneath which was the grave of Saint Lebuinus (Nov. 12)[2]. A column of light gleamed above Saint Livinus of Ghent (Nov. 12) at his baptism in Ireland[3]. A column of fire was beheld by Saint Keyne of Wales (Oct. 8), when she lay dying in her cell[4]. Etc. etc. Hagiography, like history, tends to repetition.

As to the soul-path, an Orphic poem in praise of the cosmic Zeus speaks of the sky as his face, the clustering stars as his golden locks, the sun and moon as his eyes[5], and in the midst of this pantheistic extravaganza declares :

> Two golden bull's-horns stretch on either side--
> The east and west, roads of the heavenly gods[6].

The poet is describing the Galaxy from an Orphic view-point. Quintus Smyrnaeus too, when he makes the ghost of Achilles appear by night to his son and demand the sacrifice of Polyxene ends with an Orphic or Pythagorean flourish :

> Then like a waft of wind he leapt away,
> So reached the Elysian plain, where there is wrought
> Ascent and descent from the heaven's height
> For blest immortals[7].

The same notion, complicated by a reminiscence of the *Phaidros*[8], marks the close of Lucian's *Demosthenes* :

'Enough ; the man has gone his way, to live the life they tell of in the Isles of the heroic Blest, or to walk the paths that, if tales be true, the heaven-bound

[1] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1725 Julius iv. 300 E (Acta et Miracula S. Kenelmi 6) Nam fulgida lucis columna de cælo super locum effusa, sæpius ostensa est, S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 viii. 428.

[2] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1668 Martius iii. 651 E (Vita [S. Ludgeri] Auctore Altfrido Episcopo 2. 4. 18) Aliquando etiam ipsam ecclesiam, infrà quam sepulcrum eiusdem Dei famuli receptum est, nocturno tempore columna lucis obtinendo protexit ; & ad cœlum usque porrecta foris excubantibus conspicua stabat.

[3] Bonifacius *v. Livin.* 5 (lxxxvii. 330 C Migne, cp. lxxxix. 874 B Migne) qui mox ut de aqua levaverunt puerum, cum omnibus qui aderant manifesta visione cernebant descendisse columniferum splendorem radiis splendidi solis fulgidiorem, atque capiti benedicti pueri imminere etc., S. Baring-Gould *op. cit.* xiii. 302.

[4] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Bruxellis 1780 October iv. 277 C (Vita Ex Capgravio 4) vidit in visione noctis columpnam quasi igneam usque ad lectuli ejus pavimentum descendere, S. Baring-Gould *op. cit.* xi. 179.

[5] *Supra* i. 197.

[6] Orph. *frag.* 123, 16 f. Abel *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 9. 2 and Stob. *ecl.* 1. 1. 23 p. 30, 5 f. Wachsmuth *ταύρεα δ' ἀμφοτέρωθε δύο χρύσεια κέρατα | ἀντολίη τε δύσις τε, θεῶν ὁδοὶ οὐρανιώνων.* See Rohde *Psyche*[2] p. 213 n. 2.

[7] Quint. Smyrn. 14. 223 ff. *ὣς εἰπὼν ἀπόρουσε θοῇ ἐναλίγκιος αὔρῃ, | αἶψα δ' ἐς Ἠλύσιον πεδίον κίεν, ἦχι τέτυκται | οὐρανοῦ ἐξ ὑπάτοιο καταιβασίη τ' ἄνοδός τε | ἀθανάτοις μακάρεσσιν.*

[8] *Supra* p. 43 f.

spirits tread; he shall attend, surely, on none but that Zeus who is named of Freedom[1].'

More definitely Orphic are the gold tablets from Corigliano[2], in which the soul, addressing the Queen of the Underworld together with Eukles[3], Eubouleus[4], and the other immortal gods, claims to

[1] Loukian. *Dem.* 50 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οἴχεται βίον ἔξων τὸν ἐν μακάρων νήσοις ἡρώων λεγόμενον, ἢ τὰς εἰς οὐρανὸν ψυχαῖς νομιζομένας ὁδούς, ὀπαδός τις δαίμων ἐσόμενος Ἐλευθερίου Διός, κ.τ.λ. trans. H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler.

[2] Three small plates of gold obtained in 1880 from graves in the territory of Thourioi (near *Corigliano*). They were first published by G. Fiorelli in the *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei* anno CCLXXVII (1879—1880). Serie Terza. Memorie della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Roma 1880 v. 400—410 pl. 3, 1—3=*Not. Scavi* 1880 pp. 152—162 pl. 6, 1—3, cp. *ib.* 1879 pp. 156—159. See also D. Comparetti 'The Petelia gold tablet' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1883 iii. 111—118, *id. Laminette Orfiche edite ed illustrate* Firenze 1910 pp. 1—32 with 4 pls. (reviewed by O. Gruppe in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Jan. 27, 1912 p. 103 ff.), G. Kaibel *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 641, A. Dieterich *de hymnis Orphicis* Marpurgi Cattorum 1891 p. 30 ff. (=*Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 91 ff.), O. Hoffmann in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* ii. 161 f. no. 1654, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 585 ff., G. Murray *ib.* p. 667 ff., L. Radermacher 'Orphica' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1912 lxvii. 472—477, H. Allène 'Le paradis orphique et la formule ἔριφος ἐς γάλ' ἔπεσον' in Ξένια *Hommage Internationale à l'Université Nationale de Grèce à l'occasion du soixante-quinzième Anniversaire de sa fondation (1837—1912)* Athens 1912, A. Delatte 'Inscriptions orphiques sur tablettes d'or' in the *Musée Belge* 1912 p. 125 ff. (noted by L. R. Farnell in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1913* p. 135), J. H. Wieten *De tribus laminis aureis quae in sepulcris Thurinis sunt inventae* Amstelodami 1915 pp. 1—172. *Supra* i. 650 n. 0, 675 f.

[3] *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 641 i, 2 f. Εὐκλῆς Εὐβουλεύς τε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι, cp. *ib.* ii, 3 f. Εὔκλε καὶ Εὐβουλεῦ καὶ θεοὶ δαίμο[ν]|ε(ς) ἄλλοι, iii, 2 ff. (E)ὔκλευα κα(ὶ) Εὐ|βο(υ)λεῦ καὶ θεοὶ ὅσοι δ(αί)μο|νες ἄλλο(ι). Εὐκλῆς or Εὔκλος is a euphemistic name for Hades (Hesych. εὐκλῆς· ὁ αἰδης. καὶ ὀνομαστός. καὶ εὐειδής (sic cod. εὐκλείης· ὁ αἰδήμων Musurus: M. Schmidt *ad loc.* cj. that there is a confusion in the text between εὐκλῆις· ὁ Ἀιδης, 'bene obseratus,' and εὐκλειής. F. Bücheler in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1881 xxxvi. 333 restores Εὐκλῆς· Ἀιδης)) like Εὐβουλεύς, Εὐειδής, Εὐχαίτης etc. (Rohde *Psyche*[2] p. 206 f., O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 862, 880, 1053, *infra* Append. M). It probably occurs on a bronze tablet from Agnone, now in the British Museum, as part of a lengthy Oscan inscription: *Evklúí statíf...Evklúí Patereí statíf...Evklúí...*, *i.e.* 'Euclo statua... Euclo Patri statua...Euclo...' (see J. Zvetaieff *Sylloge inscriptionum Oscarum* Petropoli 1878 p. 6 ff. no. 9 pl. 2, *id. Inscriptiones Italiae Inferioris dialecticae* Mosquae 1886 p. 32 ff. no. 87, R. S. Conway *The Italic Dialects* Cambridge 1897 i. 191 ff. Oscan no. 175, C. D. Buck *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* Boston, U.S.A. 1904 p. 254 ff. Oscan no. 45). Conway *op. cit.* ii. 619 and Buck *op. cit.* pp. 20, 46 treat *Evklúí* as Εὐκόλῳ, an epithet of Hermes at Metapontum (Hesych. *s.v.* Εὔκολος, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 72. 1 Antipatros: O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1055 f.). But Εὔκολος as epithet of a chthonian power (Aristoph. *ran.* 82 ὁ δ' εὔκολος μὲν ἐνθάδ', Εὔκολος δ' ἐκεῖ involves a pun) may be only the last term of the series Εὐκλεής, Εὐκλῆς, Εὔκλος, Εὔκ(ο)λος. This is seen by J. H. Wieten *op. cit.* p. 31 ff., though I should not agree with his contention that the whole series was *ab initio* an appellative of Hermes. Cp. Zeus Εὔκλειος (Bakchyl. 1. 6 ff. [Δ]ιὸς Εὐκλείου δὲ ἕ[κ]α|τι βαθύζωνον κόραν | [Δ]εξιθέαν δάμασεν *sc.* Minos), Εὔκλεια or Artemis Εὔκλεια (O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 996 ff.), the festival Εὔκλεια (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 237 f.), and the month Εὔκλειος (E. Bischoff 'De fastis Graecorum antiquioribus' in the *Leipziger Studien zur classischen Philologie* Leipzig 1884 vii. 372 ff., W. Dittenberger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1052 f.).

[4] H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1397, S. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio

be itself one of the same happy kindred, brought low by 'Fate and star-flung Thunderbolt[1].' In the oldest and most accurate of the tablets, which is inscribed with fourth-century characters and composed throughout in the dialect of Thourioi, the speaker goes on to say:

> I have flown out of the sorrowful weary Round;
> I have entered with quick feet upon the lovely Crown[2].

Dict. Ant. ii. 849 f., O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 861—869. *Supra* i. 212, 221 (?). Cp. Zeus Εὐβουλεύς (*supra* i. 669 n. 2, 717 n. 3, *infra* § 3 (a) iii (ψ)). It is not improbable that here, as in Orph. *h. Phers.* 29. 8, *h. Dion.* 30. 6, *h. trièt.* 52. 4, the name Εὐβουλεύς, properly belonging to the nether Zeus, is transferred to his son Dionysos (J. H. Wieten *op. cit.* p. 27 ff.). The Queen with Eukles and Eubouleus would thus make up the triad Mother + Father + Son.

[1] *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 641 i, 5 ff. ἀλ(λ)ά με Μο(ῖ)ρα ἐδάμασ(σ)ε | καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι καὶ ἀσ|τεροβλῆτα κεραυνόν, cp. *ib.* ii, 7 f. εἵτε με Μο(ῖ)ρα ἐδαμάσατο | εἵτε ἀστεροπῆτι κ(ε)ραυνῶν, iii, 8 ff. ε(ἰ)τ(ε) με Μοῖρα (ἐδάμασσε) | ε(ἰ)τ' (ἀστ)εροπῆτι κη κερα|υνό (*sic*). The best solution of the textual problem is still that of G. Kaibel who in i, 6 would bracket καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι as interpolated from i, 2 f., and in i, 7 would emend κεραυνόν to κεραυνός, arguing that the original poet meant ἀστεροβλῆτα as an epic nominative, but that a stupid transcriber took it to be an accusative and consequently altered κεραυνός to κεραυνόν. With this I should agree, only bargaining that we write Κεραυνός with a capital letter, since an Orphic hymn identifies *Keraunós* with Zeus (*supra* p. 12). Thus the 'star-flung (rather than 'star-flinging') Thunderbolt' is Zeus in his destructive capacity—the bright brand that flashes downwards from the Milky Way and hurls the guilty soul, like a fallen angel, out of heaven.

A. Dieterich *de hymnis Orphicis* Marpurgi Cattorum 1891 p. 31 (= *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 92) omits the superfluous καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι and reads i, 6 f. ἀστεροβλῆτα κεραυνῶν, ii, 8 and iii, 9 f. ἀστεροπῆτα κεραυνῶν. O. Hoffmann too in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* ii. 161 f. no. 1654 prints <καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι> καὶ ἀσ|τεροβλῆτα κεραυν(ῶ)ν. On this showing κεραυνῶν is the participle of κεραυνόω, and ἀστεροβλῆτα has to mean 'Blitzschleuderer' or 'der mit dem Sonnenstich treffende'—a choice of evils. J. H. Wieten *op. cit.* p. 94 ff. decides for the first horn of the dilemma (ἀστεροβλῆτα = *ἀστεροποβλῆτα by haplology). G. Murray in Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 670 makes the interesting suggestion that ἀλλά με Μοῖρ' ἐδάμασσε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι | .....καὶ ἀστεροβλῆτα κεραυνόν may be a liturgical abbreviation for some fuller form of words. Certainly it would be possible to fill the gap with <σκήψαντες βροντήν τε> or the like, perhaps a much longer phrase. But on the whole I am inclined to think, with Kaibel, Dieterich, and Hoffmann, that καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι is a mere interpolation from the second line of the poem. The writer of the first tablet seems to have similarly duplicated his sixth line (*infra* n. 2), while the writer of the third tablet has the self-correction κη κερα|υνό. L. Radermacher in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1912 lxvii. 474 ff. admits ἀστεροβλῆτα as a nominative = *ἀστεροβλήτης, and supposes that *ἀστεροποβλήτης became *ἀστεροβλήτης through confusion with ἀστεροπήτης: he doubts whether ἀστεροβλῆτα can be taken in a passive sense. But stars are as much in point as lightnings; and a poet familiar with Διοβλής, λιθοβλής, Διόβλητος, λιθόβλητος as passives would not hesitate to make ἀστεροβλῆτα passive too. Less and less probable are the conjectures of F. Bücheler in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1881 xxxvi. 334 κατ' ἀστεροβλῆτα κεραυνόν, D. Comparetti *Laminette Orfiche edite ed illustrate* Firenze 1910 p. 23 f. εἶτ' ἐμὲ Μοῖρα ἐδάμασσ' αὖον στεροπή τε κεραυνοῦ (even if helped out by Gruppe's στεροπῆτι κεραυνῷ).

[2] *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 641 i, 7 ff. κύκλου | δ' ἐξέπταν βαρυπενθέος ἀργα|λέοιο, ἱμερτοῦ δ' ἐπέβαν στεφά|νου ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι, Δεσσποί|νας δὲ ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδυν χθονί|ας βασιλείας, ἱμερτοῦ δ' ἀπέβαν | στε(φ)άνου ποσὶ καρπα(λ)ίμοι|σι. The verse ἱμερτοῦ δ' ἀπέβαν κ.τ.λ.

The lines may be paraphrased: I have escaped from the dreary cycle of life's changes[1]; I have set foot on the Milky Way[2]. In a word, I have regained my lost paradise, and am henceforward a god in heaven, not a man on earth. The astonishing beauty of this profession must not, however, blind us to its crude material aspect. Such *formulae* presuppose a definite ritual[3]; and it may be asked

reads like a careless repetition of the verse *ἱμερτοῦ δ' ἐπέβαν κ.τ.λ.*; and such it presumably is, though the verb may have been changed to suggest that the soul now returning to the Milky Way had originally come from it.

[1] For this use of *κύκλος* cp. Diog. Laert. 8. 14 *πρῶτόν τέ φασι τοῦτον* (*sc.* Pythagoras) *ἀποφῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν κύκλον ἀνάγκης ἀμείβουσαν ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοις ἐνδεῖσθαι ζῴοις*, Emped. *frag.* 17, 12 f. Diels[2] *ἦ δὲ διαλλάσσοντα διαμπερὲς οὐδαμὰ λήγει, | ταύτῃ δ' αἰὲν ἔασιν ἀκίνητοι κατὰ κύκλον*, Orph. *frag.* 223, 1 f. Abel *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 339, 1 ff. Kroll *οὔνεκ' ἀμειβομένη ψυχὴ κατὰ κύκλα χρόνοιο* (so Herwerden for *χρόνοισι*) | *ἀνθρώπων ζῴοισι μετέρχεται ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοις*, Orph. *frag.* 225 Abel *ap.* Olympiod. *in* Plat. *Phaed.* p. 131, 9 ff. Norvin *ὅτι παλαιὸς ὁ λόγος, Ὀρφικός τε γὰρ καὶ Πυθαγόρειος, ὁ πάλιν ἄγων τὰς ψυχὰς εἰς τὸ σῶμα καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἀνάγων καὶ τοῦτο κύκλῳ πολλάκις* (see also Norvin's Index p. 263 *s.v. κύκλος*), Orph. *frag.* 226 Abel *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* iii. 296, 7 ff. and 297, 6 ff. Diehl *μία σωτηρία τῆς ψυχῆς αὕτη παρὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ προτείνεται τοῦ κύκλου τῆς γενέσεως ἀπαλλάττουσα καὶ τῆς πολλῆς πλάνης καὶ τῆς ἀηνύτου ζωῆς, ἡ πρὸς τὸ νοερὸν εἶδος τῆς ψυχῆς ἀναδρομὴ καὶ ἡ φυγὴ πάντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς γενέσεως ἡμῖν προσπεφυκότων·... πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὴν εὐδαίμονα περιάγουσα ζωὴν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν γένεσιν πλάνης, ἧς καὶ οἱ παρ' Ὀρφεῖ τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ τελούμενοι τυχεῖν εὔχονται, "κύκλου τ' ἂν λήξαι καὶ ἀναπνεύσαι κακότητος."* κ.τ.λ., Simplic. *in* Aristot. *de caelo* p. 377, 12 ff. Heiberg *ἐνδεθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν πᾶσιν ἀφορίζοντος δημιουργοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ τῆς εἱμαρμένης τε καὶ γενέσεως τροχῷ, οὗπερ ἀδύνατον ἀπαλλαγῆναι κατὰ τὸν Ὀρφέα μὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκείνους ἱλεωσάμενον, "οἷς ἐπέταξεν" ὁ Ζεὺς "κύκλου τ' ἀλλῦσαι* (ἀλλῆξαι cod. A.) *καὶ ἀναψῦξαι* (ἀμψῦξαι cod. A.) *κακότητος" τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας ψυχάς*, Porph. *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 49. 60 p. 446, 11 ff. Wachsmuth *Ομηρος δὲ τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ περίοδον καὶ περιφορὰν παλιγγενεσίας Κίρκην προσηγόρευκεν.*

[2] The use of the word *στέφανος* to denote the Galaxy resembles Parmenides' use of *στεφάνη* (Aët. 2. 7. 1 *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 22. 1[a] p. 195, 4 ff. Wachsmuth: see O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 pp. 96 n. 1, 102 n. 1, 103 n. 1, and 684 n. 3). A. Dieterich *de hymnis Orphicis* Marpurgi Cattorum 1891 p. 34 f. (=*Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 95) goes off on a wrong tack. Miss J. E. Harrison in her *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 592 f. gets nearer to the truth.

[3] This is seen by Miss J. E. Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 588 ff., who—perhaps wisely—refrains from attempting to determine the precise nature of the rites involved. J. H. Wieten *op. cit.* p. 97 ff. is more venturesome. On the strength (none too strong) of Psell. *τίνα περὶ δαιμόνων δοξάζουσιν Ἕλληνες;* (printed in Psell. *de operatione daemonum* ed. J. F. Boissonade Norimbergae 1838 p. 36 ff.) p. 41 f. *πυρὰ δὲ πολλὰ κύκλῳ τινὶ περιγράφοντες ἐξάλλονται τῆς φλογός. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς παλαιᾶς βακχείας, ἵνα μὴ λέγω μανίας, μερίς...ὁ δέ γε κύκλος κατοχῆς ἔχει δύναμιν* (quoted by Miss Harrison) and of Dion Chrys. *or.* 12 p. 388 Reiske *ἔτι δέ, εἰ* (*sc. περιχορεύοιεν αὐτὸν*) *καθάπερ εἰώθασιν ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ θρονισμῷ καθίσαντες τοὺς μυουμένους οἱ τελοῦντες κύκλῳ περιχορεύειν* he suggests that the initiate at Thourioi was placed in a circle of fires or surrounded by torch-bearing dancers and expected to leap over the fiery ring. He further contends (*ib.* p. 100 ff.) that, having leapt out of the ring, the initiate next stepped quickly into a garland lying on the ground. Hence the golden garlands in the Bacchic procession of Ptolemy ii Philadelphos (Kallixenos of Rhodes *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 64 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 202 D); and hence too the Pythagorean symbol 41 Mullach *στέφανον μὴ τίλλειν* (Porph. *v. Pyth.* 42). But the part of Ptolemy's show here adduced was subsequent to the Bacchic procession

—How, exactly, did the Orphist 'enter upon the lovely Crown'? We have seen reason to believe that, with a view to apotheosis[1], he had 'fallen as a kid into milk[2].' Now Attic vase-paintings of the fifth century B.C. represent the Thracian women that slew Orpheus as tattooed with various symbols including a small goat and a ladder (fig. 76)[3]. And Attic vases of the late fifth or the fourth



Fig. 76.

(see Athen. 202 A *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Διὸς ἦγετο πομπὴ καὶ ἄλλων παμπόλλων θεῶν, κ.τ.λ.*), and Wieten's interpretation of the Pythagorean precept is confessedly different from that of Porph. *loc. cit.* Neither objection is necessarily fatal, but the whole hypothesis is frail.

[1] M. Radin 'Apotheosis' in the *Class. Rev.* 1916 xxx. 44—46 acutely remarks that 'the term [*ἀποθέωσις*] was intended to denote not merely the elevation of a mortal to divinity [*ἐκθέωσις*], but to assert of such an elevation that it was a movement in the Orphic cycle, a *restitutio in pristinum statum*.'

[2] *Supra* i. 675 ff.

[3] (1) A fragmentary *kýlix* with white ground, found in 1888 on the Akropolis at Athens (J. E. Harrison 'Some fragments of a vase presumably by Euphronios' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1888 ix. 143—146 pl. 6, part of which = my fig. 76, G. C. Richards *ib.* 1894 xiv. 381 f., W. Klein *Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften* Leipzig 1898 p. 154 f., O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1184 fig. 9, Furtwängler—Reichhold

Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 284, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 707 ff. fig. 387 f.), has for interior design Orpheus (ΟΡΦΕVs) attacked by a Thracian woman. He sinks, bleeding, to the ground, supported no doubt by his left hand, and defending himself with the lyre uplifted in his right. His assailant holds in her right hand a double axe (missing portion subsequently found—*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 381), beneath which appears a *kalós*-name (probably ΓλαυκΟΝ) and an uncertain object (? handle of large spit: Miss Harrison aptly cp. *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 30). She grasps the singer's arm with her left hand, and sets her foot against his thigh. She has three tattoo-marks—a small goat (not a stag; the legs are too short for that) on her right upper arm, a ladder beneath the bracelet on her left wrist, and four vertical strokes on her neck. The vase may be dated *c.* 470—460 B.C.

(2) Pl. v, a 'Nolan' *amphora* from Capua, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 218 no. E 301), shows a similar scene painted in the style of Douris. The Thracian woman in *a*, but not in *b*, has a check-pattern on the front of her neck, the inside of her right forearm, and the instep of each foot. The photographs here reproduced are by Mr R. B. Fleming.

(3) A 'Nolan' *amphora* from the Durand collection, now in the Louvre (Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* iii. 1109 no. G 436, T. Panofka in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1829 i. 265 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* i pl. 5, 2, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 63, 4, O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1185), represents the same scene. The Thracian woman has a pattern of ivy-leaves (?) down either arm.

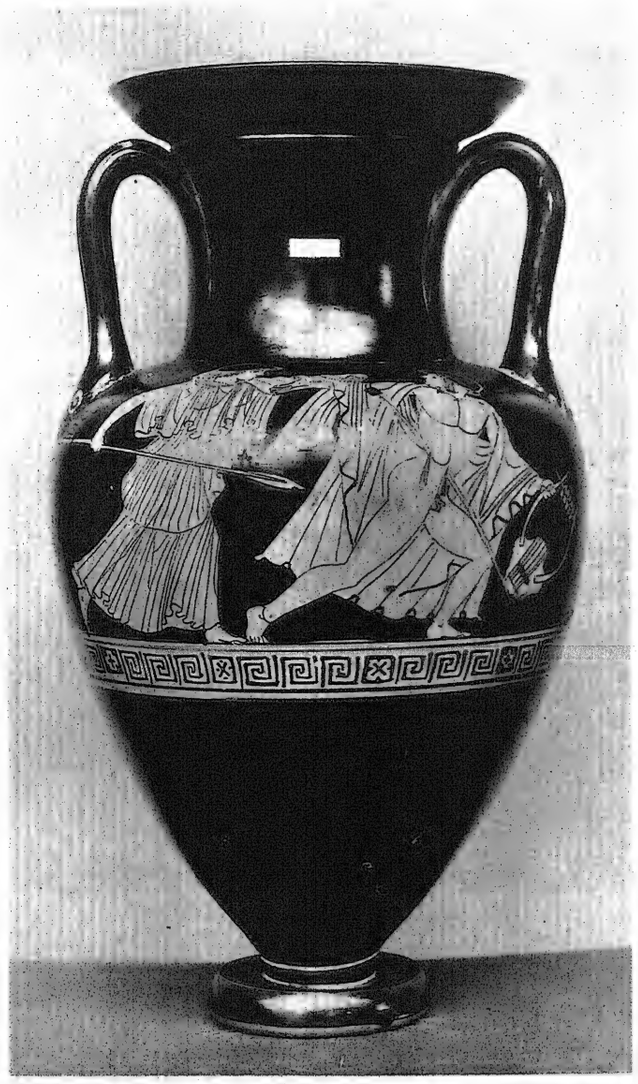
(4) A 'Nolan' *amphora* at Munich (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 126 f. no. 383, A. Flasch in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1871 xliii. 127, O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1188) has the same design, the woman's arms being decorated with a >>>-pattern (? ivy-leaves).

(5) A red-figured *stámnos* from the Campana collection, now in the Louvre (Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* iii. 1103 no. G. 416, A. Flasch in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1871 xliii. 126 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 30, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 186, O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1184 ff. fig. 10), amplifies the scene by adding five other Thracian women. Four out of the six are tattooed, one with a series of short strokes on either arm, another with short strokes on the neck and on the one arm visible, a third with short strokes on the neck and a long line on either arm, a fourth with two vertical lines on the neck.

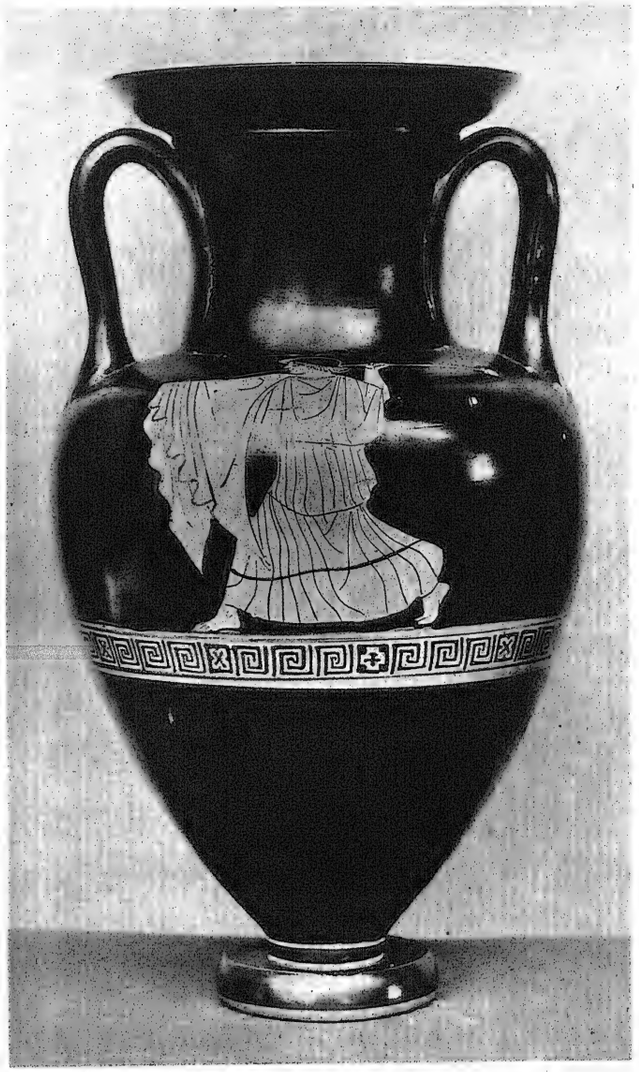
(6) A red-figured *kelébe* at Munich (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 241 no. 777, A. Flasch in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1871 xliii. 127, O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1188) has obv. a Thracian woman, with sword in right hand, sheath in left, whose arms and legs are painted with zig-zag patterns; on either upper arm is a stag ('*Hirsch*' Jahn), on the knee a star with a stag ('Hirsch' Jahn) beneath it: rev. a Thracian woman running with outstretched arms; her arms and legs are again patterned with zig-zags. Orpheus does not appear.

These vases together with some others, on which the women are not tattooed, presuppose—as O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1184—1188 points out—'eine gemeinsame Vorlage.' Possibly the original was an unrecorded fresco by Polygnotos (not the Orpheus-scene in the Cnidian *Lésche* at Delphoi: *supra* i. 537), who as a Thasian by birth would be familiar with the customs of Thrace.

For monumental evidence of tattooing in palaeolithic times see J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1908 i. 203 ff. and Index p. 730, in neolithic times *id. ib.* i. 565 ff. and Index p. 730. Bronze-age examples include a marble idol from Seriphos, the face of which is painted with transverse rows of red dots across forehead, cheeks, and chin (C. Blinkenberg 'Antiquités prémycéniennes' in the *Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires du Nord* Copenhague 1896 p. 48 fig. 13, J. Déchelette *op. cit.* i. 597 fig. 1), a marble head from Amorgos with lines of red on forehead, nose, and cheeks (P. Wolters 'Marmorkopf aus Amorgos' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 46—58, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 742 f. fig. 336), a white limestone idol from the neighbourhood of Sparta with quadruple chevrons incised on its right upper-arm and quadruple squares on its left upper-arm (P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 52 f. fig. 1, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist.*



a



b

Amphora from Capua, now in the British Museum: Orpheus attacked by Thracian women.

See page 122 *n.* o (2).

de l'Art vi. 741 ff. fig. 334), a female (?) head in painted plaster from Mykenai with a rosette of red dots on forehead, chin, and either cheek (Ch. Tsountas 'Κεφαλὴ ἐκ Μυκηνῶν' in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1902 pp. 1—10 pl. 1). Even in the iron age similar practices persisted: the Louvre possesses an archaic terra cotta, said to have been found in Greece, which represents a nude standing female with incised circles of dots round her breasts, round her navel, and on her thighs (E. Pottier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1899 i. 10 fig. 7), and an archaic terra cotta from Boiotia, which shows a draped standing female with a circular black patch on either cheek (Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 109 fig. 55). A *kylix* of Ionic style from Vulci, now at Berlin, has a running Maenad with a small circular red patch on her cheek (J. Endt *Beiträge zur Jonischen Vasenmalerei* Prag 1899 p. 35 fig. 15, J. Boehlau 'Die Jonischen Augenschalen' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 50 ff. fig. 10 'ein unverkennbares rotes Schönheitspflästerchen'!). The black-brown figures represented on Tanagra-ware (S. Wide 'Eine lokale Gattung boiotischer Gefässe' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 143—156 pl. 8) have sometimes, if not always, a group of three dots in thinned-out colour on either cheek (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 385 no. E 813 pl. 21, 1, *ib.* iii. 385 no. E 814 pl. 21, 2 f.: but see Wide *loc. cit.* p. 146 no. 3 = Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 350 no. 1119, p. 146 f. no. 4, pp. 147 f. 150 ff. pl. 8 = Collignon—Couve *op. cit.* p. 350 no. 1120). On a terra-cotta antefix from Thasos (C. Fredrich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1908 xxxiii. 245 f. pl. 10 *Gorgóneion* with floral design on forehead, rosette on nose, etc.) and on various classes of black-figured ware prophylactic faces show tattoo-marks (*e.g.* De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 90 f. no. 182 fig. 9 Ionic vase-lid—*Gorgóneion* with four dots on forehead, *id. ib.* i. 219 ff. no. 322 fig. 39 Attic *kylix*—*Gorgóneion* with large round black spot on forehead, *id. ib.* i. 216 ff. no. 321 fig. 38 Attic *kylix*—interior, *Gorgóneion* with row of dots on forehead; exterior, eyes forming part of face with four dots on forehead).

Literature attests the custom of tattooing for Thracians (Hdt. 5. 6, Klearchos *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 306 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 524 D—E, Phanokles *ap.* Stob. *flor.* 64. 14 (ed. Gaisford ii. 419), Cic. *de off.* 2. 25, Strab. 315, Plout. *de sera num. vind.* 12, Dion Chrys. *or.* 14 p. 442 Reiske, Artemid. *oneirocr.* 1. 8, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 933, 7, *id. in* Dionys. *per.* 322, anon. Pythag. *diss.* 2 *de honesto et turpi* (T. Gale *Opuscula mythologica, ethica et physica* Cantabrigiæ 1671 p. 56 = *Opuscula mythologica physica & ethica* Amstelædami 1688 p. 712 f.) and for Agathyrsi (Verg. *Aen.* 4. 146, Mela 2. 10, Solin. 15. 3, Amm. Marc. 31. 2. 14, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 146, cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 88), Daci (Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 50, 22. 2), Geloni (Verg. *georg.* 2. 115 with Serv. *ad loc.*, Claud. *in Rufin.* 1. 313), Getai (Artemid. *oneirocr.* 1. 8, cp. Dionysophanes *ap.* Porph. *v. Pyth.* 14 f.), Harii (Tac. *Germ.* 43), Iapodes (Strab. 315), Illyrioi (Strab. 315), Sarmatai (Plin. *nat. hist.* 22. 2, Sext. *Pyrrhon. hypot.* 3. 24 p. 286 f. Fabricius), as also for Britanni (Caes. *de bell. Gall.* 5. 14, Mela 3. 51, Plin. *nat. hist.* 22. 2, Herodian. 3. 14. 7, cp. Solin. 22. 12), Picti (Claud. *de bello Getico* 416 ff., Isid. *orig.* 19. 23. 7), Scoti (Isid. *orig.* 9. 2. 103), Kylikranes (Polemon *frag.* 56 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 133 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 462 A and Hesych. *s.v.* Κυλικράνων), Mossynoikoi (Xen. *an.* 5. 4. 32), Aithiopes (Sext. *Pyrrhon. hypot.* 1. 14 p. 66 Fabricius, cp. *ib.* 3. 24 p. 287, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 53 p. 110, 16 ff. Wünsch and Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara* London 1890 p. 30, *id. Illahun, Kahun and Gurob* London 1891 p. 9 pl. 13, 20), Assyrioi (Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 59: *supra* i. 593 no. o). Mithraic 'soldiers' were marked on the forehead (Tertull. *de praescr. haeret.* 40, cp. Greg. Naz. *adv. Iulian.* 1. 70 (xxxv. 592 Migne))—a practice compared by G. Anrich *Das antike Mysterienwesen in seinem Einfluss auf das Christentum* Göttingen 1894 p. 123 f., not only with the Roman custom of marking military recruits (Veget. *epit. rei milit.* 1. 8, 2. 5, Aetios of Amida 8. 12, T. Ruinart *Acta martyrum* Ratisbonae 1859 p. 341 *acta Maximiliani*), but also with such usages as those of Kybele-worshippers (Prudent. *peristeph.* 10. 1076 ff.) and other devotees (Philon *de monarch.* 1. 8), the followers of the Gnostic Marcus (Eiren. *c. haeres.* 1. 20. 4 = Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 7. 32 p. 404 Duncker—Schneidewin), and even the Christian σφραγίς ('baptism') (Herakleon *frag.* 49 Brooke *ap.* Clem. Al. *ecl. proph.* 25. 1 p. 143, 22 ff. Stählin). See further J. Rhodius on Scribonius Largus *composit. med.* 231 (ed. Patav. 1655 p. 308 ff.), Schrader

century repeatedly introduce a ladder into scenes of mystic incense-gathering (?)[1], such as that on a fine polychrome *hydría* from Kyrenaike, now in the British Museum (pl. vi)[2], or those on a couple of *arýballoi* from Apollonia in Thrace, which passed from the Van Branteghem collection to the Hermitage and Berlin respectively (pl. vii)[3]. It is therefore permissible to conjecture that the Orphic initiate actually mounted a ladder in order to ensure his entrance upon the Elysian soul-path[4].

Reallex. p. 851 f., H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 p. 163 n. 2, W. Dennison in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1905 ix. 37, and the monograph of W. Jöst *Tätowiren, Narbenzeichnen, und Körperbemalen* Berlin 1887 pp. 43 f., 102 f.

[1] See the materials collected by F. Wieseler *Commentatio de scala symbolo apud Graecos aliosque populos veteres* Gottingae 1863 pp. 3—17. The list of vase-paintings *ib.* p. 3 f. must, however, be used with caution, since Wieseler appears to have included certain representations of a musical instrument resembling a dulcimer in shape (G. Nicole in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 1108 f.). The subject has been handled with more discretion by Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 98 f. pl. 78, 1 ('eine festliche, von Aphrodite und Eros vorgenommene *Weihrauchernte*') and by G. Nicole *Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique* Genève 1908 Append. ii 'Sur le motif de l'échelle dans les scènes de gynécée' with fig. 43 and pl. 8, 1—6, pl. 9 ('une récolte mystique de l'encens, fête religieuse accompagnée de mélodies et de danses sacrées'). Not improbably the gatherer mounted the ladder to symbolise the celestial nature of the harvesting.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 186 no. E 241, G. Nicole *Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique* Genève 1908 p. 150 fig. 43. My pl. vi is from a photograph taken by Mr C. O. Waterhouse. In the centre is a long ladder, and beside it a tall plant with berries (gilded) in clusters of three. Aphrodite (?), bare to the waist, descends the ladder and scatters something into a two-handled vase held by a woman (drapery blue)—hardly Adonis, as Furtwängler *op. cit.* ii. 99 asserts. On the right another woman closely wrapped in a *himátion* (pink), which passes over her mouth, dances to the flutes of a hovering Eros (wings gilded). Further to the right is a second dancing woman, who plays the castanets. On the left are a third dancing woman, a woman playing the flutes, and a small bearded Pan, with goat's legs and horns (gilded ?), also dancing. Height 15½ ins.

[3] W. Froehner *Collection van Branteghem* Bruxelles 1892 nos. 98 and 99 pl. 31—34 (=my pl. vii), G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 150 f. pl. 8, 5 and 6. Variations of the same scene, marked by the presence of a *thymiatérion*, which on a polychrome *alábastron* from Naukratis (E. A. Gardner—F. Ll. Griffith *Naukratis* Part ii London 1888 p. 28 pl. 16, 20, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 355 no. E 721, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 150 ff. pl. 8, 1) is held by Eros as he descends the ladder.

[4] In an elegiac epitaph from *Doxato* near Philippoi the soul that has entered the Elysian fields is brought into connexion with the tattooed mystics of Dionysos (L. Heuzey—H. Daumet *Mission Archéologique de Macédoine* Paris 1876 Texte p. 128 ff. no. 61, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 686, 11 ff., F. Bücheler *Carmina Latina epigraphica* Lipsiae 1897 ii. 577 ff. no. 1233, 11 ff. [tu placidus, dum nos cr]uciamur volnere victi, | et reparatus item vivis in Elysiis. | sic placitum est divis a[e]terna vivere form[a] | qui bene de supero [n]umine sit meritus : | quae tibi castifico promisit munera cursu | olim iussa deo simplicitas facilis. | nunc seu te Bromio signatae mystidis aise | florigero in prato congregi in Satyrum | sive canistriferae poscunt sibi Naides aequ[e] | qui ducibus taedis agmina festa trahas, | sis quodcumque, puer, quo te tua protulit aetas, | dum modo [– – – –]. The meaning of *mystidis aise* is doubtful. Bücheler *ad loc.* takes *mystidis* to be for *mystides*, adding 'an nomen pueri hic fuit ut *Aesi*?' F. C. Wick in *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 1909 xvii. 198 f. (a reference for which I am indebted to Mr A. D. Nock of



Polychrome *hydría* from Kyrenaike, now in the British Museum: scene of mystic incense-gathering (?).

See page 124 *n.* 2.



a



b

Two *aryballoi* from Apollonia in Thrace, representing scenes of mystic incense-gathering (?).

See page 124 *n.* 3.

In support of that conjecture I may point out, not only that Pindar in a passage already cited speaks of the celestial track as a 'dread stair' or 'ladder[1],' but also that Orphic belief thus falls into line with the beliefs of other peoples. Amulets in the shape of

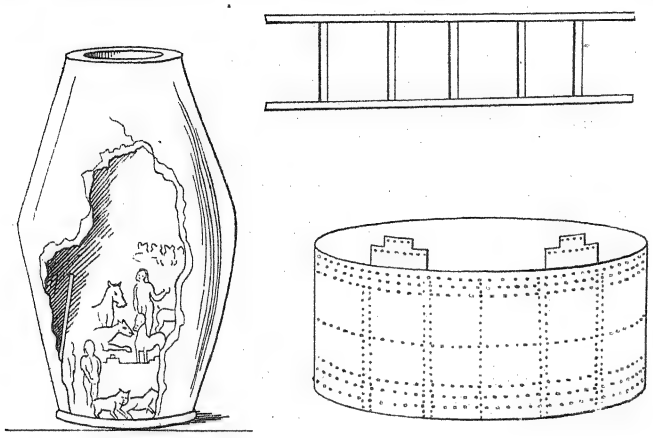


Fig. 77.

little bronze ladders (fig. 77)—a magical means of getting to heaven —have been found in Roman graves[2]. They recall the Egyptian amulet of the ladder,  , about which E. A. Wallis Budge writes as follows:

'In tombs of the Ancient and Middle Empires small objects of wood and other substances in the form of ladders have often been found, but the signification of them is not always apparent. From the texts inscribed upon the walls of

Trinity College, Cambridge) cj. *Mystides aere* (=sistro). But H. Daumet *op. cit.* p. 130 long since suggested αἴση (=αἶσα), and personally I would rather keep *mystidis aise* as a Latinised equivalent of μύστιδος αἴσῃ (cp. *e.g.* Ap. Rhod. 3. 3 Κύπριδος αἶσαν). Bücheler retains *congregi in Satyrum* as meaning 'in the company (adj. for subst.) of the Satyrs (gen. plur.).' He had thought of *congregium*, which might be accepted either as an irregular gen. plur. of *congrex*, or as acc. sing. of *congregius*, a new formation on the analogy of *egregius*.

[1] *Supra* p. 37.

[2] A small bronze ladder together with many other amulets was found in 1696 A.D. near Rome within the remains of a bronze *kiste*, itself enclosed in a jar of coarse pottery and protected by a tile (Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* i. 36—46 pl. 12 f., of which pl. 12, 1, 4, 6=my fig. 77, O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1854 p. 41 n. 44[a] pl. 5, 1, p. 48 n. 69[a] pl. 4, 5 f., p. 58 n. 116, p. 94 f. pl. 4, 15, S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 ii. 296, 365 fig. 214); it is now in the Naples Museum (E. Gerhard—T. Panofka *Neapels antike Bildwerke* Stuttgart 1828 p. 231 f. Zimmer v Schrank 8). Two small bronze ladders, found with other amulets and coins of Marcus Aurelius and Constantine the Great in Roman graves at Cologne, are now in the Museum at Bonn (J. Overbeck *Katalog der königl. rheinischen Museums vaterländischer Alterthümer* Bonn 1851 p. 146 Karte no. 8 f., O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1854 p. 41 n. 44[a]).

the corridors and chambers of the pyramids of Unas, Teta, Pepi, and other early kings, it is clear that the primitive Egyptians believed that the floor of heaven, which also formed the sky of this world, was made of an immense plate of iron, rectangular in shape, the four corners of which rested upon four pillars which served to mark the cardinal points. On this plate of iron lived the gods and the blessed dead, and it was the aim of every good Egyptian to go there after death. At certain sacred spots the edge of the plate was so near the tops of the mountains that the deceased might easily clamber on to it and so obtain admission into heaven, but at others the distance between it and the earth was so great that he needed help to reach it. There existed a belief that Osiris himself experienced some difficulty of getting up to the iron plate, and that it was only by means of the ladder which his father Rā provided that he at length ascended into heaven. On one side of the ladder stood Rā, and on the other stood Horus[1], the son of Isis, and each god assisted Osiris to mount it. Originally the two guardians of the ladder were Horus the Elder and Set, and there are several references in the early texts to the help which they rendered to the deceased, who was, of course, identified with the god Osiris. But, with a view either of reminding these gods of their supposed duty, or of compelling them to do it, the model of a ladder was often placed on or near the dead body in the tomb, and a special composition was prepared which had the effect of making the ladder become the means of the ascent of the deceased into heaven. Thus in the text written for Pepi[2] the deceased is made to address the ladder in these words: "Homage to thee, O divine Ladder! Homage to thee, O Ladder of Set! Stand thou upright, O divine Ladder! Stand thou upright, O Ladder of Set! Stand thou upright, O Ladder of Horus, whereby Osiris came forth into heaven when he made use of his magical power upon Rā.... For Pepi is thy son, and Pepi is Horus, and thou hast given birth unto Pepi even as thou hast given birth unto the god who is the lord of the Ladder (*i.e.*, Horus); and thou shalt give unto Pepi the Ladder of the god (*i.e.*, Horus), thou shalt give unto him the Ladder of the god Set whereby this Pepi shall come forth into heaven when he shall have made use of his magical power upon Rā...." Elsewhere[3] the gods Khonsu, Sept, etc., are invoked to bring the ladder to Pepi, and the ladder itself is adjured to come with its name, and in another place[4] we read, "Homage to thee, O thou Ladder that supportest the golden vase of the Spirits of Pe and the Spirits of Nekhen, stretch out thy hand to this Pepi, and let him take his seat between the two great gods who are in the place of this Pepi; take him by the hand and lead him towards Sekhet-Hetep (*i.e.*, the Elysian Fields), and let him take his seat among the stars which are in the sky."

In the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead the importance of the ladder is also seen, for in Chapter CXLIX.[5] the deceased says, "I set up a Ladder among the gods, and I am a divine being among them"; and in Chapter CLIII. he says, "The Osiris Nu shall come forth upon your Ladder which Rā hath made for him, and Horus and Set shall grasp him firmly by the hand." Finally, when the custom of placing a model of the ladder in the tomb fell into disuse, the priests provided for the necessity of the dead by painting a ladder on the papyri that were inscribed with the texts from the Book of the Dead and were buried with them[6,7]

[1] *Unas*, line 579. [2] Line 192 f. [3] *Pepi*, line 200. [4] *Pepi*, line 471.

[5] See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, translation, p. 270.

[6] See the *Papyrus of Ani*, 2nd edition, pl. 22.

[7] E. A. Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Magic* London 1899 pp. 51—55. Cp. *id. The Gods*

Such beliefs were not without their influence on the receptive and superstitious Greek. P. Aelius Aristeides of Adrianoi in Mysia (129—189 A.D.) was the son of Eudaimon priest of Zeus in that city[1], and apparently succeeded to the office[2], if not to the title of his father[3]. As a life-long invalid he was devoted to the cults of



Fig. 78.

Asklepios and Sarapis[4]; and, among the dreams vouchsafed him during a protracted illness, he records with a shudder that of the ladders which separate the world above from the world below[5].

The celestial ladder (fig. 78)[6] is associated with a pillar[7] in the Biblical account of Jacob at Bethel:

'And Jacob went out from Beer-sheba, and went toward Haran. And he

of the Egyptians London 1904 i. 167 f., 490, ii. 92, 241 f., G. Maspero in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1887 xv. 279 ff., A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 pp. 96, 145 fig. 69*l*, 188, A. Jeremias 'Die Panbabylonisten, der alte Orient und die ägyptische Religion'[2] in *Im Kampfe um den alten Orient* Nr. i Leipzig 1907 p. 62.

[1] Philostr. *v. soph.* 2. 9. 1, Souid. *s.v.* Ἀριστείδης, Ἀδριανεύς.

[2] Aristeid. *or.* 23. 282 (i. 455 Dindorf), 27. 357 (i. 545 Dindorf): see W. Schmid in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 886.

[3] Philostr. *loc. cit.*, Souid. *loc. cit.*

[4] W. Schmid *loc. cit.* ii. 887 ff.

[5] Aristeid. *or.* 25. 320 (i. 500 f. Dindorf) πολὺ δέ τι τούτων φρικωδέστερον εἶχε τὰ χρόνῳ ὕστερον φανθέντα, ἐν οἷς αἵ τε δὴ κλίμακες ἦσαν αἱ τὸ ὑπὲρ γῆς τε καὶ ὑπὸ γῆς ἀφορίζουσαι, καὶ τὸ ἑκατέρωθι κράτος τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἕτερα ἔκπληξιν θαυμαστὴν φέροντα, καὶ οὐδὲ ῥητὰ ἴσως εἰς ἅπαντας, ὥστε ἀσμένῳ μοι φανῆναι σύμβολα τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ. κεφάλαιον δ' ἦν περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως ὅτι καὶ χωρὶς ὀχημάτων καὶ χωρὶς σωμάτων ὁ Σάραπις οἱός τ' εἴη κομίζειν ἀνθρώπους ὅπη βούλοιτο. τοιαῦτα ἦν τὰ τῆς τελετῆς· καὶ ἀνέστην οὐ ῥᾴδιος γνωρίσαι καὶ πρὸς τούτοις θυσία τις ἐδηλοῦτο, ὀφειλομένη μὲν Διὶ καὶ πρόρρησιν μένουσα, ἀποδοθεῖσα δὲ ὡς τοῦ Σαράπιδος οὖσα, ἀπεδόθη δὲ καὶ ὡς τῷ Διί, ἔχω δὲ λέγειν κἀν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἡμέραις, ἃς ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων ποιεῖ τῷ θεῷ, πολλὰ δὴ πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἐπισημήναντα, καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν ἑκάστην, καὶ προσαγαγούσης ἔτι.

[6] From Herrade de Landsberg *Hortus Deliciarum* edd. A. Straub—G. Keller Strasbourg 1879—1899 p. 11 f. pl. 12, 2 a twelfth-century illustration (*infra* p. 136).

[7] Presumably the *Maṣṣebhoth*, the mark of an ordinary sanctuary.

lighted upon a certain place, and tarried there all night, because the sun was set; and he took one of the stones of the place, and put it under his head, and lay down in that place to sleep. And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it. And, behold, the LORD stood above it.... And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and he said, Surely the LORD is in this place; and I knew it not. And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven. And Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put under his head, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it. And he called the name of that place Beth-el: but the name of the city was Luz at the first[1].'

Ladder and pillar coalesce in the stepped tower or *zikkurat* of the Babylonians[2], as in the *columna cochlis* of the Romans, to which indeed the spiral tower of Samarra (*s.* ix A.D.)—a direct derivative of the *zikkurat*—bears a marked resemblance[3]. The seven steps of the *zikkurat*—eight, if we reckon in, as Herodotos does[4], the sanctuary on the summit—have undoubtedly a cosmic significance[5],

[1] Gen. 28. 10 ff. For discussion of the passage in its various aspects see *in primis* J. Skinner *A critical and exegetical Commentary on Genesis* Edinburgh 1910 pp. 375—380.

[2] *Supra* i. 603. A useful summary of the present state of knowledge on the subject will be found in A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 pp. 44—47. The article by Scheil there cited as forthcoming has since appeared (F. V. Scheil 'Esagil ou le temple de Bêl-Marduk à Babylone' in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions* (*Institut de France*) *présentés par divers savants* 1913 xxxix. 293—308, cp. M. Dieulafoy 'Temple de Bêl-Marduk' *ib.* pp. 309—372).

[3] E. Herzfeld *Samarra* Berlin 1907 pp. 23—36 pl. 3. Good photographs are reproduced by M. Jastrow *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 p. 291 pl. 23, 2, A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 44 n. 5 fig. 26, Capt. K. A. C. Creswell in the *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale* 1919 xvi pl. 1 fig. B.

[4] Hdt. 1. 181 ff. ἐν δὲ φάρσει ἑκατέρῳ τῆς πόλιος τετείχιστο ἐν μέσῳ· ἐν τῷ ἦεν τὰ βασιλήϊα, περιβόλῳ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ Διὸς Βήλου (*supra* i. 756 n. 6) ἱρὸν χαλκόπυλον, καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἐὸν, δύο σταδίων πάντη, ἐὸν τετράγωνον. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρις οὗ ὀκτὼ πύργων. ἀνάβασις δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα πεποίηται. μεσοῦντι δέ κου τῆς ἀναβάσιος ἔστι καταγωγή τε καὶ θῶκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖσι κατίζοντες ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ νηὸς ἔπεστι μέγας· ἐν δὲ τῷ νηῷ κλίνη μεγάλη κέεται εὖ ἐστρωμένη, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα παρακέεται χρυσέη. ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἔνι οὐδὲν αὐτόθι ἐνιδρυμένον· οὐδὲ νύκτα οὐδεὶς ἐναυλίζεται ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μὴ γυνὴ μούνη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τὴν ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἕληται ἐκ πασέων, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ἐόντες ἱρέες τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ. κ.τ.λ. For a critical handling of this and other references to the *zikkurat* at Babylon see A. Baumstark in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2688 ff., and for a description of the extant remains, R. Koldewey *The Excavations at Babylon* trans. (Mrs) A. S. Johns London 1914.

[5] M. Jastrow *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 p. 286 f: 'While no special stress seems, at any time, to have been laid on the number of stories or stages of which a *zikkurat* consisted,... seven stages seems to have become the normal number, after a certain period. There seems to be no reason to doubt that this number was chosen to correspond to the moon, sun, and five planets, which we have seen were the controlling factors in the Babylonian-Assyrian

and correspond with the seven or eight steps of the Mithraic ladder[1] or, for that matter, with the Sabian ladder of the seven planets[2].

Fortified by these examples of the soul-ladder as conceived in other parts of the Mediterranean world—to go no further afield[3]—we return to Thrace and the Orphists. Otos and Ephialtes, who essayed to pile Ossa on Olympos and Pelion on Ossa, 'that the

astrology. Gudea describes the *zikkurat* at Lagash known as E-Pa as the "house of the seven divisions[1]" [[1]Thureau-Dangin, *Sumerisch-Akkadische Inschriften*, pp. 76, 84, 86, etc.]; and from the still fuller designation of the tower at Borsippa as the "seven divisions of heaven and earth," it would appear that in both cases there is a symbolical reference to the "seven planets," as the moon, sun, and five planets were termed by the Babylonians themselves[2] [[2]Rawlinson, III. Plate 57, No. 6, 65.].' Etc. Cp. *id. The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 pp. 618 ff., 639.

[1] Orig. *c. Cels.* 6. 21 f. *ἑπτὰ δὲ οὐρανοὺς ἢ ὅλως περιωρισμένον ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν αἱ φερόμεναι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἀπαγγέλλουσι γραφαί, ἀλλ' οὐρανούς, εἴτε τὰς σφαίρας τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι λεγομένων πλανήτων εἴτε καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀπορρητότερον ἐοίκασι διδάσκειν οἱ λόγοι. καὶ τὸ ὁδὸν δὲ εἶναι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐς γῆν καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς Κέλσος μὲν κατὰ Πλάτωνά φησι γίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν πλανήτων· Μωϋσῆς δέ, ὁ ἀρχαιότατος ἡμῶν προφήτης, ἐν ὄψει τοῦ πατριάρχου ἡμῶν Ἰακώβ φησιν ἑωρᾶσθαι θεῖον ἐνύπνιον, κλίμακα "εἰς οὐρανὸν" φθάνουσαν καὶ ἀγγέλους "τοῦ θεοῦ" ἀναβαίνοντας καὶ καταβαίνοντας ἐπ' αὐτῆς, τὸν δὲ κύριον ἐπεστηριγμένον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄκροις αὐτῆς, εἴτε ταῦτα εἴτε τινὰ μείζονα τούτων αἰνιττόμενος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς κλίμακος λόγῳ· περὶ ἧς καὶ τῷ Φίλωνι συντέτακται βιβλίον, ἄξιον φρονίμου καὶ συνετῆς παρὰ τοῖς φιλαλήθεσιν ἐξετάσεως* (cp. Philon *de somniis* i. 22 (i. 641 f. Mangey)). *ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις βουλόμενος ὁ Κέλσος πολυμάθειαν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιδείξασθαι ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμῶν λόγῳ ἐκτίθεταί τινα καὶ Περσικὰ μυστήρια ἐν οἷς φησιν· αἰνίττεται ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Περσῶν λόγος, καὶ ἡ τοῦ Μίθρου τελετή, ἣ (ἡ* ins. Keim) *παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστιν. ἔστι γάρ τι ἐν αὐτῇ σύμβολον τῶν δύο τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ περιόδων, τῆς τε ἀπλανοῦς καὶ τῆς εἰς τοὺς πλανήτας αὖ νενεμημένης, καὶ τῆς δι' αὐτῶν τῆς ψυχῆς διεξόδου. τοιόνδε τὸ σύμβολον· κλῖμαξ ὑψίπυλος* (*ἑπτάπυλος* cj. Koetschau post Boherellum), *ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῇ πύλη ὀγδόη* (*ἐπ' αὐτῇ δὲ πύλαι ἑπτά* cj. Guiet). *ἡ πρώτη τῶν πυλῶν μολίβδου, κ.τ.λ.* cited *supra* i. 626 n. o). The Mithraic doctrine is discussed by F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1899 i. 37 ff., 1896 ii. 243 ff. fig. 77, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3057, *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1953, *id. Die Mysterien des Mithra*[2] trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 p. 129 f. See further Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 934, G. Kroll *De oraculis Chaldaicis* Vratislaviae 1894 pp. 63 (citing from Psellos *ἐξήγησις εἰς τὰ Χαλδαϊκὰ λόγια* (cxxii. 1132 B Migne) the lines *μη<δὲ> κάτω νεύσῃς· κρημνὸς κατὰ γῆς ὑπόκειται | ἑπταπόρου σύρων κατὰ βαθμίδος· †ὑφ' ἣν ὁ τῆς Ἀνάγκης θρόνος ἑστίν* (an leg. *ἣν ὕπ' Ἀνάγκης | ἔστι θρόνος*?), where the *ἑπτάπορος βαθμίς* is equivalent to Origen's *κλῖμαξ ἑπτάπυλος*), 76 Add., Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 665, *id.* in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft* 1896 lxxxv. 266, *id. Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1599 f., W. Anz *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnostizismus* Leipzig 1897 p. 86 ff., W. Bousset 'Die Himmelsreise der Seele' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1901 iv. 160 ff.

[2] D. Chwolsohn *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus* St Petersburg 1856 ii. 610 cites from Makrisi (1364—1441 A.D.) the following statement: 'Unter diesen geistigen Wesen verstehen sie die Engel, von denen sie glauben, dass sie die Leiter der sieben Planeten in deren Himmelskreisen seien,' etc.

[3] A pilaster-relief from the *stûpa* of Bharhut, now at Calcutta, shows 'the great Ladder by which Buddha descended at Sankisa from the Trayastrinsas heavens' as 'a triple flight of solid stone steps, similar in all respects to the single flight of steps which was found at the Western Gateway of the Stûpa' (A. Cunningham *The Stûpa of Bharhut* London 1879 p. 91 ff. pl. 17 railing-pillars of West Gate, middle relief of right side; A. della Seta *Religion & Art* trans. Mrs A. Strong London 1914 p. 306 fig. 167).

sky might be climbable[1],' are connected in many ways with northern Greece[2]. K. O. Müller even regarded them as the mythical leaders of the Thracian colonies[3]. It is therefore noteworthy that Pindar speaks of them as—

Stretching in haste
A ladder to the steep sky[4].

This manœuvre is usually described as a menace to the gods. But it must be remembered that Ephialtes was wooing Hera, and Otos Artemis[5]. Their presumption was that of aspirants to the hand of a goddess.

A curious historic or *quasi*-historic parallel to the enterprise of the Aloadai is that of Kosingas the Thracian chief, who threatened to clamber up a long chain of ladders into heaven and so gain the ear of Hera. The tale is told by Polyainos[6]:

'The Kebrenioi and Sykaiboai are Thracian tribes. Their custom is to have as leaders the priests of Hera. They had a priest and leader named Kosingas. The Thracians would not obey him. Kosingas joined one to another many long wooden ladders, reared them up, and made as if he would climb up into the sky and denounce the Thracian mutiny to Hera. Thereupon the Thracians, stupid unreasoning folk, fearing that their leader would climb up into the sky, besought him and swore that they would hearken to all his commands.'

If such was the attitude of the average untutored Thracian, we begin to see why Pittakos had votive ladders dedicated in the sanctuaries of Mytilene[7]. His father was a Thracian[8] and pre-

[1] *Od.* 11. 316 ἵν' οὐρανὸς ἀμβατὸς εἴη.

[2] J. Toepffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1591 f.

[3] K. O. Müller *Orchomenos und die Minyer*[2] Breslau 1844 p. 380.

[4] Pind. *frag.* 162 Schröder *ap.* Cramer *aneed. Oxon.* i. 201, 15 ff. Πίνδαρος ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὤτου καὶ Ἐφιάλτου, πίτνοντες (J. G. J. Hermann cj. πιτνάντες) θοὰν | κλίμακα οὐρανὸν ἐς αἰπύν (F. W. Schneidewin cj. κλίμακ' ἐς αἰπὺν οὐρανόν)· τὴν μεγάλην δηλονότι. Hermann's πιτνάντες is certainly right, cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 561, 10=*et. mag.* p. 403, 32 f. Ἐφιάλτης...παρὰ τὸ ἰάλλω, τὸ ἐκτείνω, κ.τ.λ.

In the Underworld Otos and Ephialtes were bound by snakes to a column, facing different ways, and tormented by a horned owl (ὦτος) (Hyg. *fab.* 28, cp. Verg. *cul.* 234 ff.). The column may be that on which the earth rests.

[5] Apollod. 1. 7. 4 ἐμνῶντο δὲ Ἐφιάλτης μὲν Ἥραν, Ὦτος δὲ Ἄρτεμιν, cp. schol. B.D.T. *Il.* 5. 385.

[6] Polyain. 7. 22.

[7] Ail. *var. hist.* 2. 29 Πιττακὸς ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ κατεσκεύασε ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς κλίμακας ἐς οὐδεμίαν μὲν χρῆσιν ἐπιτηδείους, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἀναθήματα εἶναι, αἰνιττόμενος τὴν ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἄνω καὶ κάτω μετάπτωσιν, τρόπον τινὰ τῶν μὲν εὐτυχούντων ἀνιόντων, κατιόντων δὲ τῶν δυστυχούντων. I doubt whether Aelian fathomed Pittakos' meaning: the ascent and descent in question were, if I mistake not, the ascent of the soul to heaven and its descent to earth *via* the cosmic stair.

We may perhaps detect a refinement upon the same belief in Herakleitos' saying ὁδὸς ἄνω κάτω μία καὶ ὠυτή (Herakl. *frag.* 69 Bywater, 60 Diels), if not also in Diotima's mystic ascent towards ideal beauty (Plat. *symp.* 211C ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν καλῶν ἐκείνου ἕνεκα τοῦ καλοῦ ἀεὶ ἐπανιέναι, ὥσπερ ἐπαναβαθμοῖς χρώμενον, κ.τ.λ.).

[8] Douris *frag.* 53 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 482 Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 1. 74, cp. Souid. *s.v.* Πιττακός.

sumably versed in Orphic lore. Again, we can give a shrewd guess as to the reason why the ladder figures among other amulets on the terra-cotta cake-moulds of Tarentum[1]. That city was a stronghold of the Pythagoreans, who were deeply imbued with Orphism, and it had moreover its own pillar-cult of Zeus *Kataibátes*[2]. Finally, we obtain the answer to an old conundrum. In 1843 J. Millingen published a terra cotta from Italy representing a naked female figure, who sits on the back of a pig with her legs spread apart and a small ladder held upright in her hand (fig. 79)[3]. Millingen rightly identified this personage as Baubo, but failed to detect the true significance of the ladder. Baubo was a goddess worshipped in Paros along with Hera, Demeter *Thesmophóros*, Kore, and Zeus *Eubouleús*: since her name in the Parian inscription[4] follows immediately those of the Ionian triad, she too was in all probability a goddess of chthonian import[5]. According to Asklepiades of Tragilos (*s.* iv. B.C.), she was the wife of the autochthonous Dysaules (whom we may venture to regard as an appellative of Hades[6]) and by him the mother of Protogone and Misa[7]. And Orphic tradition made

[1] (1) Formerly in the possession of Sir W. Temple at Naples (O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1854 pp. 52 f., 95 pl. 5, 3, E. Labatut in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 256 fig. 306, S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 ii. 166 f., 169 fig. 150). (2) At Naples (G. Minervini 'Poche osservazioni sopra un disco di terracotta, nel Real Museo Borbonico' in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1857 v. 169—172 pl. 6, 2, S. Seligmann *op. cit.* ii. 166 f., 171 fig. 151). (3) and (4) At Oxford (Sir A. J. Evans 'Recent discoveries of Tarentine terra-cottas' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1886 vii. 44—50 no. 2 = p. 44 ff. fig. 6 and no. 3 = p. 46). Sir A. J. Evans *loc. cit.* was the first to recognize in these circular plates 'Moulds for Sacred Cakes': he thinks it probable that the specimens published by Jahn and Minervini, like those now at Oxford, come from Tarentum. In the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1916 p. 344 F. Cumont adds two other examples—(5) a disk communicated by him to the Academy, and (6) a disk in the Louvre. According to him, they date from *s.* ii or i B.C. and were probably bogus mirrors used for catoptromancy.

[2] *Supra* pp. 29 ff., 45.

[3] J. Millingen 'Baubo' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1843 xv. 72—97 pl. E = my fig. 79. The terra cotta in question is now in the Antiquarium at Berlin.

[4] *Supra* i. 669 n. 2.

[5] On Baubo see F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 683, A. Schultz in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 752 f., A. Dieterich in *Philologus* 1893 lii. 1 ff. = *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 125 ff., *id. Nekyia* Leipzig 1893 p. 87 n. 3, O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 150 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 50 n. 2, 57 n. 3 f., 233, 771 n. 3, 1437 n. 2, 1542 n. 1, *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 431 f., and H. Diels 'Arcana Cerealia' (estratto dalla *Miscellanea di Archeologia di Storia e di Filologia dedicata al Prof. A. Salinas nel XL anniversario del suo insegnamento*—to which Miss Harrison kindly drew my attention) Palermo 1907 pp. 3—14.

[6] Hades is Δυσαύλης, 'He of the sorry Resting Place' (*δυσαυλία*), as lord of the *οἰκία... σμερδαλέ' εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοὶ περ* (*Il.* 20. 64 f.).

[7] Harpokr. *s.v.* Δυσαύλης· ... Ἀσκληπιάδης δ' ἐν τετάρτῳ Τραγῳδουμένων (Asklepiades of Tragilos *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 302 Müller)) *τὸν* Δυσαύλην *αὐτόχθονα εἶναί φησι, συνοικήσαντα δὲ* Βαυβοῖ *σχεῖν παῖδας* Πρωτονόην (Πρωτογόνην corr. A. Dieterich in *Philo-*

Dysaules the father of Eubouleus and Triptolemos[1]. It is, I think, fairly safe to conclude that Baubo was an Orphic goddess of the

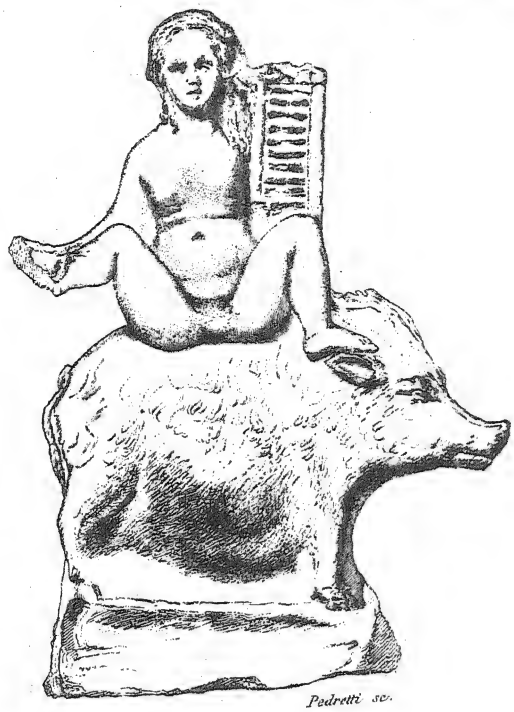


Fig. 79.

Underworld. I suggest that she was the 'Mistress' mentioned in the Orphist's solemn *formula*:

> I have passed beneath the bosom of the Mistress, the Queen of the Underworld[2].

logus 1893 lii. 2 n. 6 = *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 126 n. 3 and L. Bloch in *Philologus* 1893 lii. 577) τε καὶ Νίσαν (Μίσαν corr. C. Müller *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 339, iii. 302).

[1] Paus. i. 14. 3, cp. *supra* i. 212.

[2] *Supra* i. 650 n. 0, ii, 119 n. 2. Observe that the line Δεσποίνας δ' ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδυν, Χθονίας Βασιλείας is at least partially paralleled by the phrase Βαυβοῦς ὑπὸ κόλποις in the passage (Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 21. 1 p. 16, 13 ff. = Orph. *frag.* 215 Abel) so convincingly expounded by H. Diels *loc. cit.*

The Orphic *formula* ultimately influenced the ritual of Eleusis, where Persephone, not Baubo, was chthonian Queen: see Psellos τίνα περὶ δαιμόνων δοξάζουσιν Ἕλληνες; (printed in Psell. *de operatione daemonum* ed. J. F. Boissonade Norimbergae 1838 p. 36 ff.) p. 39 f. τὰ δέ γε μυστήρια τούτων, οἷα αὐτίκα τὰ Ἐλευσίνια, τὸν μυθικὸν ὑποκρίνεται Δία μιγνύμενον τῇ Δηοῖ, ἤγουν τῇ Δήμητρι, καὶ τῇ θυγάτρι ταύτης Περσεφάττῃ, τῇ καὶ Κόρῃ. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔμελλον καὶ ἀφροδίσιοι ἐπὶ τῇ μυήσει γίνεσθαι συμπλοκαί, ἀναδύεταί πως ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἀπό τινων πεπλασμένων μηδέων πελάγιος. εἶτα δὲ γαμήλιος λέγεται ἐπὶ τῇ Κόρῃ ὑμέναιος, καὶ ἐπᾴδουσιν οἱ τελούμενοι· ' ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κυμβάλων ἔπιον, ἐκιρνοφόρησα,

Now that *formula* stood next to the profession:

I have entered with quick feet upon the lovely Crown.

It would seem, then, that the initiate posed as the very consort of the chthonian Queen[1]. As such he had every right to mount her ladder, the ladder that led to Elysium. The 'child of Earth and starry Sky[2]' must needs be free of either world.

The soul-ladder appears again in that most pathetic and impressive document *The Passion of Saint Perpetua*[3] (March 7), who was done to death in the arena at Carthage *c.* 203 A.D. When in prison, she prayed, at her brother's request, that the future might be revealed to her, and had by way of answer the following vision:

'I beheld a bronze[4] ladder of wondrous size, reaching even to the sky, and so narrow that only one could mount it at a time. And in the sides of the ladder were fixed all manner of iron implements—swords, lances, hooks, knives—so that any who mounted carelessly or without looking upwards was torn and his flesh caught by the iron implements. And under the very ladder lay a snake of wondrous size, plotting against them that ascended and frightening them from the ascent. Now the first to go up was Saturus, who at the time of our arrest was not there, but later had given himself up on account of us. And he came to the top of the ladder and turned and said to me: "Perpetua, I await thee. But see that yonder snake bite thee not." And I made answer: "He will not hurt me in the name of Jesus Christ." And under the very ladder he put forth his head slowly, as though he feared me, and I, as if I were treading the first step, trod upon his head. And I went up and beheld an immense garden, and in the midst of the garden a white-haired man sitting, clothed like a shepherd, tall, milking his sheep. And standing round about him were many thousands clad in white raiment. And he raised his head and looked upon me and said to me:

ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν εἰσέδυν.' ὑποκρίνεται δὲ καὶ τὰς τῆς Δηοῦς ὠδῖνας. ἱκετηρίαι γοῦν αὐτίκα Δηοῦς καὶ χολῆς πόσις καὶ καρδιαλγίαι. ἐφ' οἷς καί τι τραγοσκελὲς μίμημα παθαινόμενον περὶ τοῖς διδύμοις, ὅτιπερ ὁ Ζεύς, δίκας ἀποτινυὺς τῆς βίας τῇ Δήμητρι, τράγου ὄρχεις ἀποτεμών, τῷ κόλπῳ ταύτης κατέθετο ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ. ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αἱ τοῦ Διονύσου τιμαὶ καὶ ἡ κίστις (κύστις codd. A.B.) *καὶ τὰ πολυόμφαλα πόπανα, καὶ οἱ τῷ Σαβαζίῳ τελούμενοι, καὶ οἱ μητριάζοντες (μετρίζοντες* cod. A. G. Gaulminus tentaverat *μητρίζοντες*), *Κλώδωνες* (so G. Gaulminus for *κληδόνες* codd. A.B.) *τε καὶ Μιμαλλόνες, καί τις ἠχῶν λέβης Θεσπρώτειος, καὶ Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον· καὶ Κορύβας ἄλλος, καὶ Κούρης ἕτερος, δαιμόνων μιμήματα. ἐφ' οἷς ἡ Βαυβὼ τοὺς μηροὺς ἀνασυραμένη, καὶ ὁ γυναικεῖος κτείς· οὕτω γὰρ ὀνομάζουσι τὴν αἰδῶ αἰσχυνόμενοι. καὶ οὕτως ἐν αἰσχρῷ τὴν τελετὴν καταλύουσιν.* Cp. throughout *supra* i. 392 ff.

[1] *Supra* i. 649 n. 7. [2] G. Murray in Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 659 ff.

[3] J. Rendel Harris—S. K. Gifford *The Acts of the Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas* London 1890 (Latin and Greek texts), J. Armitage Robinson *The Passion of S. Perpetua* Cambridge 1891 (Latin and Greek texts), A. Pillet *Histoire de Sainte Perpétue et de ses compagnons* Lille—Paris 1885 (Latin texts), cap. 4. I have translated the longer Latin text, which is admittedly the oldest source. J. Armitage Robinson *op. cit.* p. 19 f. prints in parallel columns the Long Latin, the Short Latin, and the Greek Version.

[4] The variants are: *scalam* cod. A. *scalam auream* cod. B. *scalam aeream* cod. C. *κλίμακα χαλκῆν* cod. Harris., cp. *σκάλαν χαλκῆν menol. Basil.* (J. Armitage Robinson *op. cit.* p. 21 f.). A friend of Armitage Robinson cj. *scalam aeriam.*

"I am glad thou hast come, child." And he called me and gave me a mouthful of the curds from his milking. And I received it with joined hands and ate; and all that stood round about said "Amen." And at the sound of their voice I awoke, still eating something sweet. And straightway I told it to my brother, and we understood that it meant suffering and thenceforward began to lose all hope in this life.'

Since the remaining visions of Perpetua seem to contain certain elements of mystical or mythical import[1], it is at least possible that here too we should recognise sundry pre-Christian traits. Orphism is suggested both by the celestial ladder and by the milky diet of the newborn soul[2], if not also by the very name of Satyros.

Perpetua is by no means the only saint associated with a ladder. Saint Sadoth (Feb. 29), who was martyred at Seleukeia on the Tigris in 344 A.D., dreamed that his predecessor Simeon Bar-Saboë stood at the top of a ladder, beckoning him from earth to heaven[3]. Saint Alexis of Rome (? Constantinople) or Edessa, who lived at the end of the fifth century and is commemorated on July 17 (by the Greeks on March 17), is represented with a ladder in his arms[4]. Saint Leonard (Nov. 6), who died as abbot of Limoges in 559 A.D. but is nowadays reckoned the principal saint of Bavaria[5], as patron of prisoners holds by a chain a youth mounting a ladder[6]. Saint John Klimax (March 30), who died in 606 A.D., was abbot of Mount Sinai and reverenced as a second Moses[7]: he got his title from the

[1] *E.g.* in cap. 7 the boy Deinokrates retains his gangrenous wound even after death (cp. the sons of Herakles on the Orphic 'Underworld' vase at Munich: Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 50 pl. 10, *supra* i. 222 n. 5) and cannot reach the water that he fain would drink (cp. Tantalos, *supra* i. 205 fig. 148); in cap. 10 Perpetua, stripped for the conflict, becomes a man, is pitted against an Egyptian wrestler and feels as though she were uplifted from the ground, but with joined hands pulls him down and wins the bout (cp. Herakles *v.* Antaios), receiving as her prize a green bough with golden apples on it (cp. Herakles and the apples of the Hesperides).

[2] *Supra* i. 676 f.

[3] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1658 Februarius iii. 176 B (*Acta* 2) Vidi in somnis hac nocte scalam cum magnâ gloriâ, cuius initium erat in cœlo. Ei autem superstabat sanctus Episcopus Simeon cum infinitâ gloriâ: ego verò infrà in terrâ consistebam. Atque ille magnâ me cum hilaritate compellans, Ascende, inquit, ad me Sadoth, ascende: ne timeas, ego enim heri ascendi, tu verò hodie ascendes. Etc., M. and W. Drake *Saints and their Emblems* London 1916 pp. 114, 188.

[4] C. Cahier *Caractéristiques des Saints dans l'art populaire* Paris 1867 i. 328, 387 f., D. H. Kerler *Die Patronate der Heiligen* Ulm 1905 p. 36 ('Treppe'), M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 6, 188.

[5] R. Andree *Votive und Weihegaben des katholischen Volks in Süddeutschland* Braunschweig 1904 p. 39 ff.

[6] M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 74, 188.

[7] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1668 Martius iii. 837 A (*Vita* | Auctore Daniele monacho coæuo 2. 9) Nam & montem Dei ipse accessit, inaccessamque nebulam ingressus, scalæq; cœlestis gradibus admotus, scriptam Dei digito legem accepit, etc., S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 iii. 506 ff.

Ladder of Paradise, a book of thirty chapters in which he described out of his own experience the thirty steps leading upward to perfection[1]; hence he is figured with a ladder[2]. So too is Saint Emmeram of Ratisbon (Sept. 22)[3], but for a very different cause: in 652 A.D. he was bound to a ladder, mutilated, and murdered on a false charge[4]. Saint Bathild the Saxon (Jan. 26 or 27 or 30), who was married to Clovis ii in 649 A.D., shortly before she died had a vision of a ladder set up in front of an altar and of herself, escorted by angels, going up it into heaven[5]: she is represented accordingly[6]. Saint Romuald of Italy (Feb. 7), who lived *c.* 907—1027 A.D., once saw a ladder rising to the sky and his monks ascending it in white habits: he founded a fine church on the spot[7]. Saint Olaf king of Norway (July 29), who fell at Stikklestad in 1030 A.D., is portrayed with a ladder seen by him in a similar dream[8]. Saint Bernard Ptolemy (Aug. 21, 1348 A.D.), founder of the Olivetines at Siena, had—like Saint Romuald—a vision of angels leading white-robed monks up a ladder[9]. And Saint Angela of Merici (May 31, 1540

[1] Κλῖμαξ τοῦ παραδείσου, *Scala Paradisi* (lxxxviii. 631—1164 Migne). On it see K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*[2] München 1897 p. 143 f. and a beautifully illustrated chapter by W. Dennison and C. R. Morey *Studies in East Christian and Roman Art* (*University of Michigan Studies:* Humanistic Series xii) New York 1918 pp. 1—30 ('Two Miniatures from a Manuscript of St. John Climacus, and their Relation to Klimax Iconography') with col. pls 1, 2 and figs. 1—14.

[2] M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 67, 188.

[3] C. Cahier *op. cit.* i. 327 f., M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 40, 188.

[4] B. Sepp in the *Analecta Bollandiana* Paris—Bruxelles 1889 viii. 233 f. (Arbeonis episcopi Frisingensis *Vita S. Emmerammi authentica* 16 ff.) scale superpositum funibus alligauerunt etc., S. Baring-Gould *op. cit.* x. 338 f.

[5] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1643 Januarius ii. 741 (*Vita* 13) At verò iam propinquante glorioso eius obitu, visio præclara ei fuit ostensa. Scala enim erecta & stans ante altarium S. Mariæ, cuius culmen cœlum contingeret, & quasi Angelos Dei comitantes, vt ipsa Domna Baltildis ascenderet per eam: etc., cp. *ib.* 745 (*Alia Vita* 16) in the better Latin of an interpolator.

[6] C. Cahier *op. cit.* i. 328, M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 17, 188.

[7] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1658 Februarius ii. 136 B (Alia Vita | sive Sermo de Vitâ S. Romualdi, auctore Hieronymo Eremitâ Camald. 61) Vbi dum lassus quiesceret, vidit instar Iacob scalam excelsam, cœlum quasi suo vertice tangentem, per quam albescentium monachorum videbatur ascendere multitudo in cœlum, S. Baring-Gould *op. cit.* ii. 209, M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 112, 188.

[8] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1731 Julius vii. 106 F (*De S. Olavo, Rege et Martyre, Nidrosiæ in Norvegia*...97) Scalam, inquit Rex, vidi à terra in cœlum usque pertingentem, meque per gradus ascendentem, supremamque tenuisse, *ib.* 115 C f. (*Acta brevia* 10) passioni se lætus obtulit, jam divinitus sperans scalam, quam in somnis nuper ad cœlos erectam viderat, per quam ad dulcedinem, quam gustaverat, feliciter erat ascensurus. Cp. F. Metcalfe *Passio et Miracula Beati Olavi* Oxford 1881 p. 126 citing Snorri *Saga Ólafs konungs ens helga* edd. P. A. Munch—C. R. Unger Christiania 1853 cap. 226; C. Cahier *op. cit.* i. 328, M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 95, 188.

[9] C. Cahier *op. cit.* i. 328.

A.D.), foundress of the Ursulines at Brescia, is likewise represented ascending a ladder with her virgins[1].

Even ordinary mortals might aspire to climb the steps that led heavenwards. A Christian *sarcophagus* at Burgos in Spain has Jacob's ladder for its central subject (fig. 80)[2]. Herrade of Landsberg, abbess



Fig. 80.

of Hohenburg on Mount Saint-Odile from 1167 to 1195 A.D., included in her *Hortus Deliciarum* a symbolic design representing 'The Ladder of Virtues' (fig. 81)[3]. Akin to this is the magnificent painting in tempera (*c.* 1200 A.D.), which was discovered in 1870 on the western wall of the nave in Chaldon Church, Surrey (pl. viii)[4]. 'The

[1] C. Cahier *op. cit.* i. 328, M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 10, 188.

[2] *Monumentos arquitectonicos de España* pl. without number (see S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1911 ii. 467), Index by D. Eduardo de la Rada y Mendez Madrid 1895, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 190 nos. 1—4.

[3] Herrade de Landsberg *Hortus Deliciarum* edd. A. Straub—G. Keller Strasbourg 1879—1899 p. 43 pl. 56 (=my fig. 81) 'L'échelle des vertus' after C. M. Engelhardt *Herrad von Landsperg, Aebtissin zu Hohenburg, oder St Odilien, im Elsass, im zwölften Jahrhundert, und ihr Werk: Hortus deliciarum* Stuttgart—Tübingen 1818 p. 115 f. pl. 9. The whole design is inscribed: *Hec scala significat ascensum virtutum et religiosum sanctitatis exercitium, quo vite corona adipiscitur. Huic scale primum plurimi innitentes postea diabolicis sagittis vulnerati retrahuntur, et terrenis impedimentis ac concupiscentiis suis illecti et abstracti nequiter incurvantur.* The ladder rises obliquely from earth to heaven. Beneath its lowest step crouches the devil in the form of a dragon. Above its highest step the hand of the Lord holds out the crown of life. Two demons shoot arrows at the climbers and successfully overthrow a knight (*miles*) and his wife (*laica*), a nun (*sanctimonialis*), a clerk (*clericus*), a monk (*monachus*), a recluse (*inclusus*), and a hermit (*heremita*), who all fall downwards towards the objects of their desire. Two angels with sword and shield protect the uppermost figure, that of Virtue (*Virtus, id est caritas*), who advances to take the crown. On one side of the ladder we read: *Draco iste insidiatur scandentibus* and *Hos omnes periculose ab alto cadentes potest Dominus medicina penitentie iterum ad virtutum culmen restituere.* The happier alternative is indicated by the inscriptions: *Septem sunt scale quibus ascenditur ad regnum celorum: prima castitas, secunda mundi contemptio, tertia humilitas, quarta obedientia, quinta patientia, sexta fides, septima caritas de puro corde* and *Hec persona virtutis significat omnes sanctos et electos, qui angelica custodia perducuntur ad celestia premia. Virtus autem hec est caritas. Sola enim virtus caritatis, que ceteras virtutes continet, ad accipiendam celestis premii coronam perveniet.*

[4] J. G. Waller 'On a Painting recently discovered in Chaldon Church, Surrey' in

Ladder of the Soul's Salvation and of the Road to Heaven' is like-



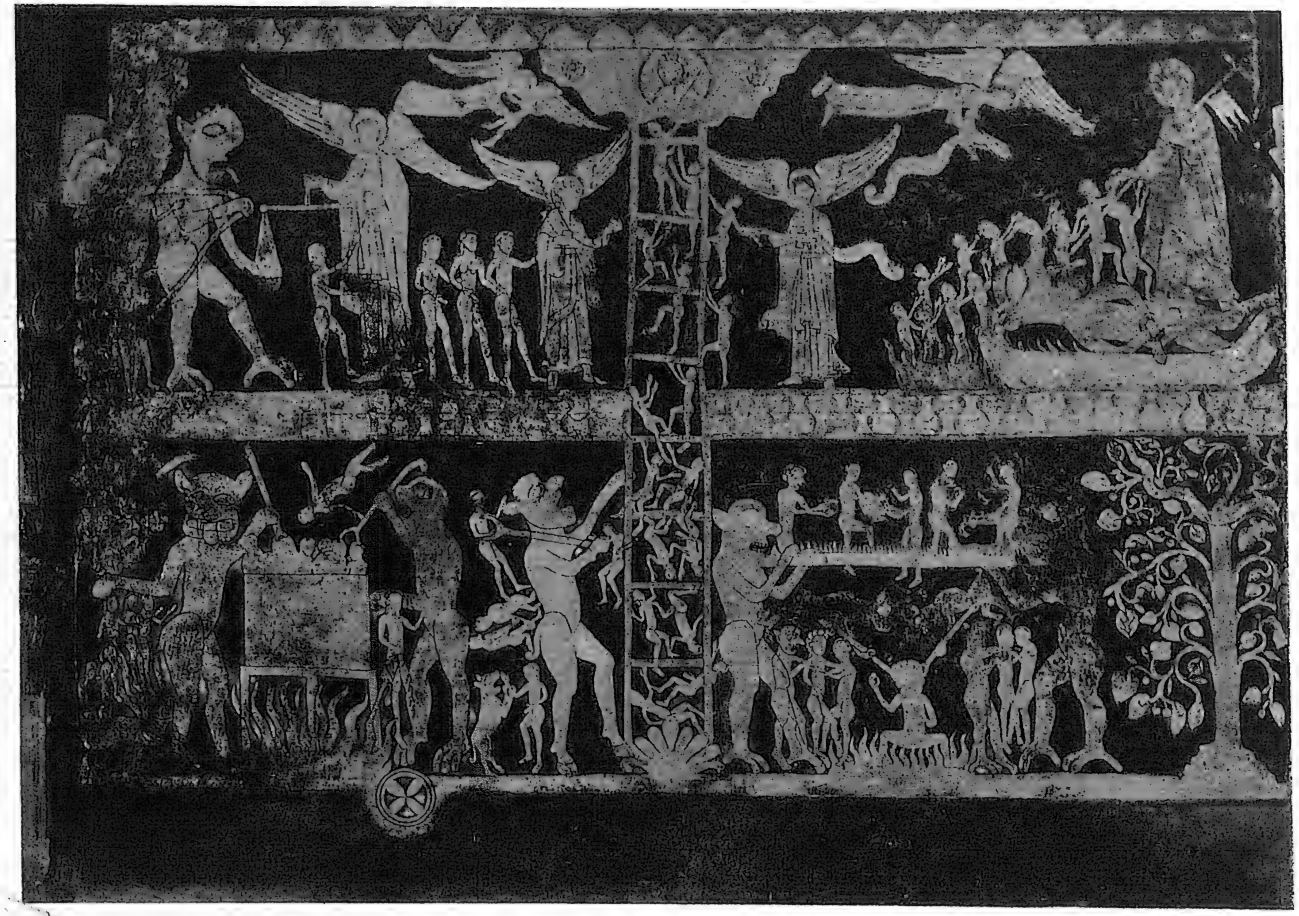
Fig. 81.

wise a traditional theme among the ecclesiastical painters of the

Surrey Archæological Collections 1871 v. 275—306 with col. pl., Eliza B. Miller in *The Victoria History of the County of Surrey* London 1912 iv. 192 f. with col. frontisp. by P. M. Johnston. Good photographs are obtainable in the form of picture-postcards (=my pl. viii). The colours used in the original are 'red and yellow ochre, a little native cinnabar and white' (Waller). The painting is divided into two registers by a horizontal band or nebuly. The lower register represents the torments of the lost; the upper, the

Greek Church[1]. Dante, when he ascends with Beatrice to the bliss of the saved. The two are connected by a vertical ladder rising towards a half-length figure of Christ in the act of benediction, with the sun on his right, the moon on his left. Below, to the right, is the tree of life with the serpent in it; and on the north wall adjoining it were remains of a large demon, now destroyed. Between the tree and the ladder is a usurer seated in flames and tormented by two demons: he is slung with money-bags, vomits coins, and holds up a piece of gold. The usurer is flanked by two amatory couples, perhaps clerk and concubine, priest and nun, each couple with an attendant spirit prompting to sin. To either side of them two large demons support a bridge of spikes, on which are seen several culprits marked by the emblems of their trades—a blacksmith condemned to forge a horseshoe without anvil, a mason with his pick, a woman with a ball of yarn, another woman with some attribute defaced, and a man with a bowl, probably one who had stolen a tithe of milk and must now carry it over the bridge without spilling. To the left of the ladder is a caldron full of flames, set over a fire and tended by two large demons, who are filling it with parricides and fratricides. On the extreme left the painting is damaged and obscure; but we can make out several souls of dancers, whose feet are gnawed by a recumbent wolf. On the opposite side of the caldron is a figure with pilgrim's staff and purse, but a wine-bottle in his hand: he had sold all to buy strong drink. The figure having her arm bitten by a dog is a warning to ladies against feeding their pets too well. Another large demon, with the cloven hoofs, tail, and ears of a Satyr, shoulders a two-pronged fork and is bent on picking off souls from the ladder. Behind him a woman and a man tumble downwards together: she holds out a gold coin and clasps a large gold-banded horn carried by him—a symbol of lewdness rather than of drunkenness. Above, to the right, is 'the Harrowing of Hell.' Christ advances upon the prostrate form of Satan, whom with cross and banner he thrusts down into the open jaws of Hell, here conceived as a gaping monster. The victor extends his hand to Adam, and liberates a troop of souls from the flames of Purgatory, while an angel, issuing from Heaven with a scroll, announces the fulfilment of prophecy. Two other angels stand on either side of the ladder as guards and guides of the blessed, who ascend towards Christ above them. A couple of souls—Enoch and Elijah—clamber up outside the ladder in an unusual way. Another exceptional case is that of the soul—presumably the penitent thief—carried direct to Paradise by a flying angel. To the left is St Michael weighing souls. Three females—probably the three Marys—pass towards the ladder. A fourth soul supplicates the archangel. Two others, weighed and found wanting, are flung into the gulf below. Lastly, to the left of the upper register, a demon, dragging many souls bound with a rope, tries to depress one scale and so send up the beam. The dedication-cross is on the lower edge of the painting, which measures 17 ft. 2 ins. in length by 11 ft. 2 ins. in height.

[1] The painter's manual by Dionysios Hieromonachos is an important source first published in a French translation by P. Durand *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne grecque et latine* Paris 1845. The Greek text was first printed by A. Konstantinides, ed. 1 Athens 1853, ed. 2 Athens 1885, and is entitled Ἑρμηνεία | τῶν | ζωγράφων | ὡς πρὸς τὴν | Ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ζωγραφίαν | ὑπὸ | Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἱερομονάχου | καὶ ζωγράφου | Τοῦ ἐκ Φουρνᾶ τῶν Ἀγράφων | (συγγραφεῖσα ἐν Ἄθωνι τῷ 1458). Further bibliography in K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*[2] München 1897 p. 1117. It is now held that Dionysios lived early in the eighteenth century, but drew largely upon an anonymous painter's book of 1566 A.D.: see A. Papadopoulos Kerameus *Denys de Fourna, Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne*, etc. St Petersburg 1900, *id.* Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐκ Φουρνᾶ Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς, etc. St Petersburg 1909, O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 649. I append the text of the Ἑρμηνεία § 523 p. 242 f. Konstantinides[2]: **Ἡ ψυχοσωτήριος καὶ οὐρανόδρομος κλίμαξ.** Μοναστήριον καὶ ἔξωθεν τῆς πύλης αὐτοῦ πλῆθος μοναχῶν πάσης ἡλικίας· παρ' αὐτῇ δὲ κλίμαξ φθάνουσα μέχρις οὐρανοῦ· καὶ μοναχοὶ ἀνερχόμενοι διὰ τῶν βαθμίδων αὐτῆς· οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς κλίμακος ὄντες, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰ μέσα, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ τέρμα σχεδόν· καὶ ἄγγελοι παρὰ τοῖς



Mural painting in Chaldon Church, Surrey: the Ladder of Salvation.

See page 136 *n.* 4.

seventh heaven of the planet Saturn, beholds a ladder leading to yet higher heights:

> Within the crystal, which records the name
> (As its remoter circle girds the world)
> Of that loved monarch[1], in whose happy reign
> No ill had power to harm, I saw rear'd up,
> In colour like to sun-illumined gold,
> A ladder, which my ken pursued in vain,
> So lofty was the summit; down whose steps
> I saw the splendours in such multitude
> Descending, every light in heaven, methought,
> Was shed thence[2].

The conception has left faint but unmistakable traces of itself in the trade-marks of early Italian paper-makers (fig. 82)[3]. And its

ἀναβαίνουσι βοηθοῦντες τοῖς μοναχοῖς· ὁ δὲ Κύριος τῆς κλίμακος ἄνω μεταξὺ ἀγγέλων πολυαρίθμων καὶ νεφελῶν λαμβάνει τὸν ἀναβαίνοντα μοναχὸν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν διὰ τῆς μιᾶς, γηραιὸν ὄντα πάνυ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ ἱεροπρεπῆ, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιθέτει ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ μοναχοῦ στέφανον ἀνθοφύρον καὶ λίθοις πεποικιλμένον· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Κυρίου ἐξέρχονται ταῦτα· "Δεῦτε πρός με πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτισμένοι, κἀγὼ ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς." Πρὸς τὰ ἀριστερὰ δὲ τῆς κλίμακος μέρη δαίμονες ἀναβαίνοντες καὶ καταβαίνοντες σύροντες πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τοὺς μοναχοὺς διὰ τῆς βίας ἐκ τῶν ἐνδυμάτων· τινὰς μὲν τούτων φοβίζουσιν μακρόθεν· τινὰς δὲ ῥίπτουσιν κατακεφαλῆς ἐκ τῆς ἀνωτάτης βαθμίδος· τινὰς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου, τινὰς δὲ εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει, τινὰς δὲ δοκιμάζουσιν ἵνα ῥίψωσι κάτω, ἀλλὰ μὴ δυνάμενοι καταξεσχίζουσιν ἑαυτούς· τινὲς δὲ καί τοι κατὰ κεφαλῆς ὄντες συρόμενοι πρὸς τὰ κάτω παρὰ τῶν δαιμόνων ἀντέχουσιν ὅμως κρατοῦντες τὴν κλίμακα ὅλαις δυνάμεσι διὰ τῶν χειρῶν· ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς κλίμακος ὁ παμφάγος ᾅδης ὡς δράκων μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς ἔχων ἐντὸς τοῦ στόματος μοναχὸν καταβαίνοντα πρὸς τὰ κάτω. **Ἐπίγραμμα.** *"Βλέπον κλίμακα πρὸς πόλον ἐστραμμένην | Ὀρθῶς νόειμοι ἀρετῶν ἀναβάσεις | Ῥευστοῦ βίου οὖν ἐκφυγὼν ὅσον τάχος | Ἴθι πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ ἄνελθε ἐμπόνως | Ἔχων δὲ φρουροὺς τοὺς χοροὺς τῶν ἀγγέλων | Λόχους διέλθεις τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων. | Ὅπως ἀνελθὼν εἰς πύλας οὐρανίους | Ἕξεις στέφανον χειρὶ τοῦ Κυρίου."*

[1] Saturn.

[2] Dante *Div. Comm.* Parad. 21. 22 ff. trans. H. F. Cary.

[3] H. Bayley *The Lost Language of Symbolism* London 1912 i. 32 f. figs. 52—55 after C. M. Briquet *Les Filigranes* Dictionnaire historique des Marques du Papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600 Paris etc. 1907 ii. 344 with figs. 5898—5934 (my fig. 82 is from nos. 5900, 5903, 5934, 5921, 5925, 5929, 5933), who says: 'Il n'est pas impossible qu'il y ait un rapport entre le filigr. de l'échelle et les armoiries de la famille della Scala, mais rien ne l'établit jusqu'ici.'

The combination of ladder with cross is noteworthy. Writers of mediaeval *sequentiae* often describe the cross as a ladder (*e.g.* J. Kehrein *Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters* Mainz 1873 p. 67 no. 60, 5 haec est scala peccatorum, p. 73 no. 68, 3 tu nos hinc per modum scalae | ducas ad coelestia, p. 75 no. 73, 2 haec est scala novae legis, p. 76 no. 75, 9 tu scala, p. 331 no. 473 (Notker Balbulus), 1 ff. scalam ad coelos subrectam tormentis cinctam, | cuius ima draco servare cautus invigilat iugiter, | ne quis eius vel primum gradum possit insaucius scandere. | cuius ascensus extracto Aethiops gladio vetat exitium minitans. | cuius supremis innixus iuvenis splendidus ramum aureolum retinet. | etc.)—a description readily applicable to the cross with three transverse bars (R. St. J. Tyrwhitt in Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* ii. 497). Again, the ladder that appears among other emblems of the Passion (Mrs H. Jenner *Christian Symbolism* London 1910 p. 58) is presumably symbolic as well as realistic.

abiding helpfulness is attested by the popularity of Longfellow's poem *The Ladder of Saint Augustine*[1]. J. M. Neale had the experi-

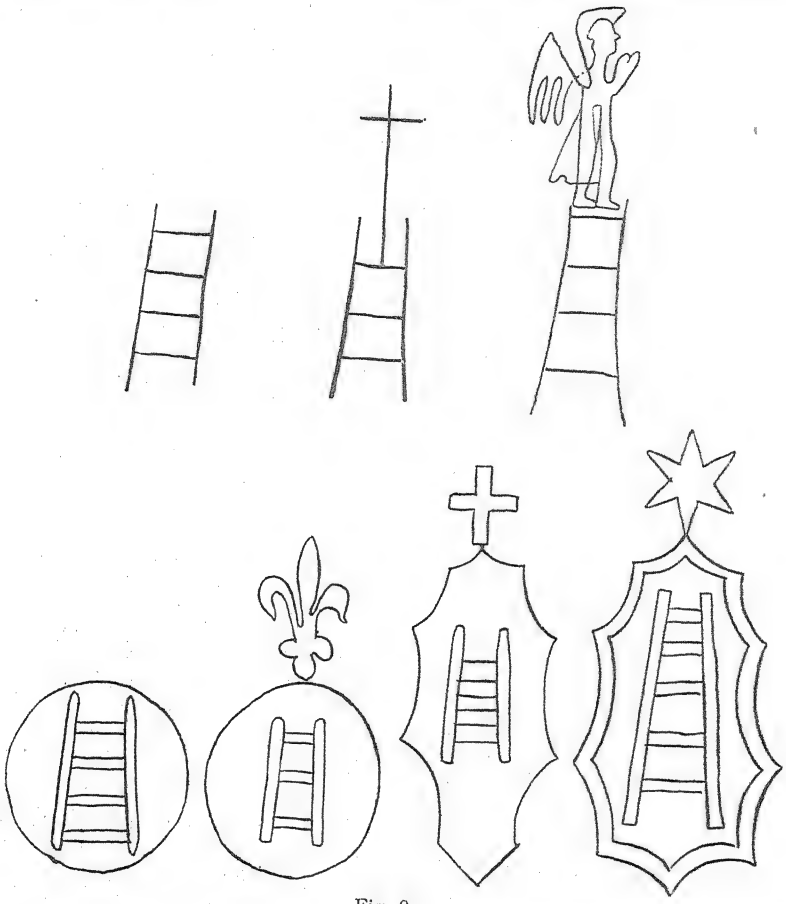


Fig. 82.

ence of centuries at his back, when with regard to life's trials, sorrows, and temptations he put the wistful question:

What are they but the ladder
Set up to heaven on earth?

(κ) The Sky-Pillar in Sardinia.

The invocation prefixed to the Orphic *Hymns* is addressed to a great variety of gods and goddesses including—

[1] H. W. Longfellow ('Cambridge Edition') London 1895 p. 186 f. with note on p. 668: 'The words of St. Augustine are, "De vitiis nostris scalam nobis facimus, si vitia ipsa calcamus."—Sermon III. *De Ascensione.*'

all Winds,
Thunders, and parts of the four-pillared World[1].

But this conception of the sky as resting on four pillars is not incompatible with belief in the soul-ladder: both notions were combined in Egypt[2]. Neither is the four-pillared sky necessarily

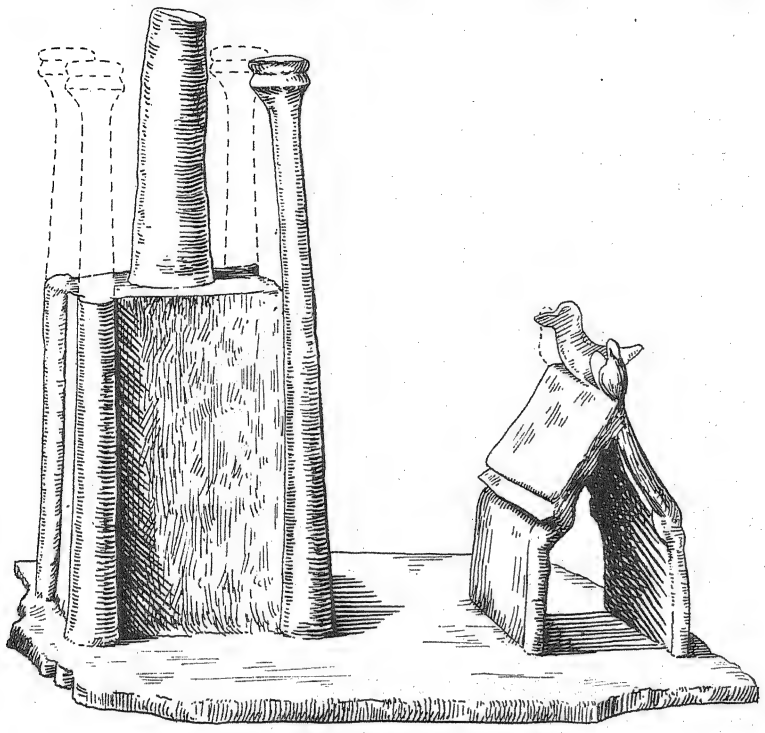


Fig. 83.

inconsistent with one central prop, the *universalis columna*[3]. In the Museum at Cagliari is a bronze from Mandas representing the whole apparatus of an early Sardinian cult (fig. 83)[4]. From a sub-

[1] Orph. *εὐχὴ πρὸς Μουσαῖον* 38 f. *'Ανέμους τε πρόπαντας | καὶ Βροντὰς Κόσμου τε μέρη τετρακίονος αὐδῶ* (so Portus for *αὐλῶν*).

[2] *Supra* p. 125 f. The *Tet*-pillar, with regard to which conjecture has been rife (Sir G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*[4] London 1901 p. 130 n. 6, E. A. Wallis Budge *Egyptian Magic* London 1899 p. 44 ff. 'The Amulet of the Tet'), would—I think—be best explained as an abbreviated group of four columns representing the four supports of the sky (cp. C. J. C. Reuvens *Lettres à M. Letronne* Leide 1830 i. 69 together with W. M. Flinders Petrie *Medum* London 1892 p. 31).

[3] Cp. the modern Greek belief in the earth as supported by one column with four other pillars (*supra* p. 56 n. 2 no. 621).

[4] L. A. Milani 'Sardorum sacra et sacrorum signa' etc. in the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* Leipzig—London—Paris—Chicago 1909 p. 312 f. fig. 1, A. Taramelli 'Il tempio

stantial square base, with a column at each angle, rises a central shaft, broken at the summit, which—as A. Taramelli infers from a votive bronze boat found in the same place (fig. 84)[1]—was originally

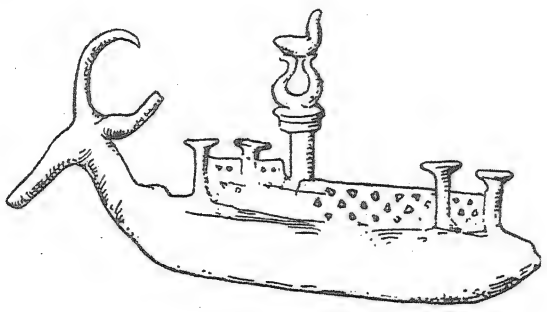


Fig. 84.

topped by bull's horns supporting a dove. Adjoining this structure is a small edifice with a gabled roof, on the ridge of which are the remains of three doves. It seems probable that the quincunx of pillars rising from a solid base was in effect a model of the sky uplifted above the earth[2], that the bird resting on the central shaft

nuragico ed i monumenti primitivi di S. Vittoria di Serri (Cagliari)' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1915 xxiii. 390 ff. fig. 93 (=my fig. 83: restorations after Milani *loc. cit.*). As to the date of the *nuraghi* civilisation, 'All we can say is that, although it may have reached its highest development in the bronze age, it certainly flourished in the eneolithic period' (T. E. Peet *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily* Oxford 1909, p. 236).

[1] A. Taramelli *loc. cit.* p. 390. The boat in question is published by L. A. Milani in the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* p. 333 n. 2 fig. 34 (=my fig. 84). It is a two-wicked lamp in the form of a bull-headed boat with a *témenos* on board: an enclosure with four pillars surrounds a taller column, on the capital of which is a pair of horns supporting a bird. Milani and Taramelli both compare the prow of a stag-headed bronze boat from Vetulonia, on which four clustered pillars are surmounted by a single shaft with horns and bird (L. A. Milani *Studi e materiali di archeologia e numismatica* Firenze 1902 ii. 87 fig. 274). Similar too is a seal-impression found by A. J. B. Wace in a well at Mykenai, which represents a pillar topped by ritual horns with a dove between them and flanked by two other doves.

[2] L. A. Milani 'Il tempio nuragico e la civiltà asiatica in Sardegna' in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1909 xviii. 579—592 (cp. *id.* in the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* p. 312, A. Taramelli *loc. cit.* p. 389 ff.) compares the pillared base of the Sardinians with the *zikkurat* of the Babylonians. The analogy is remote; but it is certainly thinkable that the solid plinth, like the *zikkurat* (*supra* i. 603), was a conventionalised form of mountain, or at least stood for *terra firma*.

C. Brandenburg 'Reisenotizen aus Sardinien' in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1914 xlvi. 643 says: 'Das Objekt ist als "Tempelmodell" bezeichnet; es könnte aber möglicherweise auch ein ex voto sein, etwa das Haus eines Häuptlings mit hölzernem Wachtturm daneben, das zum Dank für die Errettung aus irgendeiner Katastrophe den Göttern geweiht wurde.' My experienced friend Mr T. Ashby agrees with me in thinking this solution of the problem unlikely (July 11, 1920).

was the sky-god in feathered form, and that the birds perched on the neighbouring roof betokened his presence in the sacred building near at hand. Perhaps we may venture a step further and identify this feathered sky-god with Sardopator[1] or Sardus Pater, who appears in a feathered head-dress on the copper coins of the island (fig. 85)[2]. Was it he that sent the winter rains so vital to the life of the Sardinian peasant[3]?



Fig. 85.

(λ) Diana-Pillars.

Similar constructions appear in the landscape-frescoes of Italy and are susceptible of the same interpretation. A remarkable painting in greenish monochrome from Herculaneum, now in the Naples collection (fig. 86)[4], shows a pillar-shrine set by the edge of a lake or river. A short flight of steps leads up to a square plinth, on which stands a pillar with moulded base, club-shaped shaft, and shallow disk-like capital. The shaft is surrounded by several bands and is marked here and there with patches[5] probably denoting votive objects affixed to it[6]. Above the capital the shaft is continued in the form of a tapering finial, round the lower part of which are seen three ornaments (heads of deer?)[7]. The pillar is half-encircled by a wall carrying an Ionic colonnade, which is finished off with a low cornice and a row of vases. Two side-walls, each supporting a

[1] Ptol. 3. 3. 2 Σαρδοπάτορος ἱερόν with C. Müller *ad loc.*

[2] Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 223 f. fig., M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berechtigungen zur Münzkunde der römischen Republik* Wien 1897 p. 45 f. fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 262, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 191, A. Boutkowski *Dictionnaire numismatique* Leipzig 1884 ii. 831 nos. 1601, 1602, E. Klebs in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2253 f., O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 384 ff., R. Pettazzoni *La religione primitiva in Sardegna* Piacenza 1912 p. 62 ff. fig. 17. I figure a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum. For the feathered *coiffure* see further Sir A. J. Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 24 f. figs. 11 *b* (*c*), 11 *c*, 275 f. fig. 126 (no. 2), H. R. Hall in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901–1902 viii. 185 fig. 9, *id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 119—123 figs. 3—7.

[3] Solin. 4. 5 hibernae pluviae in aestivam penuriam reservantur, nam homo Sardus opem plurimam de imbrido caelo habet. Cp. R. Pettazzoni *op. cit.* p. 105 ff.

[4] *Le pitture antiche d'Ercolano* Napoli 1762 iii. 273 ff. pl. 52, H. Roux—M. L. Barré *Herculanum et Pompéi* Paris 1870 iii. 2. 16 ff. pl. 7, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 71 no. 252[b], M. Rostowzew 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1911 xxvi. 42 fig. 21 (here used to correct the earliest publication). Inventory no. 9413. Height 0·65[m]. Breadth 0·45[m]. The painting is assigned to the third or 'ornate' style of mural decoration (*c.* 25 B.C.—50 A.D.).

[5] *Le pitture antiche d'Ercolano* Napoli 1762 iii. 274 f. 'alquante *fasce*, o giri, e *macchie* di varie figure, che il color della *pittura*, ch' è tutta a *chiaroscuro*, sbiadato ancora pel tempo, non lascia ben distinguere, nella superficie del corpo *conico*.'

[6] Cp. *infra* p. 146. [7] Cp. *infra* p. 146 f.

vase, complete the architecture of the shrine. Branches and ribands are twined about it; a jointed reed rests against the pillar; a filleted staff or sceptre lies before it. In the foreground a doe

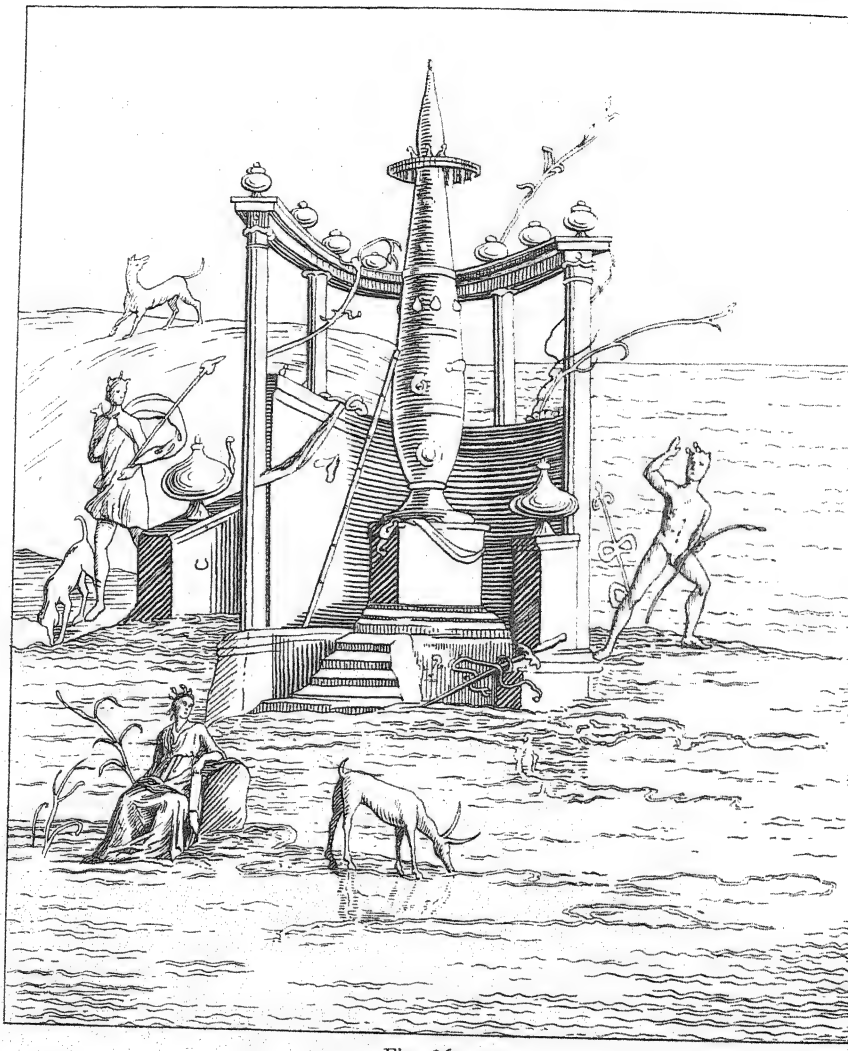


Fig. 86.

drinks, watched by a Nymph. To the left appears Diana with her hounds; to the right Actaeon, the horns sprouting from his head[1]. The choice of this myth may be taken to imply that the pillar was more or less closely associated with Diana.

[1] W. Helbig in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1864 p. 37.

A fresco still in the *triclinium* of the 'House of Livia' on the Palatine (fig. 87)[1] represents a shrine essentially similar in character.

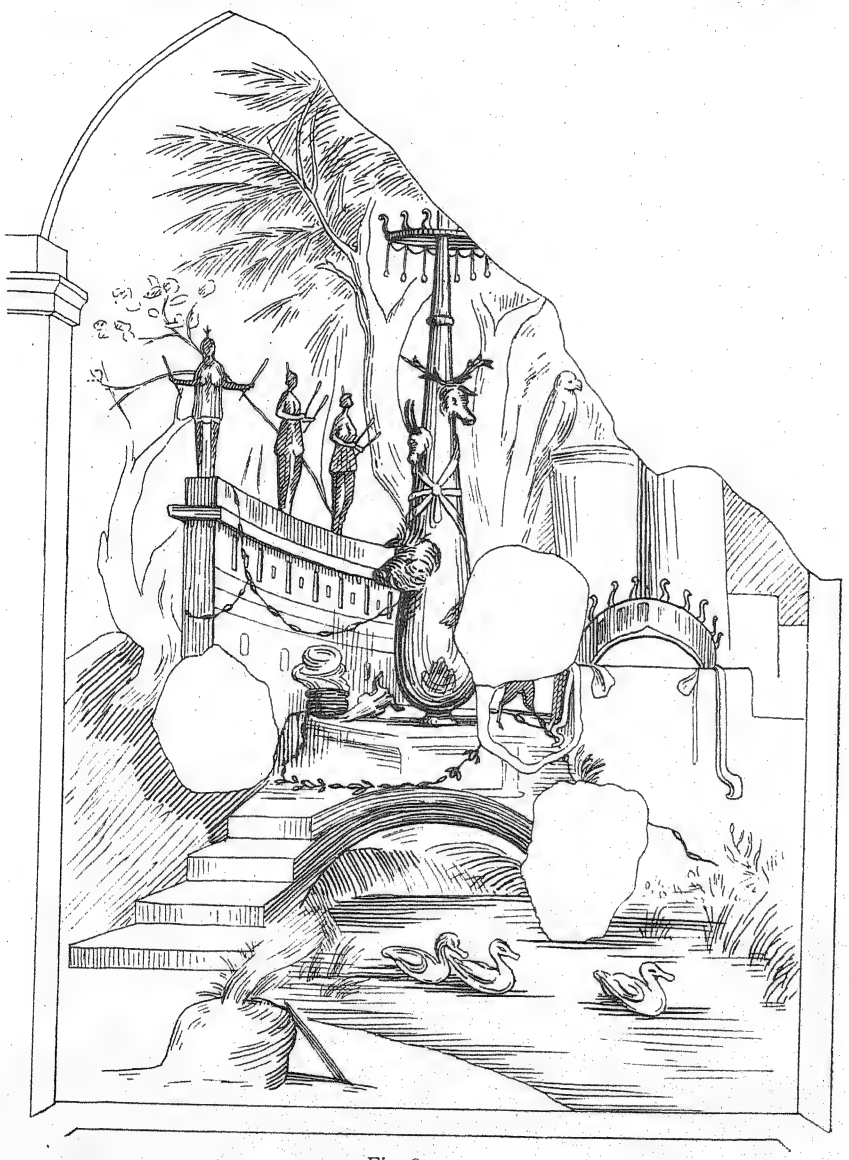


Fig. 87.

[1] T. Schreiber 'Due pitture del Palatino' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1875 xlvii. 210—221 pl. K-L, 2, A. Mau *Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji* Berlin 1882 pp. 167 ff., 196 ff. pl. 9, *id.* 'Wandschirm und Bildtraeger in der Wandmalerei' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1902 xvii. 213 fig. 11, G. Rodenwaldt *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wand-*

Steps give access to a bridge across a stream, along which three ducks are swimming. Above the bridge is a broad but low marble plinth. Over this trails a fillet. On it are a *bucranium*, a sacrificial bowl from which incense-smoke (?) curls upward, and a goat whose hind legs appear on a detached piece of plaster. From the plinth rises the club-like pillar with its disk. The shaft, yellowish brown in colour, seems to be of timber[1]: to it are attached the heads of several woodland animals—stag, boar, and goat. Below the discoid capital hang pendants (tassels ?); and above it project other small accessories (a row of deer-heads ?)[2]. The finial, which doubtless topped all, is not preserved. Partially encircling the pillar is a curved wall, over which woollen fillets are slung. The wall is pierced with a series of narrow openings and surmounted by three archaistic statues of females[3], each with a metal spike on her head and a pair of torches in her hands. To the right are several indistinct architectural features, apparently two large smooth pillars on a base. Upon one of these pillars a parrot is perched. And upon the base lies a great golden crown, set with red and green jewels and adorned with a row of deer-heads (?)[4] precisely resembling those of the disk. In the foreground a rude stone altar[5] is burning (?). In the background a huge tree, perhaps meant for a pine, spreads abroad its branches surrounded by the foliage of a dim-lit forest. The whole scene almost certainly depicts a shrine of Diana *Nemorensis* decked with spoils of the chase. It is on record that this goddess was worshipped in the form of 'a log' (*lignum*)[6]. And the ring of deer-heads (?) on the upper part of the pillar recalls the 'crown decorated with stags' worn by Nemesis, the Greek counterpart of Diana *Nemorensis*[7]. Finally, in the great golden crown tricked out

gemälde Berlin 1909 p. 38, M. Rostowzew 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1911 xxvi. 6 f. fig. 2 (which I have used to correct Mau's colour-plate). Height 2·53^{m}. Breadth 1·44^{m}. The painting is of the second or 'architectural' style (*c.* 80–10 B.C.).

[1] M. Rostowzew *loc. cit.* regards the pillar as made of bronze: but how then were the heads of the slain beasts fastened to it?

[2] For M. Rostowzew these are '*Greifenköpfe*.' They are not particularly like deer, or griffins either. Cp. the ornaments of the crown surmounting a sacred pillar, flanked by Aphrodite and Hermes, in a wall-painting from Pompeii (B. Quaranta in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i. 1—9 pl. 32, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 8 no. 20, R. Engelmann *Bilder-Atlas zum Homer* Leipzig 1889 Odyssee p. 4 no. 24 pl. 4).

[3] '*Bronzebilder der Hekate*' (Rostowzew *loc. cit.*).

[4] M. Rostowzew again says '*mit...Greifenköpfen*.'

[5] Cp. Gratt. *cyneg.* 483 ff. (cited *supra* i. 274).

[6] Commod. *instructiones* 1. 19. 2 (cited *supra* i. 281 n. 5).

[7] *Supra* i. 275. If Rostowzew's interpretation of the upstanding ornaments as griffin-heads is correct, we must comfort ourselves with the reflection that the griffin was a more frequent attribute of Nemesis than the stag (*supra* i. 270, 276, 281).

with the same deer-heads (?) we may recognise the trappings of Diana's human consort, the *rex Nemorensis* himself[1]. There is indeed a certain fitness in the fact that a fresco illustrating the Arician cult was chosen for the walls of this *triclinium*. The 'House of Livia' was in all probability[2] acquired from the Hortensii by Augustus, who occupied it for more than forty years[3]. He seems to have reconstructed its back court, and—we are told—after the work was done made the whole house public property, continuing to hold it as *pontifex maximus*[4]. Later, if R. Lanciani[5] is right, it became the house of Germanicus father of Caligula, who—jealous of the long reign of the *rex Nemorensis*—actually hired a cut-throat to dispose of him[6]. Was it our fresco that suggested the freak?

Another fresco (fig. 88)[7], discovered at Pompeii, during the excavations of 1888—1890, on the end wall of a *triclinium* in the fifth region[8], adds further points of interest. In the centre of a rocky, mountainous scene, close to a stream or lake, grows a leafy pine-tree. Beside it is set a club-like pillar tapering downwards and surmounted by a capital of some sort with ornaments (deer-heads?) as before: the pillar is painted in light violet and is twined with

[1] Traces of a similar crown can perhaps be made out to the left of the sceptre in the monochrome painting from Herculaneum (*supra* p. 144 fig. 86). De Visser *De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* p. 56 n. 4 observes that many Roman frescoes attribute a 'corona dentata' to Artemis (*e.g.* Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 67 nos. 234, 236, 237, p. 68 nos. 240, 247, 248, p. 71 f. no. 253, p. 72 f. no. 256, Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 28 no. 112, p. 30 f. no. 119, p. 141 f. no. 687, cp. *id. ib.* p. 29 nos. 114 f., A. Mau in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1890 v. 264 f. See further L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz* St Petersburg 1859 p. 123 (extr. from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg.* vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 483), so that the crown in our fresco might be that of the goddess, not that of her priest. But, if the goddess is represented by the *lignum*, her crown is presumably the disk set upon it.

[2] See G. Pinza in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1910 xxxviii. 1 ff. and O. L. Richmond 'The Augustan Palatium' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1914 iv. 193 ff. Others (*e.g.* O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 pp. 143 f., 160, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 61) have regarded it as the house of Ti. Claudius Nero, first husband of Livia and father of the emperor Tiberius, who was born on the Palatine (Suet. *Tib.* 5).

[3] Suet. *Aug.* 72.

[4] Dion Cass. 55. 12.

[5] C. L. Visconti—R. Lanciani *Guida del Palatino* Torino 1873 p. 114. But see H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *op. cit.* i. 3. 85 n. 109.

[6] Suet. *Calig.* 35 Nemorensi regi, quod multos iam annos poteretur sacerdotio, validiorem adversarium subornavit.

[7] A. Mau in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1890 v. 264—266 with fig. (=my fig. 88), G. Rodenwaldt *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde* Berlin 1909 p. 49. The painting, which measures 0·99^{m} in height by 0·57^{m} in breadth, is of the third or 'ornate' style (*c.* 25 B.C.–50 A.D.).

[8] *Reg.* v. 2. 10.

broad ribands. Raised on a square plinth at the foot of tree and pillar is the statue, perhaps a herm, of Diana with a *modius* on her head. Her left hand is uplifted and rests on a sceptre; her right is

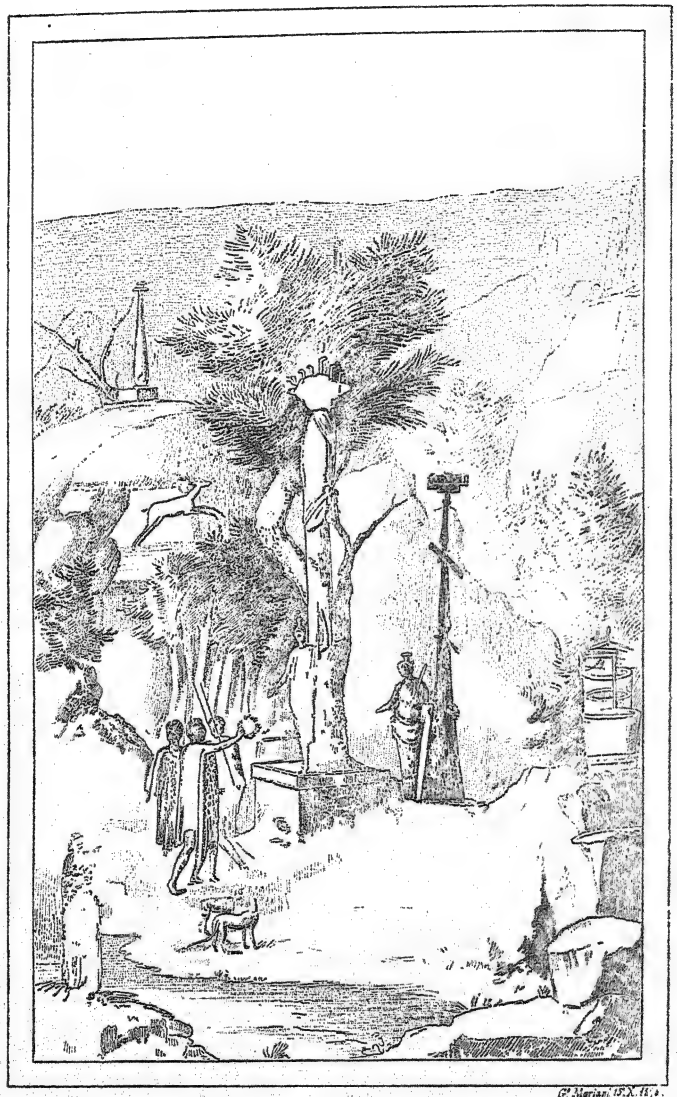


Fig. 88.

outstretched as if it held a *patera*. Before her, clad in *chlamydes* of various hues, stand three men. One holds out towards her a wreath of leaves; his two companions turn their heads away. The hunting

spears that they carry, the pair of hounds attending them, and the stag bounding through a rocky archway in the background, all show that this is the cult of Diana *Nemorensis*. Grattius expressly mentions puppies and wreaths and weapons in his description of her woodland rite[1]. Who the long-robed figure in the lower left-hand corner may be, we cannot say. But it is noteworthy that the pillar-shrine of the goddess is duplicated and even triplicated in the same view. To the right of the pine and rather more in the background rises a second club, narrowing upwards and topped by a disk which apparently carries a tray or *líknon*. To the club are bound a short thick stick (?) and other votive offerings. By it stands the second effigy of Diana, this time an unmistakable herm. She bears again a *modius* on her head, holds on her shoulder a short sceptre (?), and extends her right hand. Club and herm alike are painted in dull violet to express distance. Away to the right a low, broad tripod, white and yellow, is placed on a round, whitish base. Adjoining this are bushes of bay (?); in the background, rocks and trees. On the left, above the arched rock, is seen yet a third club-pillar set on a square step beside an ancient, leafless tree. The painting as a whole may indeed be taken to illustrate no fewer than six stages in the evolution of religious art—the living tree, the dead tree, the club, the pillar, the herm, and the statue on its plinth. Moreover, it should be observed that here, as in the contemporary fresco from Herculaneum[2], the artist is fitting figures originally drawn from the gallery of Greek myth into a frankly Italian framework. Hippolytos, immortalised by Euripides[3] as presenting a garland to his patron goddess Artemis, is thus transformed into the hunter offering his wreath to Diana *Nemorensis* —a subtly appropriate transformation, when we call to mind the belief that Hippolytos came to life again in Diana's grove at Nemi[4].

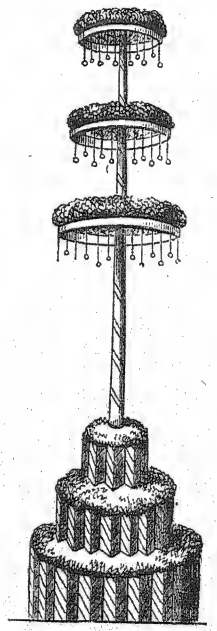


Fig. 89.

In passing I may note a parallelism of form, and perhaps of function, which would repay further study. The pillar of Diana as represented on the frescoes was a stout post, rising from a stepped base, wound about with a fillet and crowned by a

[1] Gratt. *cyneg.* 483 ff. (*supra* i. 274).
[2] *Supra* p. 143 f. [3] Eur. *Hipp.* 70 ff.
[4] *Supra* i. 225 n. 4, 282 n. 1, *infra* § 3 (a) v (*v*).

disk, from which pendants were dangling. In short, it was an erection uncommonly like our own May-pole, which I illustrate from a manuscript dated *c.* 1499 A.D. (fig. 89)[1]. The comparison *donne à penser*[2].

The landscape-paintings—not to dwell on the very similar landscape-reliefs (figs. 91, 92)[3]—, when viewed in connexion with the

[1] R. Chambers *The Book of Days* London—Edinburgh 1864 i. 575 : 'In the illuminations which decorate the manuscript "Hours" once used by Anne of Brittany and now preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, and which are believed to have been painted about 1499, the month of May is illustrated by figures bearing flower-garlands, and behind them the curious May-pole here copied, which is also decorated by colours on the shaft, and ornamented by garlands arranged on hoops, from which hang small gilded pendents. The pole is planted on a triple grass-covered mound, embanked and strengthened by timber-work.' *Id. ib.* p. 577 notes that in the neighbourhood of Salzburg it is the custom to trick out the May-pole with birds, stags, etc. ('In one instance a stag-hunt is so represented'): the resemblance to the Roman pillar of Diana *Nemorensis* is curiously close.

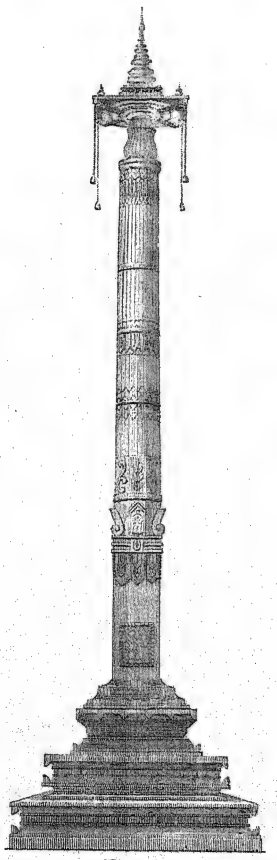


Fig. 90.

[2] *Supra* i. 291, 339 I suggested that the May-pole was topped by an effigy of the sun (globe, wheel, hoop). But these horizontal garlands point rather to an effigy of the sky (*infra* p. 157 f.).

Analogous forms might be traced yet further afield. A sacred column (*stambha*, *lât*) of granite (height 52½ ft) facing a Jain temple at Mudubidery or Morbidry near Mangalore (E. Moor *The Hindu Pantheon* London 1861 pl. 77 (=my fig. 90), *id. The Hindu Pantheon*[2] Madras 1864 p. 368 pl. 44) bears indeed a curious resemblance to the Diana-pillars of ancient Italy. This may, of course, be wholly fortuitous. But it is thinkable that there was some remote connexion between them. For the Jains were apparently known to the later Greeks (Hesych. Γεννοί· οἱ Γυμνοσοφισταί); and the *stambha* or *lât* in its earliest form has *quasi*-classical traits (see J. Fergusson *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* rev. by J. Burgess and R. Phené Spiers London 1910 i. 54, 56 ff. fig. 5 ff., 346 ff. fig. 202 f., ii. 21 fig. 275, 81 ff. fig. 308). Moreover, the Jains sometimes compared the world with a spindle resting on a half spindle (H. T. Colebrooke *Miscellaneous Essays*[2] London 1873 ii. 198 f., C. Lassen *Indische Alterthumskunde* Leipzig 1861 iv. 771). Hence it is tempting to conjecture that the *stambha* was, at least originally, a world-pillar.

[3] A few examples will suffice: Fig. 91, a marble relief (height *c.* 1·20^{m}, breadth 0·75^{m}) in the Palazzo Colonna at Rome (Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii 66 f. no. 3576, Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1725 Suppl. i. 132 pl. 31 no. 8 with sides reversed, Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 287 f. pl. 42, 1, *id. Über den Gott Eros* Berlin 1850 p. 34 f. pl. 2, 1, Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 158 f., 539 fig. 26, T. Schreiber *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder* Leipzig 1889 pl. 15 = my fig. 91, *id.* 'Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder und die augusteische Kunst' in the *Jahrb. d.*

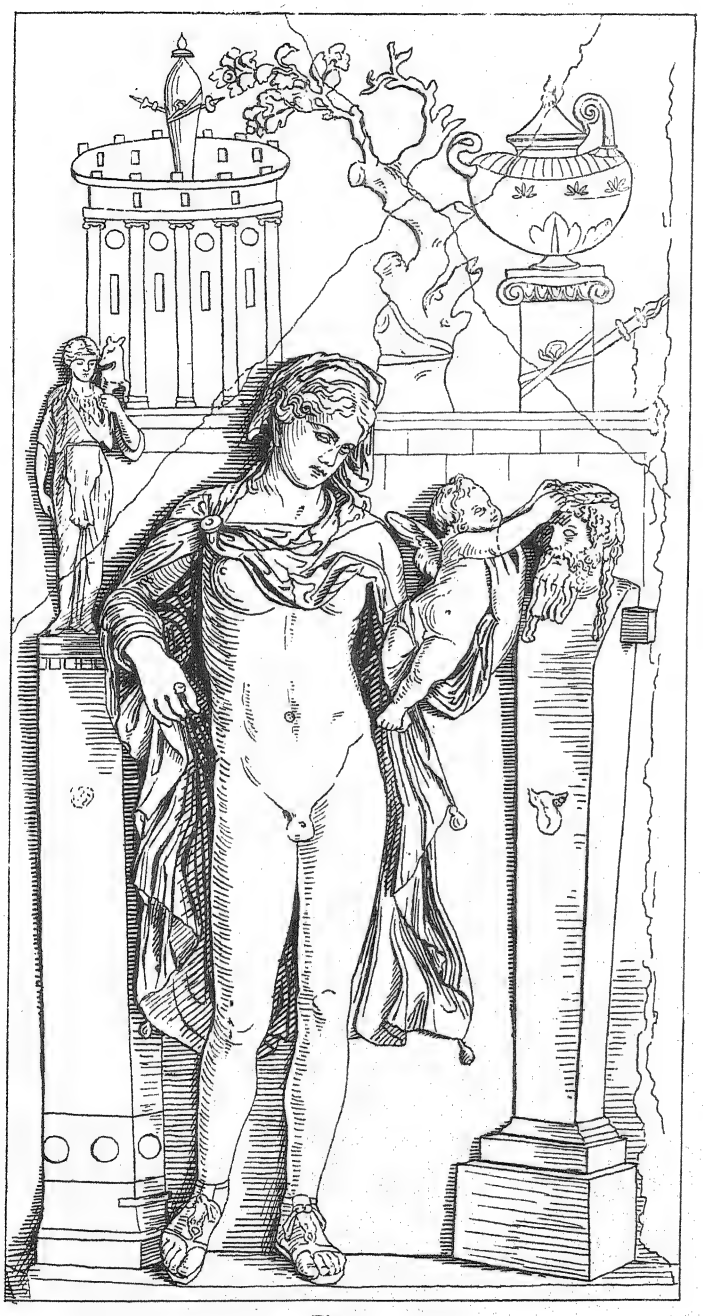


Fig. 91.

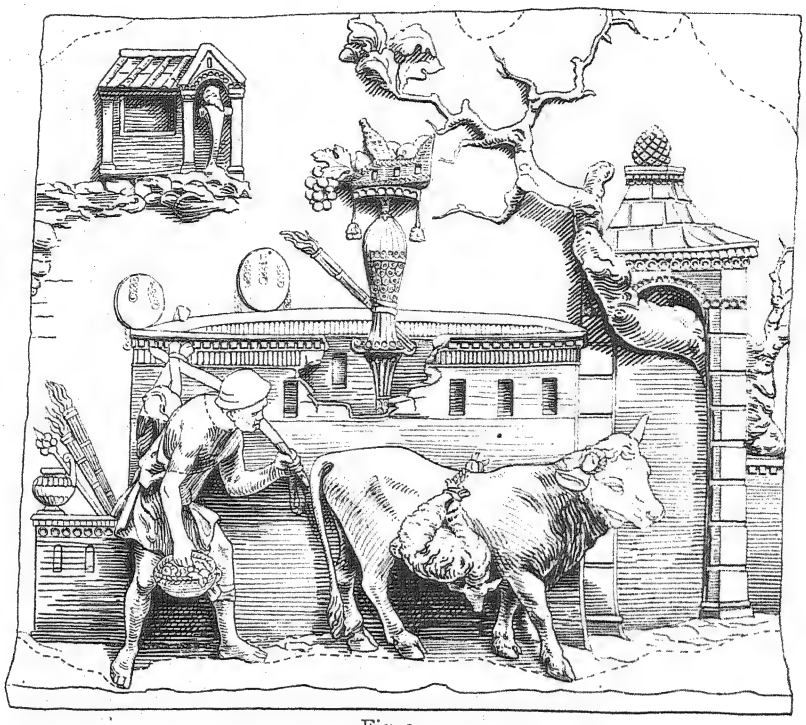


Fig. 92.

kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1896 xi. 99 n. 56, 100 n. 58, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 220 no. 2, M. Rostowzew 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1911 xxvi. 105 f.), shows Hermaphroditos nursing the infant Eros, who arranges a wreath on a herm to the right. To the left an archaistic Artemis, wearing a skin and holding a fawn on her shoulder, is mounted on a pilaster. (Restored : Hermaphroditos' nose, right hand, *phallós* ; Eros' right fore-arm ; the herm's beard and *phallós* ; Artemis' head ; the fawn's head.) The background represents a precinct-wall, above which we see in the centre an ancient oak with a band twined about its trunk, to the right an Ionic column with a burning torch tied to its shaft and a vase set on its capital, to the left a circular pillar-shrine with Ionic columns, windows, entablature, second row of windows, and battlements, the shrine enclosing a Diana-pillar with two torches bound to it.

Fig. 92, a marble relief (height 0·30^{m}, breadth 0·34^{m}) found at Rome in 1820 and now at Munich (Furtwängler *Glyptothek zu München* p. 370 f. no 455, *id. ib.*^{2} p. 397 no. 455, *id. Ein hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München* München 1903 pl. 93, 2, J. M. Wagner in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1836 viii. 47—52, *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pl. 27, Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 156 ff., 543 fig. 56, T. Schreiber *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder* Leipzig 1890 pl. 80, *id.* 'Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder und die augusteische Kunst' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1896 xi. 99 n. 56, 100 n. 58, J. E. Harrison 'Mystica vannus Iacchi' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1903 xxiii. 297 f. fig. 6, *ead.* 'Note on the mystica vannus 'Iacchi' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1903—1904 x. 147, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 82 no. 1, M. Rostowzew 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1911 xxvi. 102 f.), portrays a countryman driving a cow to market. He carries a basket and a pole with a dead hare hanging from it ; his cow has a couple of sheep slung pannier-wise over its back. (Restored : the countryman's head and right fore-arm, basket, pole with part of hare ; the cow's head.) Behind this

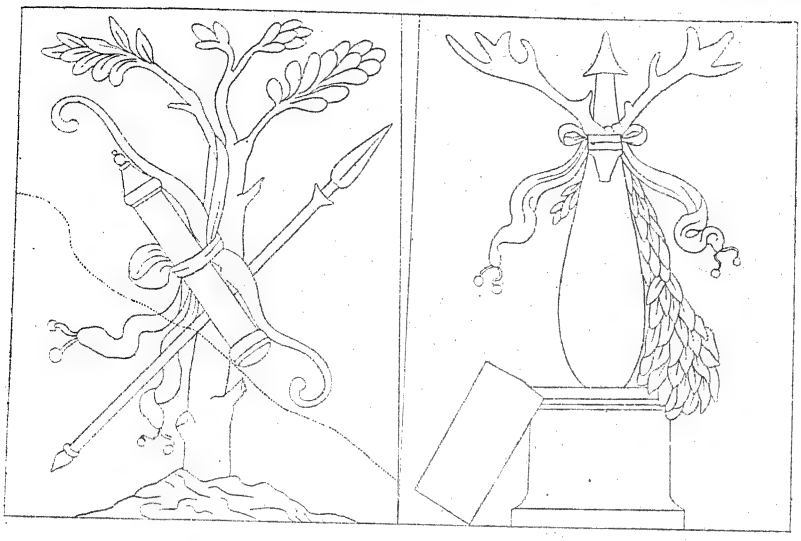




Fig. 93.

group appears a circular pillar-shrine with windows in its wall, which is partially broken down. Through the gap we see a decorative Diana-pillar with disk-like capital, from which two tassels are hanging. A pair of timbrels is set up on the wall, a flaming torch

bronze shrines from Mandas[1], enable us to reach certain tentative conclusions. In the first place, it would seem that the cosmological belief expressed in the cult-monuments of Sardinia was common to Italy also[2]. Italian rustics at the close of the republic were still

bound to the pillar, and a *líknon* full of fruits including a phalloid gherkin or small cucumber placed upon the disk. Adjoining the pillar-shrine on the right is a gateway, with pine-cone as finial, built over an old oak-tree, the trunk of which disappears behind a wall to the right; on the left, a low wall with narrow openings left in it, a vase set upon it, and a *thýrsos* and two torches leaning against it. The background to the left shows an *aedicula* of Priapos with an arched entry and a windowed side.

Fig. 93, the three-sided base of a *candelabrum* in the Vatican (Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 322 pl. 83, Boetticher *Baumkultus* p. 77 f. figs. 9 f., E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 413 fig. 499, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* i. 259 f. no. 369, *ib.*[2] i. 229 no. 356, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 297 fig. 313), represents (*a*) a quiver, bow, and hunting-spear hung from the branch of a bay-tree, (*b*) a Diana-pillar with a stag's antlers and a garland bound to it and a votive tablet leaning against it, (*c*) a rustic altar decked with a garland: on the altar are offerings—a pine-cone etc.; against it leans a blazing torch, while a deer bites playfully at the riband hanging from the torch.

Fig. 94, a silver box-lid obtained from the Roman dealer Capranesi by E. Gerhard and now at Berlin (O. Jahn in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1858 xvi. 229 ff. pl. 118, 1 = my fig.), renders in high relief an altar-top with a group of votive or sacred objects lying upon it.

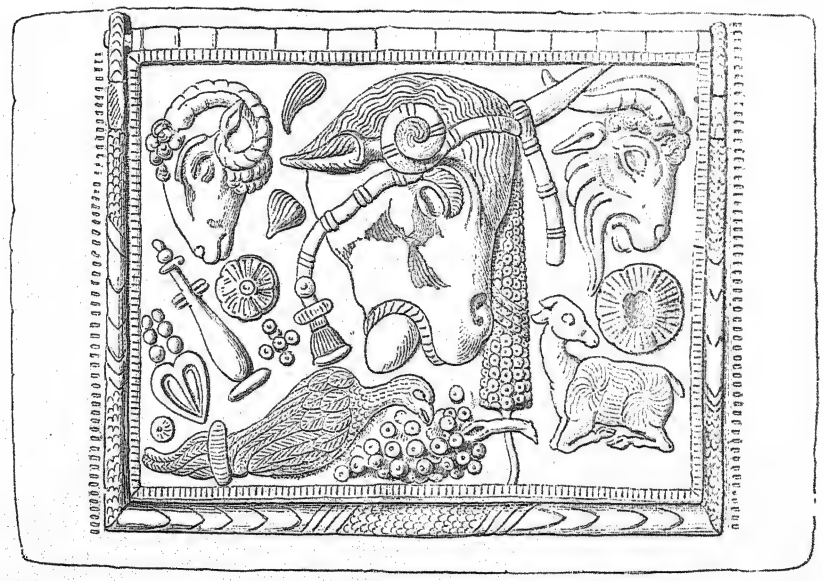


Fig. 94.

These include a filleted ox-head, a sheep's head, a goat's head, a kid with folded legs, a bird with bound wings, a bunch of grapes, an ear of maize, a fig, an almond, etc. Among them is a club-shaped Diana-pillar (Jahn describes it with hesitation as 'eine Spindel') of the sort already familiar to us.

[1] *Supra* p. 141 f.

[2] This may be disputed. Some archaeologists have looked to Egypt, others to Asia Minor or Syria, as the source from which the pillar-worship of Graeco-Roman art was

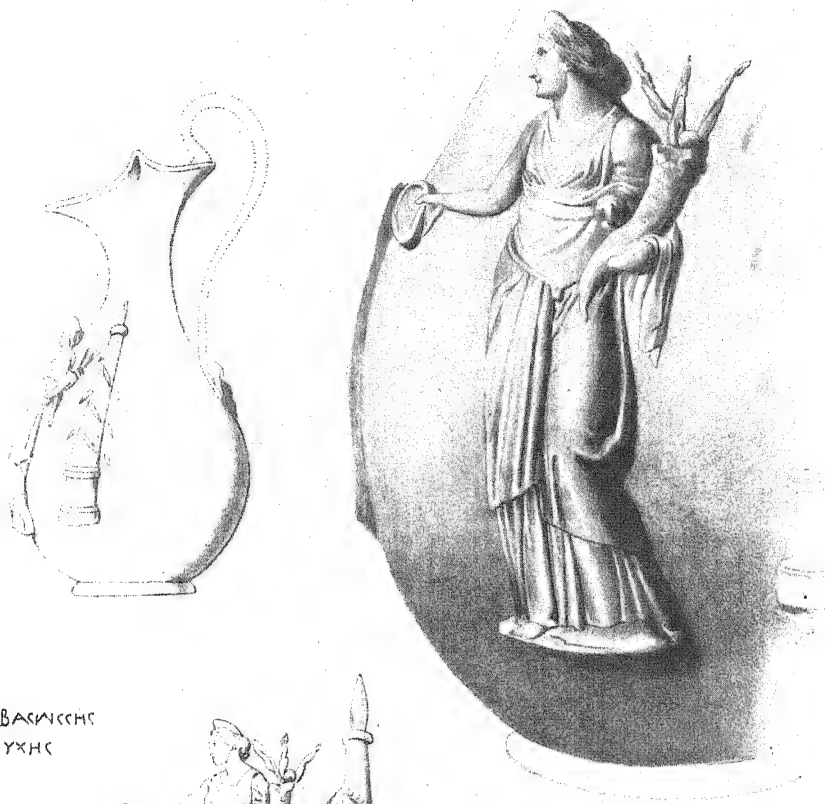

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ΑΓΛΑΟΗCΤΥΧΗC
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ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗCΒΑCΙΛΙCCΗC
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Fig. 95.

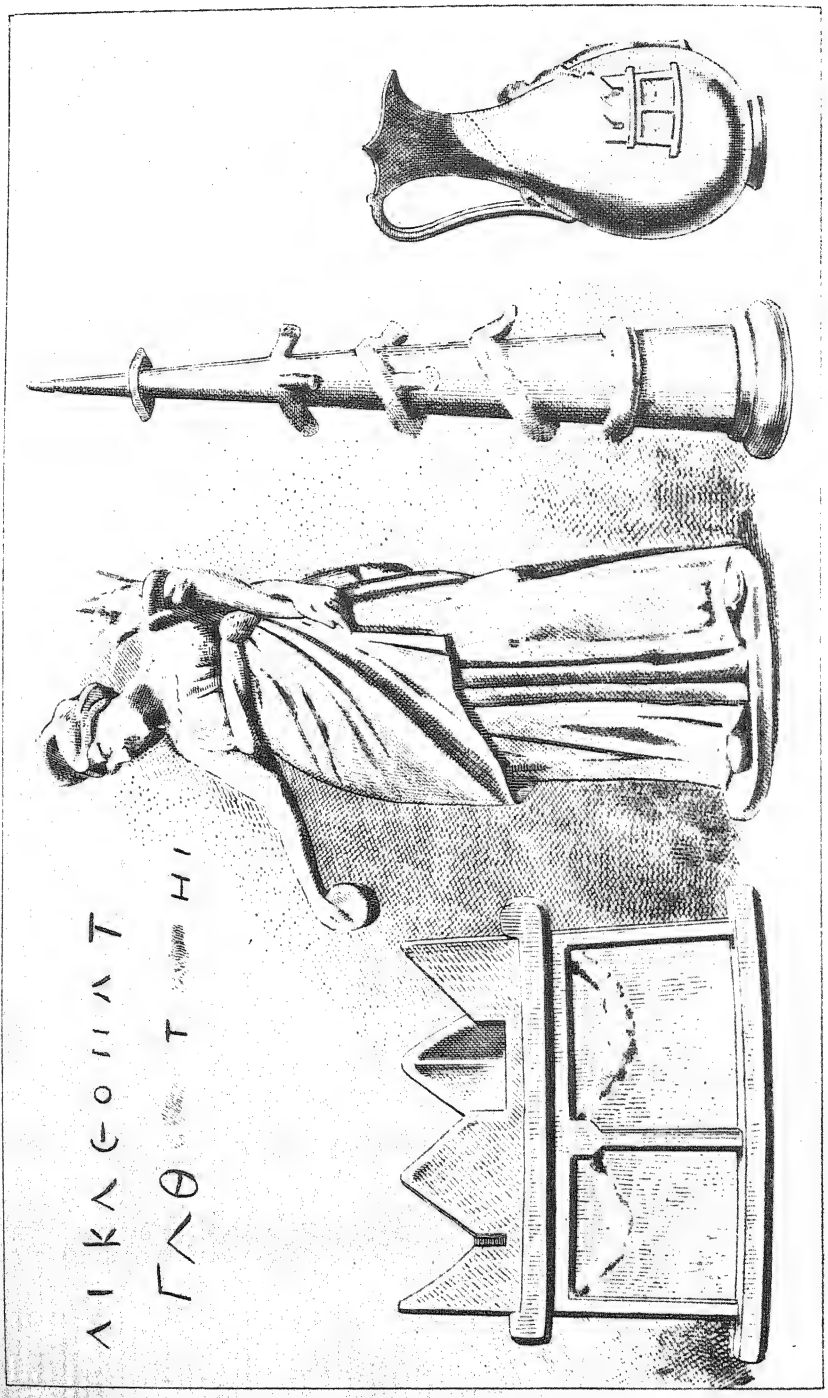


Fig. 96.

making the sky-column on its plinth within a ring of pillars or pilasters pretty much as the Sardinians had done at the beginning of the bronze age, though quite possibly the meaning of the custom had long been forgotten. Secondly, we note that the central shaft or sky-prop was of wood, a sacred log, in short an Italian *Irminsûl*, modified by art into a tapering column of peculiar form[1]. Further, we may suspect (though we can hardly prove the point) that its most peculiar feature, the flat disk serving as capital, had come to be taken for a representation of the round sky resting on the sky-

derived. And arguments more or less specious are not wanting. On the one hand, a very similar pillar, with cylindrical base, discoid capital, and tapering shaft, occurs as part of the relief-decoration on blue porcelain jugs inscribed with the names of Ptolemaic kings and queens (E. Beulé 'Le Vase de la Reine Bérénice' in the *Journal des savants* 1862 pp. 163—172 with pl. =my fig. 95, F. Lenormant 'Le vase de la reine Cléopatre' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1863 i. 259—266 pl. 7=my fig. 96, T. Schreiber *Die alexandrinische Toreutik* Leipzig 1894 p. 433 n. 47, *id.* 'Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder und die augusteische Kunst' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1896 xi. 100 n. 1, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 129, and especially E. Breccia in the *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie* 1910 xii. 93—98). On the other hand, a sherd of Pergamene relief-ware (not later than *s.* iii B.C.), found at Pergamon and now in the Antiquarium at Berlin, represents a sacred pillar, which resembles that of the Romans even more closely (M. Rostowzew 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1911 xxvi. 114—116, 130 pl. 11, 3=my fig. 97): on a garlanded cylindrical base stands a club-like pillar with disk and finial; propped against the base are a double flute (?), a *bucranium*, and a *lagobólon*, the other end of which seems to rest on a tree-stem; a *sŷrinx* is fastened to the pillar by a riband; and Pan leans against it playing on the lyre. But there is much more to be said for the view that in the pillar-worship of Italian art we should recognise a local survival of a cult once common to the whole Mediterranean area (Sir A. J. Evans 'Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult and its Mediterranean Relations' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 128).



Fig. 97.

[1] For a sacred tree conventionalised into a pillar of this shape see an interesting series of Cypriote terra-cotta *agálmata* published by Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* pp. 127 ff., 413 pl. 76, 8, 1, 6, 10=my fig. 98. Of these Ohnefalsch-Richter pl. 76, 1 came from the sanctuary of Artemis at *Achna*, half-way between Kition and Salamis, the rest from that of Astarte at Chytroi. They warrant the inference that a tree might degenerate into a tapering baluster, its branches being reduced to a mere crown or ring. If that is so, we may fairly explain the disk-like capital of the Diana-pillar as a vestige of the original branches or foliage. The pendants hanging from the disk would, on this showing, be a reminiscence of offerings etc. suspended from the boughs.

pillar: the pendants that dangle from it are not without analogy in the cosmic notions of other races[1]. Finally, we observe that side by side with these pillar-shrines there persisted the more primitive tree-cult, in which the living tree was enclosed by a gateway consisting of side-posts and lintel (fig. 99)[2] or by some later elabora-

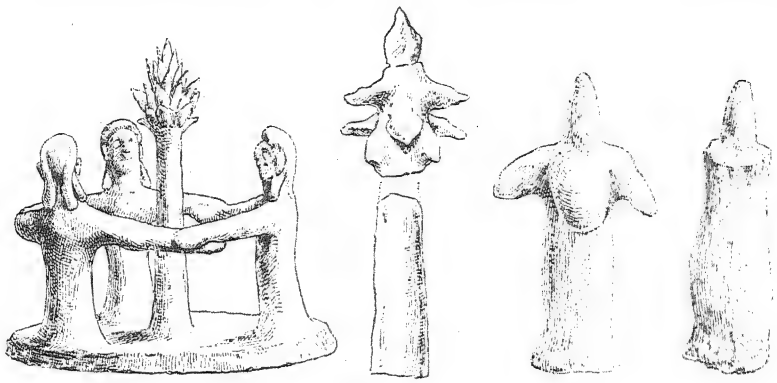


Fig. 98.

[1] See *e.g.* Sir G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*[4] London 1901 p. 16 n. 7: 'The variants of the sign for night—  ,  —are most significant. The end of the rope to which the star is attached passes over the sky,  , and falls free, as though arranged for drawing a lamp up and down when lighting or extinguishing it. And furthermore, the name of the stars—*khabisû*—is the same word as that used to designate an ordinary lamp.' Cp. the sun suspended by cords on a Babylonian tablet (*supra* i. 262 ff.). J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 722: 'The Lithuanians beautifully weave shooting stars into the fate-mythus: the *verpeya* (spinneress) begins to spin the thread of the new-born on the sky, and each thread ends in a star; when a man is dying, his thread snaps, and the star turns pale and drops (Narbutt, i, 71).'

Traces of such beliefs can be found here and there among the Greeks. Thus at the Boeotian Daphnephoria the *kopó* was a staff of olive-wood with a bronze ball at the top to denote the sun, a smaller ball below to denote the moon, a number of little balls hanging from the topmost ball to denote the stars and planets (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 164 f.: I have discussed the rite in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 409 ff., *supra* i. 291 n. 5).

[2] Fig. 99 is a stucco-relief from one of the vaulted rooms of a Roman town-house discovered in 1878 in the garden of the Villa Farnesina (*Mon. d. Inst.* Suppl. pl. 35, J. Lessing—A. Mau *Wand- und Deckenschmuck eines roemischen Hauses aus der Zeit des Augustus* Berlin 1891 p. 14 pl. 15, M. Collignon 'Le styl décoratif à Rome' in the *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* 1897 i. p. 104 with pl., M. Rostowzew 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1911 xxvi. 34 ff. fig. 13 f. (after Anderson's photograph no. 2506 = my fig. 99), H. Bulle *Der schöne Mensch im Altertum*[2] München und Leipzig 1912 p. 601 f. pl. 298, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 220 ff., 233 no. 1059, *ib.*[3] ii. 117 ff. no. 1330). This relief, which is now in the Museo delle Terme, represents a rocky landscape with a stream spanned by a bridge. On the bridge are two women carrying pitchers, of whom the first gives drink to a kneeling beggar (cp. Iuv. 4. 116 ff. with J. E. B. Mayor *ad loc.*). To the left of the bridge a large date-palm (?) stands in a precinct between a couple of two-storied buildings. Over it is a gateway consisting of a pillar and a pilaster with an architrave, on which is set a fluted jar. Adjoining this complex we see a circular walled structure with narrow openings, which is

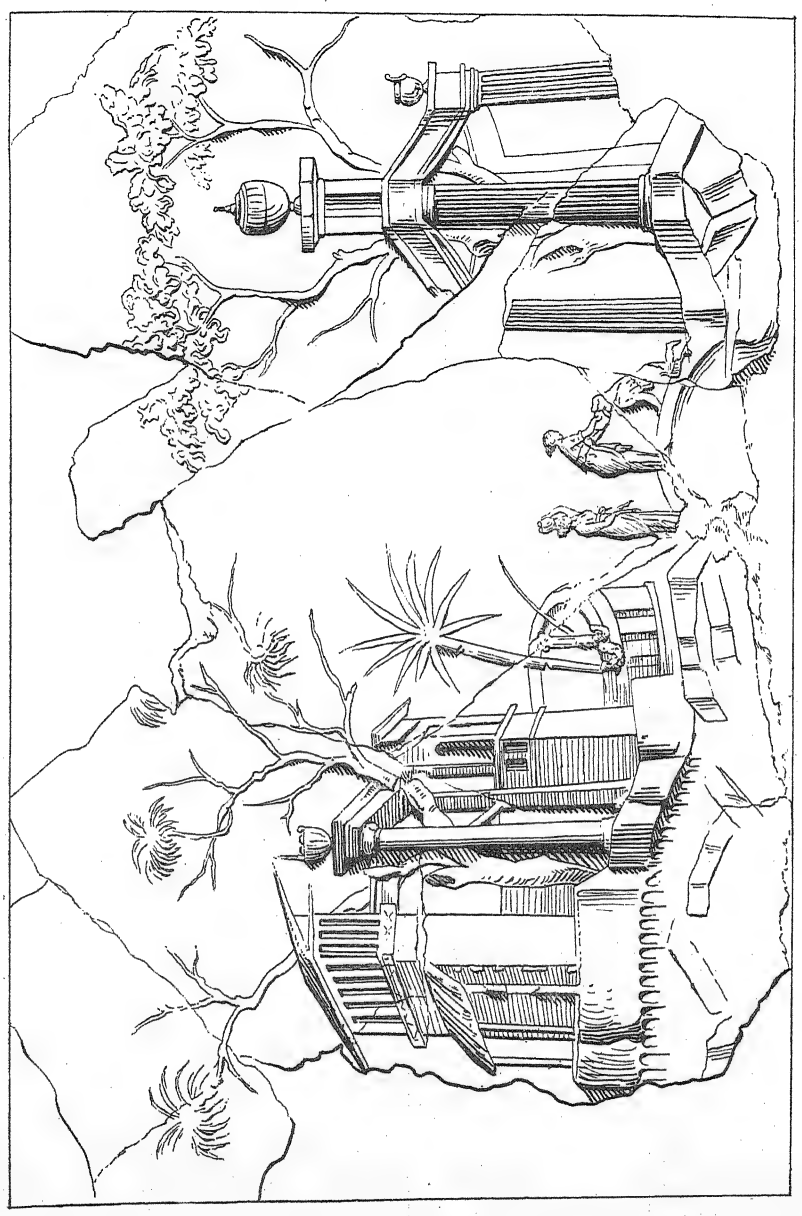


Fig. 99.

decked with garlands and contains a palm-tree and a pillar. To the right of the bridge yet another sacred tree with its pillar and jar rises from an enclosure of peculiar shape (three columns and a back-wall support an architrave, of which two sides are concave, the third convex).

Another good example of the gateway erected over a sacred tree is *Le pitture antiche d'Ercolano* Napoli 1762 iii. 281 ff. pl. 53, H. Roux—M. L. Barré *Herculanum et Pompéi*

tion of the same[1]. From our present position it seems legitimate to conjecture that this gateway or arch at first denoted the sky itself resting on the side-supports. Such a supposition at least helps us to understand the otherwise puzzling representations of the Dioskouroi in Etruscan art. Their *dókana* are seen to be simply the 'beams' of the world—its pillars and ceiling. And they themselves, as figured on Etruscan mirrors, are the humanised side-posts, which naturally enough have between them a tree or a column and above them a starry pediment[2].

(μ) *Agyieús*-Pillars.

And here, at the risk of faring worse, we must go further. For it is impossible to separate the Diana-pillars of Italy from the *Agyieús*-pillars of Greece[3], which in form and fashion are their exact counterpart. Grammarians and lexicographers define the term *Agyieús* sometimes as a pointed[4] or conical pillar[5], sometimes

Paris 1870 iii. 2. 13 ff. pl. 5, Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 156, 541 fig. 36. W. Helbig in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1866 xxiv. 182 f., *id. Wandgem. Camp.* p. 274 no. 1279. See further M. Rostowzew 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1911 xxvi. 41 fig. 18=Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 141 no. 686, cp. *id. ib.* p. 52 no. 245.

A base or altar in the Villa Albani (G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 ii. 235—238 pl. 98, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 132 no. 1, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1913 ii. 409 no. 1847) shows (*a*) Apollon, with lyre and *plēktron*, bow-case and quiver, standing beside his bay-tree, which grows through a Corinthian gateway; (*b*) a richly decorated tripod, on the plinth of which is perched a raven; (*c*) a sacrificial ewer and bowl; (*d*) a griffin looking backwards. The scheme of the rustic tree-shrine is applied to the cult of the civilised Apollon in virtue of his sacred bay.

[1] *Supra* p. 152 fig. 92. [2] *Supra* i. 766 ff.

[3] The main facts and fancies relating to these *Agyieús*-monuments are collected by Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 495 ff., E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 168 f., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 3 ff. Münztaf. 1, 1—8, G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 909 f., E. Reisch *ib.* i. 910 ff., K. Wernicke *ib.* ii. 41 f., De Visser *De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* p. 46 ff. § 22 ff., Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 173, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 774 n. 4, 776 n. 1 f., 1232, Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* iv. 148 ff., 307 f., 371 f. coin-pl. A, 15, J. E. Harrison *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 406 ff., M. H. Swindler *Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo* (Bryn Mawr College Monographs: Monograph Series xiii) Bryn Mawr 1913 pp. 41 f., 74.

[4] Harpokr. *s.v.* Ἀγυιᾶς=Bekker *anecd.* i. 331, 32 f.=Souid. *s.v.* ἀγυιαί=schol. Ald. Aristoph. *vesp.* 875=Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Ἀγυιεύς=Favorin. *lex.* p. 28, 27 f. Herodian. ii. 889, 27 ff.=Steph. Byz. *s.v.* ἀγυιά=Bekker *anecd.* i. 327, 17 f. Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 631. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 166, 22=Favorin. *lex.* p. 798, 5 f.

[5] Souid. *s.v.* ἀγυιαί=Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Ἀγυιᾶς=Favorin. *lex.* p. 28, 31 f. Herodian. i. 240, 21 ff.=Steph. Byz. *s.v.* ἀγυιά, and schol. Aristoph. *vesp.* 875 use the word ὀβελίσκοι, which might pass muster as a rough and ready equivalent. Schol. Rav. Aristoph. *thesm.* 489 Ἀγυιᾶ· <ὁ> οὕτω καλούμενος Ἀπόλλων τετράγωνος was perhaps confusing the *Agyieús* with a herm, cp. Ulpian *in* Dem. *in Mid.* 51 οἱ δὲ ἀγυιάς (leg. Ἀγυιᾶς) φασι τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς though Paus. 8. 32. 4 (*infra* p. 164 n. 7) describes an Apollon *Agyieús* at Megalopolis as having σχῆμα τετράγωνον (for which shape in Arkadia see *supra* i. 520 n. 2).

as an altar[1], set up before a doorway. Attempts have been made to distinguish the pillar from the altar[2]; but these are now generally discredited[3] in view of Hesychios' gloss—'*Agyieús*, the pillar-shaped altar that stands before the doors[4].' The association of pillar with doorway recalls the *dókana* of the Dioskouroi as figured on the Etruscan mirrors[5]. And the use of a pillar before the doors for an actual altar can be paralleled from the cult of Zeus *Kataibátes* at Tarentum[6]. Nor are we dependent for our notion of an *Agyieús* merely upon the verbal descriptions of ancient scholars. Those descriptions are precise enough to warrant us in giving the name to the monument represented on coins of northern Greece struck at Apollonia (figs. 100, 101)[7], Orikos (fig. 102)[8], and Olympe (fig. 103)[9]

[1] Harpokr. *s.v.* Ἀγυιᾶς = Bekker *anecd.* i. 332, 3 ff. = Souid. *s.v.* *ἀγυιαί* = schol. Ald. Aristoph. *vesp.* 875 = Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Ἀγυιᾶς = Favorin. *lex.* p. 28, 29 ff. Nigidius (*frag.* 42 Funaioli) *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 9. 6. Varr. *ap.* Porphyr. *in* Hor. *od.* 4. 6. 28. Poll. 4. 123. Helladios *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 535 b 33 ff. Bekker. Phot. *lex. s.v.* Λοξίας. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 166, 23 f. Of the passages cited by Harpokr. etc. the least equivocal is Soph. *Laocoon frag.* 341 Nauck[2], 370 Jebb λάμπει δ' *ἀγυιεὺς βωμὸς ἀτμίζων πυρί* | *σμύρνης σταλαγμούς, βαρβάρους* (*σταλαγμοῖς βαρβάρους* Harpocr. libri fere omnes) *εὐοσμίας*.

[2] First by F. Wieseler 'Interno all' Ἀγυιεὺς ossia *ἀγυιεὺς βωμός*, ed alcune rappresentanze di esso sopra monumenti' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1858 xxx. 222—227 (cp. Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 490 Index *s.v.* ?Ἀγυιεὺς *βωμός*), then by E. Reisch in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 910, 912, and last by A. C. Pearson on Soph. *frag.* 370 Jebb (*supra* n. 1).

[3] J. Six 'Der Agyieus des Mys' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 344 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 776 n. 1, De Visser *De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* p. 47 f. § 23.

We must, however, admit that the shape of the *Agyieús* was somewhat variable. Six *loc. cit.* 1894 xix. 340—345 figs. 1—7 holds that a conical limestone pillar at Korkyra inscribed *Μῶς με hίσ|ατο* and three blocks still standing on quadrangular plinths beside house-doors at Pompeii (a cone of dark lava in the *Strada dell' Abbondanza* = *reg.* viii. 3. 2, a limestone *omphalós* in the *Strada della Fortuna* = *reg.* vi. 14. 14, a round-topped *stéle* of travertine in the *Strada Stabiana* = *reg.* ix. 3. 3) served as *Agyieús*-stones: but see A. Mau *ib.* p. 344 n. 2. Helladios *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 535 b 34 f. speaks of *βωμὸν...στρογγύλον*—a loose phrase, which would cover a variety of shapes.

[4] Hesych. Ἀγυιεύς· *ὁ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἑστὼς βωμὸς ἐν σχήματι κίονος* = *et. mag.* p. 15, 29 f. Ἀγυιεύς· *ὁ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἱστάμενος ἐν σχήματι κίονος καὶ* (καὶ om. codd. Vb. D.) *βωμός*.

[5] *Supra* p. 160.

[6] *Supra* pp. 29 ff., 45, *infra* p. 166. On pillar-altars in general see W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[2] London 1907 pp. 188, 487 ff., W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* Washington 1910 p. 360 ff., Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 112 ff., 130 ff., *supra* i. 587 n. 4.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 56 pl. 12, 2 (copper of *c.* 400—350 B.C. obv. seven-stringed lyre; rev. ΑΓΟΛ ΛΩΝΟΣ obelisk), p. 59 f. pl. 12, 9 and 12 (copper of 229—100 B.C. obv. head of Apollon laureate; rev. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΑΝ variously arranged to right and left of obelisk, the whole in a bay-wreath), p. 61 f. pl. 12, 15 and 13, 1 (silver of 100 B.C.—Augustus obv. ΑΝΔΡΩΝΟΣ head of Athena; rev. ΑΠΟΛ-ΛΩ ΝΙΑΤΑΝ ΤΙ ΜΗΝ obelisk: copper of 100 B.C.—Augustus obv. ΛΥΣΩΝ and monogram before head of Apollon laureate; rev. ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΝΙΑΤΑΝ obelisk, the whole in a bay-wreath), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 2 f. (copper of 229—100 B.C.), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 314, Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 14 nos. 92—95 pl. 3, 92 f., *ib.* v. 15 nos. 98—

in Illyria, at Ambrakia (figs. 104—106)[1] in Epeiros, at Byzantion



Fig. 100.



Fig. 101.



Fig. 102.

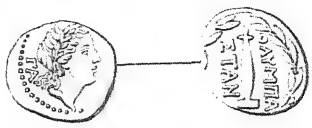


Fig. 103.



Fig. 104.



Fig. 105.



Fig. 106.

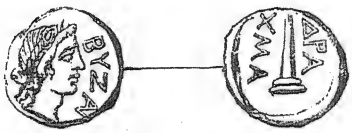


Fig. 107.



Fig. 108.

100 pl. 3, A. Maier in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 1908 p. 17. I figure two specimens from the McClean collection.

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 79 pl. 31, 13 = my fig. 102 (copper of *c.* 230—168 B.C. obv. head of Apollon laureate; rev. Ω PI KI ΩN obelisk, the whole in a bay-wreath), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 316. J. Eckhel *Numi veteres anecdoti ex museis Vindobonensi, Florentino magni Ducis Etruriæ, Granelliano nunc Cæsareo, Vitzaiano, Festeticsiano, Savorgnano Veneto* Vindobonæ 1775 p. 102, *id. Doctr. num. vet.*[2] ii. 167 cites the fraudulent inscription Gruter *Inscr. ant. tot. orb. Rom.* ii. 1106 no. 7 C. Atinio C. f. Quir. | Felici | oriundo Orico | vico Apollin. mil. | leg. vii Claudiae etc. (= *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi. 5 no. 1315*) as proof that Orikos was devoted to the cult of Apollon.

[9] J. Millingen *Ancient Coins of Greek Cities and Kings* London 1831 p. 51 f. pl. 3, 19 = my fig. 103 (a unique specimen from the Hamilton collection—obv. head of Apollon laureate with ΓA behind it; rev. ΟΛΥΜΠΑ ΣΤΑΝ obelisk, the whole in a bay-wreath), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 4 n.[e] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δῖον notes that ethnics in *-σται* are a Macedonian formation; O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 177 says 'besonders in Nordgriechenland verbreitet.'

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 94 pl. 18, 1 (silver of *c.* 238–168 B.C. obv. head of Dione laureate and veiled, rev. A M obelisk, with fillets or fillet and palm attached, the whole in a bay-wreath), *ib.* p. 94 pls. 18, 2 and 32, 3 (copper of *c.* 238–168 B.C. obv. head of Dione laureate and veiled, or of Apollon laureate (so P. Gardner and B. V. Head—but the necklace points rather to a goddess), or of Athena in crested Corinthian helmet; rev. A M B P or A M obelisk, the whole in a bay-wreath), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 10 (coppers of *c.* 238–168 B.C.), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 319 f. fig. 179,

(fig. 107)[1] in Thrace, and at Megara (fig. 108)[2] the metropolis of Byzantion. The coins in question have as their reverse type a pillar or baluster tapering to a point with a stepped plinth or base, a discoid capital, and occasionally an extra ring or rings on its shaft. Sometimes a fillet or a couple of fillets flutters from its apex. Once a palm-branch is attached to its side. The obverse type is commonly, but not exclusively, a head or symbol of Apollon. This god is known to have been worshipped as *Agyieús* at Acharnai[3], Athens[4], Argos[5], Tegea[6], Megalopolis[7], and Halikarnassos[8]. In

Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 15 nos. 102—104 pl. 3, 102 f. and pl. 24, 104, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 3 f. Münztaf. 1, 2 f. Silver staters of Corinthian type, referable to *s.* iv B.C., sometimes have as symbol the Ambracian obelisk with fillet attached (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Corinth, etc. p. 109 pl. 29, 6, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 4 n. [a] Münztaf. 1, 1). Fig. 104 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 94 pl. 18, 1. Fig. 105 is from the McClean collection. Fig. 106 = W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 European Greece p. 9. On the connexion of Apollon with Ambrakia see the myth of Kragaleus as told by Ant. Lib. 4 after Nikandros and Athanadas (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 343 f. Müller).

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thrace etc. p. 96 fig. = my fig. 107 (copper of period after Alexander the Great obv. BYZA/ head of Apollon laureate; rev. ΔPA XMA obelisk), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 269, Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 14 no. 89. See also the interesting coins *infra* p. 167 figs. 111—113.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 121 pl. 21, 13 (copper of *c.* 307–243 B.C. obv. ΜΕΓΑ prow of trireme; rev. obelisk, usually with fillets attached, between two dolphins), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 84, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 393 f., Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 15 no. 96 pl. 3, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 4 f. Münztaf. 1, 8, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 6 pl. A, 8. I figure a specimen in the McClean collection. See further *infra* p. 168 n. 1.

[3] Paus. 1. 31. 6 ἔστι δὲ Ἀχαρναὶ δῆμος· οὗτοι θεῶν Ἀπόλλωνα τιμῶσιν Ἀγυιέα καὶ Ἡρακλέα. κ.τ.λ.

[4] Dem. *in Mid.* 51 f. κατὰ τὰς μαντείας, ἐν αἷς ἁπάσαις ἀνηρημένον εὑρήσετε τῇ πόλει, ὁμοίως ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἐκ Δωδώνης, χοροὺς ἱστάναι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ κνισᾶν ἀγυιάς (*leg.* Ἀγυιᾶς, and so in Aristoph. *eq.* 1320, *av.* 1233, despite the oracle in Dem. *c. Macart.* 66 τὰς ἀγυιὰς κνισῆν and Loukian. *Prom.* 19 κνισᾶν τὰς ἀγυιάς, *bis accus.* 2 ἀκνίσωτοι δὲ αἱ ἀγυιαί, cp. Harpokr. *s.v.* Ἀγυιᾶς = Bekker *anecd.* i. 331, 30 ff. = Souid. *s.v.* ἀγυιαί = Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Ἀγυιᾶς = Favorin. *lex.* p. 28, 27 ff., Steph. Byz. *s.v.* ἀγυιά) καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν. ἀνάγνωθι δέ μοι λαβὼν αὐτὰς τὰς μαντείας. ΜΑΝΤΕΙΑΙ. αὐδῶ Ἐρεχθείδῃσιν, ὅσοι Πανδίονος ἄστυ | ναίετε καὶ πατρίοισι νόμοις ἰθύνεθ' ἑορτάς, | μεμνῆσθαι Βάκχοιο, καὶ εὐρυχόρους κατ' ἀγυιὰς | ἱστάναι ὡραίων Βρομίῳ χάριν (ὡραῖον Βρομίῳ χορὸν T. Hemsterhuis, ὡραίῳ Βρομίῳ χορὸν E. Meier, ὡραίαν Βρομίῳ χάριν H. Sauppe) ἄμμιγα πάντας, | καὶ κνισᾶν βωμοῖσι κάρη στεφάνοις πυκάσαντας. περὶ ὑγιείας θύειν καὶ εὔχεσθαι Διὶ Ὑπάτῳ, Ἡρακλεῖ, Ἀπόλλωνι Προστατηρίῳ· περὶ τύχας ἀγαθᾶς Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀγυιεῖ, Λατοῖ, Ἀρτέμιδι, καὶ κατ' ἀγυιὰς κρατῆρας ἱστάμεν καὶ χορούς καὶ στεφαναφορεῖν καττὰ πάτρια θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις πάντεσσι καὶ πάσαις, ἰδίας δεξιὰς καὶ ἀριστερὰς ἀνίσχοντας, καὶ μνασιδωρεῖν, *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 159 Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀγυιεῶι (*sic*) | τὸν βωμὸν | οἱ πυλωυροὶ (*sic*) | Λι.... on an altar of *c.* 50 A.D., *ib.* iii. 1 no. 175 ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. | Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀγυιέως Προστατηρίο[υ] | Πατρῴου Πυθίου Κλαρίου Πανιωνίου on an altar adorned with a relief of Apollon playing the lyre (E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 169 fig. 193), *ib.* iii. 1 no. 177 Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀγυιέως Ἀλεξικάκου on a quadrangular base of Hymettian marble found near the Acharnian Gate. See also Varr. *ap.* Porphyr. *in* Hor. *od.* 4. 6. 28, Harpokr. *s.v.* Ἀγυιᾶς (*supra* p. 161 n. 1), Euanthius *de fabula* p. 3, 9 ff. Reifferscheid.

fact, the title was usually regarded as his beyond dispute. Nevertheless there were dissentients. A literary tradition attributes the *Agyieús*-pillar to Dionysos, or at least to Dionysos in partnership with Apollon[1]; and a marble *meta* in the Villa Albani (fig. 109)[2]

[5] Paus. 2. 19. 8 ἐπὶ τούτοις (*sc.* after the graves of Linos, son of Apollon, and Linos, the poet) ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλων Ἀγυιεὺς καὶ βωμὸς Τετίου Διός, κ.τ.λ.

[6] Paus. 8. 53. 1 τῷ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι οἱ Τεγεᾶται τῷ Ἀγυιεῖ τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ φασὶν ἱδρύσασθαι τοιᾷδε. Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν λέγουσι χώραν τιμωρεῖσθαι τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι Λητοῦς, ἡνίκα εἶχεν ἐν τῇ γαστρί, πλανωμένης καὶ ἀφικομένης ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην οὐδένα ἐποιήσαντο αὐτῆς λόγον. ὡς δὲ ἄρα καὶ ἐς τὴν Τεγεατῶν ἐληλυθέναι τοὺς θεούς, ἐνταῦθα υἱὸν Τεγεάτου Σκέφρον προσελθόντα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν· Λειμὼν δὲ—ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ Λειμὼν οὗτος Τεγεάτου τῶν παίδων—ὑπονοήσας ἔγκλημα ἔχειν ἐς ἑαυτὸν τὰ ὑπὸ Σκέφρου λεγόμενα, ἀποκτίννυσιν ἐπιδραμὼν τὸν ἀδελφόν. καὶ Λειμῶνα μὲν τοξευθέντα ὑπὸ Ἀρτέμιδος περιῆλθεν αὐτίκα ἡ δίκη τοῦ φόνου· Τεγεάτης δὲ καὶ Μαιρὰ τὸ μὲν παραυτίκα Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσιν, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης ἀκαρπίας ἰσχυρὰς ἦλθε μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν Σκέφρον θρηνεῖν. καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐν τοῦ Ἀγυιέως τῇ ἑορτῇ δρῶσιν ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ Σκέφρου καὶ ἡ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱέρεια διώκει τινὰ ἄτε αὐτὴ τὸν Λειμῶνα ἡ Ἄρτεμις. F. G. Welcker *Kleine Schriften* Bonn 1844 i. 18 f. cp. the mourning for Linos and interprets the names 'Leimon, Feuchtling, und Skephros, Dörrling, deren Mutter Mära ist, die Sirioshitze in weiblicher Form,'—a view revived by Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 62, H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1933 f., Buslepp *ib.* iv. 991 f., and (with the omission of rash etymologies) by Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 464. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 166 f. is impressed by the fact that the grave of Linos at Argos adjoined an Apollon *Agyieús* and an altar of Zeus *Hyétios* (*supra* n. 5), but points out that Leimon would personify the year's vegetation better than Skephros, unless we cp. the σταφυλοδρόμοι of the Karneia (*id. ib.* pp. 121, 126) and hazard the guess 'dass Leimon ein Doppelgänger des Skephros ist, dessen redender Name den Sinn des Gebrauchs verdeutlichen sollte.' Sir J. G. Frazer on Paus. *loc. cit.*, after F. Back *De Graecorum caerimoniis in quibus homines deorum vice fungebantur* Berlin 1883 p. 24 ff. and Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 155, cp. the festival of the Agrionia at Orchomenos in Boiotia (Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 38) and argues that the Tegean rite 'appears to have been a substitute for human sacrifices offered to make the crops grow.' Sir W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Tragedy with special reference to the Greek Tragedians* Cambridge 1910 p. 37 ff. regards Skephros as a local hero, whose ghost was placated by a 'mimetic performance' held close to his tomb, and thinks that the ceremony 'throws some light on the origin of Tragedy.' The problem is complex, and none of these solutions is wholly satisfactory. Paus. 8. 5. 6 adds Τεγεάταις δὲ τοῦ Ἀγυιέως τὰ ἀγάλματα τέσσαρά εἰσιν ἀριθμόν, ὑπὸ φυλῆς ἓν ἑκάστης ἱδρυμένον (*infra* p. 454).

[7] Paus. 8. 32. 4 εἰσὶ δὲ ὑποκαταβάντι ὀλίγον θεοὶ—παρέχονται δὲ καὶ οὗτοι σχῆμα τετράγωνον (*supra* p. 160 n. 5), Ἐργάται δέ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἐπίκλησις—Ἀθηνᾶ τε Ἐργάνη καὶ Ἀπόλλων Ἀγυιεύς.

[8] Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 786. 1 ff. (= *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2661, 1 ff. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 132. 1 ff. an inscription from Halikarnassos of *c. s.* ii) Νόσσος Μυρμιδόνος κούραν Διὸς ἄνθετο παῖδα | Ἄρτεμιν εὐόλβοι τῶιδε παρὰ προπύλωι, | Φοίβωι Ἀγυιεῖ τάνδε νέμων χάριν, οὔ περι κρατ[ί] | δάφνας εὐσάμους κλῶνας ἀναστέφεται. | ἀλλὰ σ[ύ] οἱ τιμᾶς [μέρος ἄλλο τι πέμπ'] ἐπὶ τῶιδε, | ὦ ἄ[να], τᾶ[ι] μεγάλα[ι ταύται] ἐπ' εὐσεβίαι. The restoration of the last two lines is very uncertain—see A. Boeckh and E. Cougny *ad loc.*

[1] Harpokr. *s.v.* Ἀγυιᾶς·...Ἀγυιεὺς δέ ἐστι κίων εἰς ὀξὺ λήγων, ὃν ἱστᾶσι πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν. ἰδίους δὲ εἶναί φασιν αὐτοὺς Ἀπόλλωνος, οἱ δὲ Διονύσου, οἱ δὲ ἀμφοῖν = Souid. *s.v.* ἀγυιαί = schol. Ald. Aristoph. *vesp.* 875 = Bekker *anecd.* i. 331, 32 f. (with Ἡλίου for Ἀπόλλωνος, cp. Cornut. *theol.* 32 p. 69, 9 ff. Lang, schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 631). Harpokration has clearly preserved for us the opinions of various commentators on Dem. *in Mid.* 51 f. (*supra* p. 163 n. 4).

[2] G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 i. 158—161 pl. 34 = my fig. 109,

has been interpreted in that sense. *Agyieús* is found as an epithet of Zeus[1] also; but whether this attribution was based upon existing cults we do not know. The statement of Dieuchidas, the fourth-century historian of Megara[2], that the erection of *Agyieús*-pillars was a specially Dorian custom[3] agrees with the numismatic evi-

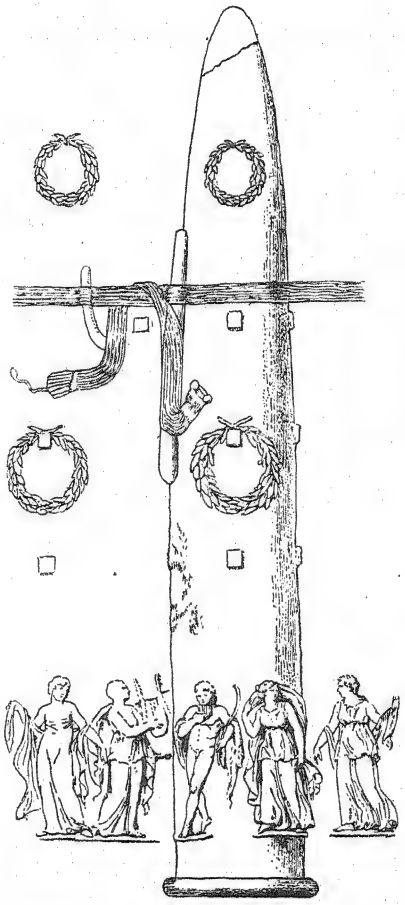


Fig. 109.

T. Panofka *Dionysos und die Thyaden* (extr. from the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1852 Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 381 f., 390 pl. 3, 9) Berlin 1853 pp. 41 f., 50 pl. 3, 9, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 1 f. no. 705, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 151 no. 2, J. E. Harrison *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 407 f. fig. 120. This marble cone (height 14 ft. 6 ins., diameter 2 ft.) stands on a low circular base (top and bottom restored) and has a series of square projecting *ὦτα*, on four of which hang olive-garlands in relief. Towards the upper end of the cone is carved a band, which serves to attach a *lagobólon*, a belt (?), and a club. Near the base are five figures in the neo-Attic style representing Apollon with his lyre, a Satyr with *nebrís* (?), pan-pipes, and *lagobólon*, and three Maenads (T. Panofka, followed by Miss Harrison, takes these persons to be Apollon, Pan, and three Horai; W. Helbig says 'a Satyr and three Bacchantes dancing to the music of a woman playing on a cithara'; G. Zoega is content with 'una danza bacchica,' S. Reinach with 'reliefs bachiques').

[1] Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 266 *ἐπίθετα Διός...3 ἀγυέως, τῷ ἀγυεῖ.*

[2] E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 480 f.

[3] Dieuchidas *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 388 f. Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* *Ἀγυιᾶς·... φασὶ δ' αὐτὸ ἴδιον εἶναι Δωριέων, ὡς δῆλον ποιεῖ Δευχίδας* (*Διευχίδας* corr. I. Casaubon) *ἐν τῇ γ' τῶν Μεγαρικῶν* and *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *vesp.* 875 *περὶ τοῦ Ἀγυιέως Ἀπόλλωνος Διευχίδας* (*Διευτυχίδας* cod. Ven.; *ἰδίως εὐτυχίας* Ald.) *οὕτως γράφει· "ἐν δὲ τῷ ἰατρῷ* (*θεάτρῳ* vel *ἰατρείῳ* cj. Palmer) *τούτο* (*τούτῳ* cod. Ven.) *διαμένει, καὶ* (*καὶ* om. cod. Ven.) *ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστιν* (*ἐστι καὶ* cod. Ven.) *ὡς Ἀγυιεὺς τῶν Δωριέων οἰκησάντων ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἀνάθημα. καὶ οὗτος* (*οὕτως* Ald.) *καταμηνύει ὅτι Δωριέων ἐστὶ τὰ* (*τὰ* om. cod. Ven.) *τῶν Ἑλλήνων· τούτοις γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς στρατιὰς φάσματος οἱ Δωριεῖς ἀπομιμούμενοι τὰς ἀγυιὰς ἱστᾶσιν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι."* If we may assume that Dieuchidas the Megarian is describing the obelisk of Apollon *Karinós*, which stood in the old gymnasium at Megara (*supra* p. 163 n. 2, *infra* p. 168 n. 1), it becomes possible to re-write this very corrupt passage as follows: *ἐν δὲ τῷ θυρέτρῳ τούτῳ διαμένει καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὡς Ἀγυιεὺς τῶν Δωριέων <τῶν> οἰκησάντων ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἀνάθημα. καὶ οὗτος καταμηνύει ὅτι Δωριέων ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν*

dence that they were largely represented in Illyria, since the Dorians were *ab origine* an Illyrian tribe[1]. On the whole it seems probable that we have here to do with an ancient Illyrian pillar-cult[2], strictly comparable with the pillar-cult of Italy. If so, it might be maintained that the *Agyieús*-pillar was essentially a universe-column, and that *Agyieús* himself, 'God of the Way (*agyiá*),' was originally lord of the road from earth to heaven[3]. The term *agyiá* is actually used of the soul-path by Pindar[4]; and the transition from *Agyieús* in this hypothetical sense to *Agyieús* in its ordinary classical meaning presents no difficulty. The 'God of the Way' would naturally become the 'God of the Street,' especially if—as was the case at Tarentum and elsewhere—his pillar stood 'before the doors' of the houses.

(*v*) ***Omphalós*** and Pillar.

It appears, then, that the *Irminsûl* of the north had a counterpart on both sides of the Adriatic, the Diana-pillars of Italy being own cousins to the *Agyieús*-pillars of Greece. But at this point a difficulty arises. How comes it that the Italian pillars were associated with a gòddess, the Greek pillars with a god? The answer to this question is to be sought in the belief that the universe-column was a central prop, originally a central tree, rising from earth to sky. Such a prop would be connected primarily with the earth in which it was planted, secondarily with the sky which it

Ἑλλήνων <τοιαῦτα ἀγάλματα>· τούτοις γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς φάσματος <φανέντος> οἱ Δωριεῖς ἀπομιμούμενοι τοὺς Ἀγυιᾶς ἱστᾶσιν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. But ??

[1] See Sir W. Ridgeway 'Who were the Dorians?' in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* Oxford 1907 pp. 295—308, C. H. Hawes 'Some Dorian Descendants?' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1909–1910 xvi. 258—280.

[2] Prehistoric tombs in Thessaly have yielded bronze rings, which perhaps attest a similar pillar-cult (N. I. Giannopoulos Θεσσαλικαὶ προελληνικαὶ ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐπὶ βράχων, λίθων, σφραγίδων καὶ ἀγγείων Athens 1908 p. 67 fig. 26 from Homolion, *id.* in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1915 p. 106 f. no. 16 fig. with pl. 2, 16 and pl. 1, 16 (enlarged = my fig. 110), no. 17 fig. from Homolion with pl. 2, 17).

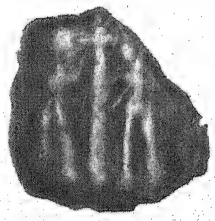


Fig. 110.

[3] Dr Farnell too is prepared to abandon the orthodox idea that the name originally designated the deity of the city's streets: 'to explain Ἀγυιεύς,' he says (*Cults of Gk. States* iv. 150), 'our imagination may turn back to the prehistoric epoch when the god—or the priest bearing his emblem—marched at the head of the immigrant tribe down its perilous path of conquest.' In fact we are to suppose (*ib.* iv. 308) 'that the Agyieus-emblem entered with the wandering deity, and that it was specially consecrated by serving to mark certain stations along the Sacred Way from the north.' The explanation is ingenious and, no doubt, possible. But the view proposed in the text is more consonant with the Germanic and the 'Minoan' evidence.

[4] Pind. *Ol.* 9. 50 ff. οὐδ' Ἀΐδας ἀκι|νήταν ἔχε ῥάβδον, | βρότεα σώματ' ἃ κατάγει | κοίλαν πρὸς (*v.l.* ἐς) ἄγυιαν | θνᾳσκόντων (*v.l.* θνησκόντων).

supported. It could therefore be attributed either to the earth-mother or to the sky-father, according as the worship of the goddess or the god prevailed.

We shall hardly expect to find chapter and verse for all this in extant Greek literature. Crude notions are not always articulate and comparatively seldom emerge on the literary level. We must be satisfied with stray hints and glimpses: pieced together they may tell their tale. Of the cosmic tree there is good evidence which would merit further investigation[1]. Our concern is now with the cosmic pillar. W. H. Roscher in a recent monograph[2] has shown that the Greeks, like many other peoples, conceived of the earth as a flat disk with a central point called its *omphalós* or 'navel,' and further that within the limits of Greece a variety of towns claimed to possess this all-important centre. He makes out a case not only for Delphoi, but also for other Apolline seats—Branchidai, Delos, Gryneion, Patara, etc. Among possible claimants he includes Byzantion[3], but without proving the existence of a Byzantine *omphalós*. Proof, however, is forthcoming. Coppers of this town struck in the third or second century B.C. have sometimes as obverse type a laureate head of Apollon and as reverse an *Agyieús*-pillar set on the top of an *omphalós*, which is covered with its net-work or *agrenón* (figs. 111—113)[4]. This monument has been plausibly explained by

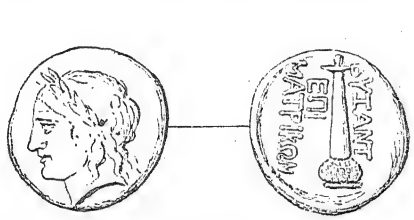


Fig. 111.



Fig. 112.



Fig. 113.

W. Drexler[5] as the obelisk of Apollon *Karinós*, who is known to

[1] I have broached the subject in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 291—299.

[2] W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1913 xxix. 9. 20 ff.) Leipzig 1913 p. 20 ff.

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 36, n. 66.

[4] Fig. 111 = *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 147 f. a specimen from the Prokesch collection (rev. BYIANT ETΠI MATPIKΩN obelisk), cp. Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. ii. 241 no. 215, 243 no. 229, Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 14 no. 91, Head *Hist. num*[2]. p. 268 f.

Fig. 112 = J. N. Svoronos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 92 pl. 1, 5 from a specimen at Paris (rev. BYIANTI ETΠI MENEK obelisk, with tripod and K· in field to left), cp. Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. ii. 241 no. 216, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 394 no. 8.

Fig. 113 = a specimen in my collection (rev. BYIAN ETΠI ΦΩKPI obelisk), cp. Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* i. 377 no. 94, Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 14 no. 90.

[5] W. Drexler in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1895 xix. 128 f., cp. *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1893 xiii. 233.

have been worshipped in aniconic form at the mother-town Megara[1]. Drexler may be right or wrong[2]; but in any case the Byzantine pillar is of interest, because it exhibits the *omphalós*, earth's centre, in combination with the *Agyieús*, heaven's prop[3].

[1] Paus. 1. 44. 2 ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἀρχαίῳ πλησίον πυλῶν καλουμένων Νυμφάδων λίθος παρεχόμενος πυραμίδος σχῆμα οὐ μεγάλης· τοῦτον (τοῦτο codd., τοῦτον corr. M. Musurus) Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι Καρινόν, καὶ Εἰλειθυιῶν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν. It is commonly supposed that this monument is represented on the coins of Megara (*supra* p. 162 fig. 108), though the small pyramid of Pausanias hardly squares with the *Agyieús*-pillar on the coins (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 4 f.). The epithet Καρινός is probably related to Κάρ, son of Phoroneus and first king of Megara (Paus. 1. 39. 5, 1. 44. 6), after whom the Akropolis of Megara was called Καρία (Paus. 1. 40. 6, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Καρία): K. Schwenck in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1838 vi. 575 and Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* p. 316 rashly regarded Καρινός as a by-form of Κάρνειος.

[2] J. N. Svoronos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 92 takes the obelisk on the Byzantine coins to be one of the bronze *kamptêres* of the hippodrome with a half-egg on top, citing Hesych. Miles. *frag.* 4. 37 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 153 Müller) ἔνθα καὶ νῦν οἱ καμπτῆρες δηλοῦσι τὰ τῶν ἐφόρων (*sc.* τῶν Διοσκούρων) γνωρίσματα διὰ τῶν ἐπικειμένων ᾠῶν τοῖς χαλκοῖς ὀβελίσκοις, Kodinos *de signis Constantinopolitanis* 30 A (p. 54 Bekker) καὶ τῶν καμπτήρων οἱ λίθινοι κίονες καὶ οἱ χαλκοῖ ὀβελίσκοι τῶν καμπτήρων. But the top of the obelisk is much more like an *Agyieús*-finial than a half-egg, and the base is beyond all doubt an *omphalós*.

[3] Less conclusive are the following: (1) Certain autonomous coppers of Kyrene, struck between 323 and 305 B.C., have *obv.* head of Zeus *Ámmon*, *rev.* an *omphalós* (?) topped by a pillar, on which rests a vase (L. Müller *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique* Copenhague 1860 i. 54, 72 f. no. 234 fig. (=my fig. 114) and no. 235, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 1095 f. pl. 267, 16 f.). A. Duchalais in the *Rev. Num.* 1850 pl. 16, 7 (=my fig. 115), *ib.* 1851 pp. 89—95, was the first to recognise the tomb of Battos. His view was accepted by L. Müller *locc. citt.* and, more doubtfully, by E. Babelon *loc. cit.*

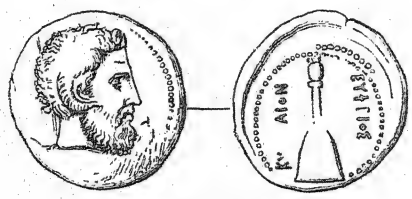


Fig. 114.

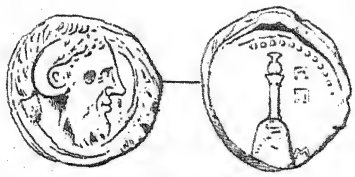


Fig. 115.

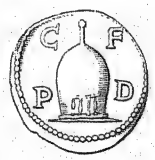


Fig. 116.

(2) A copper of Deultum in Thrace, issued by Gordianus iii (238–244 A.D.), has *obv.* GORDIANVS IMP AVG bust of emperor, laureate, to left, with spear etc., *rev.* C F P D (*Colonia Flavia Pacensis Deultum*) an *omphalós* (?), with a railing (?) in front of it, topped by a short pillar or knob. I figure a specimen from my collection, formerly in that of Prince Chakow (*Versteigerung in Wien am 7. Jänner* 1908 Brüder Egger (Collection de Mr. le Prince Ch.) p. 20 no. 299 pl. 9 'Cultbild der Artemis (?)'). Cp. J. Eckhel *Catalogus Musei Caesarei Vindobonensis numorum veterum* Vindobonae 1779 i. 68

(ξ) The Delphic *Omphalós*.

The occurrence of an *omphalós*-and-pillar at Byzantion leads us to reconsider the shape of the *omphalós* at Delphoi. Here, if anywhere, was the centre of the earth. Here, if anywhere, the sky would need a supporting column, an *Agyieús*-pillar. Accordingly local tradition told how the oracle had been established by Pagasos and divine Agyieus, sons of the Hyperboreoi[1]. And 'the author of the *Europia* teaches us that the image of Apollon at Delphoi is a pillar in the following lines:

> That we might hang for the god a tithe and trophy
> From his pure doorposts and his lofty pillar[2].'

These allusions at once become intelligible, if we assume that the *omphalós* at Delphoi, like the *omphalós* at Byzantion, was originally topped by an *Agyieús*-pillar. Let us be bold and make that assumption. Our pillar, erected at a time when men believed in a circular earth and a central sky-prop, would with increasing knowledge come to be viewed as the axis of a spherical world[3]. Nonnos describes the Delphic *omphalós* as the 'mid-navel axis[4]'—a description

Deultum no. 12 ('Telesphorus stans'), Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. ii. 294 no. 562 ('Telesphore deb.').

[1] Paus. 10. 5. 7 f. Βοιὼ δὲ ἐπιχωρία γυνὴ ποιήσασα ὕμνον Δελφοῖς ἔφη κατασκευάσασθαι τὸ μαντεῖον τῷ θεῷ τοὺς ἀφικομένους ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων τούς τε ἄλλους καὶ Ὠλῆνα· τοῦτον δὲ καὶ μαντεύσασθαι πρῶτον καὶ ᾄσαι πρῶτον τὸ ἑξάμετρον. πεποίηκε δὲ ἡ Βοιὼ τοιάδε· ἔνθα τοι εὔμνηστον χρηστήριον ἐκτελέσαντο | παῖδες Ὑπερβορέων Παγασὸς καὶ δῖος Ἀγυιεύς. ἐπαριθμοῦσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τῶν Ὑπερβορέων, ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τοῦ ὕμνου τὸν Ὠλῆνα ὠνόμασεν· Ὠλήν θ', ὃς γένετο πρῶτος Φοίβοιο προφάτας, | πρῶτος δ' ἀρχαίων ἐπέων τεκτάνατ' ἀοιδάν. On Boio see G. Knaack in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 633 f.

Prof. J. M. MacGregor drew my attention (March 21, 1917) to the fact that Euripides mentions both ἀγυιάς (*Ion* 460) and ἀγυιάτιδες θεραπεῖαι (*Ion* 186) in connexion with Delphoi.

[2] Eumel. *frag.* 11 Kinkel *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 24 p. 102, 26 ff. Stählin ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τὴν Εὐρωπίαν (Εὐρώπειαν Dindorf) ποιήσας ἱστορεῖ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος κίονα εἶναι διὰ τῶνδε· ὄφρα θεῷ δεκάτην ἀκροθίνιά τε κρεμάσαιμεν | σταθμῶν ἐκ ζαθέων καὶ κίονος ὑψηλοῖο. Some critics (*e.g.* Boetticher *Baumkultus* p. 227, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 5, De Visser *De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* p. 51 § 29) are disposed to minimise the force of this evidence. But κίων ὑψηλός here, like κίων μακρός in the fragment of the *Phoronis* cited by the same author (*supra* i. 453 n. 8), certainly refers to a single sacred pillar, not to the whole colonnade of the temple; and, in view of other aniconic forms of Apollon (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 3 ff.), we need not doubt that Clement has interpreted this early couplet aright.

[3] W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1913 xxix. 9) Leipzig 1913 pp. 41 ff., 68, 74 f., 79.

[4] Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 697 f. σὺ δέ, Κάδμε, μεσόμφαλον ἄξονα βαίνων | Δελφίδος αὐδήεντα μετέρχεο τέμπεα Πυθοῦς, 4. 289 ff. ἔνθα κιχήσας | Δελφὸν ἀσιγήτοιο μεσόμφαλον ἄξονα Πυθοῦς | μαντοσύνην ἐρέεινε, καὶ ἔμφρονα Πύθιος ἄξων | κύκλον ἐπ' αὐτοβόητον (K. Lehrs cj. κυκλόθεν αὐτοβόητος, cp. 36. 325; but κύκλος αὐτοβόητος may refer to the oracular tripod, cp. 13. 133 and Poll. 10. 81 τὸ δ' ἐπίθημα τοῦ τρίποδος κύκλον καὶ ὅλμον προσήκει καλεῖν) ἐθέσπισε κοιλάδι φωνῇ. Cp. 27. 252 ἄξονος ὀμφαίοιο θεηγόρε κοίρανε Πυθοῦς. Similarly

which certainly suits and possibly presupposes an actual pillar[1]. It may be objected that of all the representations of the *omphalós* in ancient art, and they are many, not one has it surmounted by the pillar—an extraordinary omission, if my hypothesis is to stand. To this I should reply that the *omphalós* shown to travellers and multiplied throughout the Greek world was not the original, but a replica in marble placed outside the temple at the eastern end of the terrace (fig. 117)[2], where indeed it has been duly discovered in the course of the French excavations (fig. 118)[3]. The real *omphalós*,

Claud. *in Fl. Mallii Theodori consulatum prol.* 16 Pythius axis (*infra* p. 179 n. 1). But see *infra* § 3 (*a*) iii (*o*).

[1] W. H. Roscher *op. cit.* p. 40 ff. cites Iambl. *de myst.* 3. 11 p. 127 Parthey *καὶ μὴν ἥ γε ἐν Βραγχίδαις γυνὴ χρησμῳδός, εἴτε ῥάβδον ἔχουσα τὴν πρώτως ὑπὸ θεοῦ τινὸς παραδοθεῖσαν πληροῦται τῆς θείας αὐγῆς, εἴτε ἐπὶ ἄξονος καθημένη προλέγει τὸ μέλλον, εἴτε τοὺς πόδας ἢ κράσπεδόν τι τέγγουσα τῷ ὕδατι ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀτμιζομένη δέχεται τὸν θεόν, ἐξ ἁπάντων τούτων ἐπιτηδεία παρασκευαζομένη πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ μεταλαμβάνει* and contends that here too *ἄξων* denotes the cosmic axis. But must we not then read *ἐπὶ <τοῦ> ἄξονος*? And in any case the mathematical *ἄξων* is perfectly compatible with a material *κίων* (see Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1389, 59 ff.): Lieut. Peary at the north pole set up a flagstaff.

[2] A red-figured *amphora* with volute handles from Ruvo (fig. 117 = G. F. Jatta in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1868 xl. 235—248 pl. E, *id. Catalogo del Museo Jatta* Naples 1869 no. 239, Baumeister *Denkm.* ii. 1009 f. fig. 1215, P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 176 fig. 5, R. Engelmann *Bilder-Atlas zum Homer* Leipzig 1889 ii. 3 pl. 4, 18, J. H. Huddilston *Greek Tragedy in the light of Vase Paintings* London 1898 p. 83 ff. fig. 10, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 321, 1, W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 103 pl. 2, 1) representing the murder of Neoptolemos at Delphoi depicts the scene with some pretence to topographical accuracy. In the background stands a peripteral temple with decorated doors ajar. This will do for the fourth-century building (though it had Doric columns outside, Ionic inside) with its ivory doors. To the right of it sits ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ with his bow, unmoved by the tragedy. To the left the Pythian priestess with a filleted key over her shoulder starts away in horror. In the foreground ΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΣ, already wounded, takes refuge on the altar; ΟΡΕΣΤΑΣ, sword in hand, approaches him stealthily from behind the *omphalós*; a Delphian, elsewhere called Machaireus (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2226 f.), raises his lance to deal the fatal blow; and the stones in the left-hand corner hint at the fury of the populace (Eur. *Andr.* 1127 ff.). The altar here shown corresponds in position with that of the Chians (Frazer *Pausanias* v. 309 f., 631, É. Bourguet *Les ruines de Delphes* Paris 1914 p. 175 ff.), and the *omphalós* with that described *infra* n. 3. The palm-tree recalls the bronze palm dedicated by the Athenians out of the spoils won at the battle on the Eurymedon (Frazer *op. cit.* v. 313, *infra* § 3 (a) iii (χ)). The tripod on a round base in the middle distance may be reminiscent of the famous tripod dedicated by the Greeks who fought at Plataia (Frazer *op. cit.* v. 299 ff., É. Bourguet *op. cit.* p. 160 ff.). Lastly, the tripod beside the palm-tree and the shield next to Apollon are samples of the votive offerings with which the whole precinct was crowded.

[3] Fig. 118, after a photograph by Rhomaides (Delphoi no. 41), represents an *omphalós* of white marble found on the last turn of the Sacred Way close to the bases of Gelon (É. Bourguet *op. cit.* p. 248 n. 1) and rightly identified with that described by Paus. 10. 16. 3 (see G. Karo in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 199 fig. 5404, H. Pomtow in *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 59, W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 81 f. pl. 6, 1). That this *omphalós* was a mere replica, is sufficiently proved by the *agrenón* (J. E. Harrison 'Ægis—ΑΓΡΗΝΟΝ' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 254—262) carved in relief

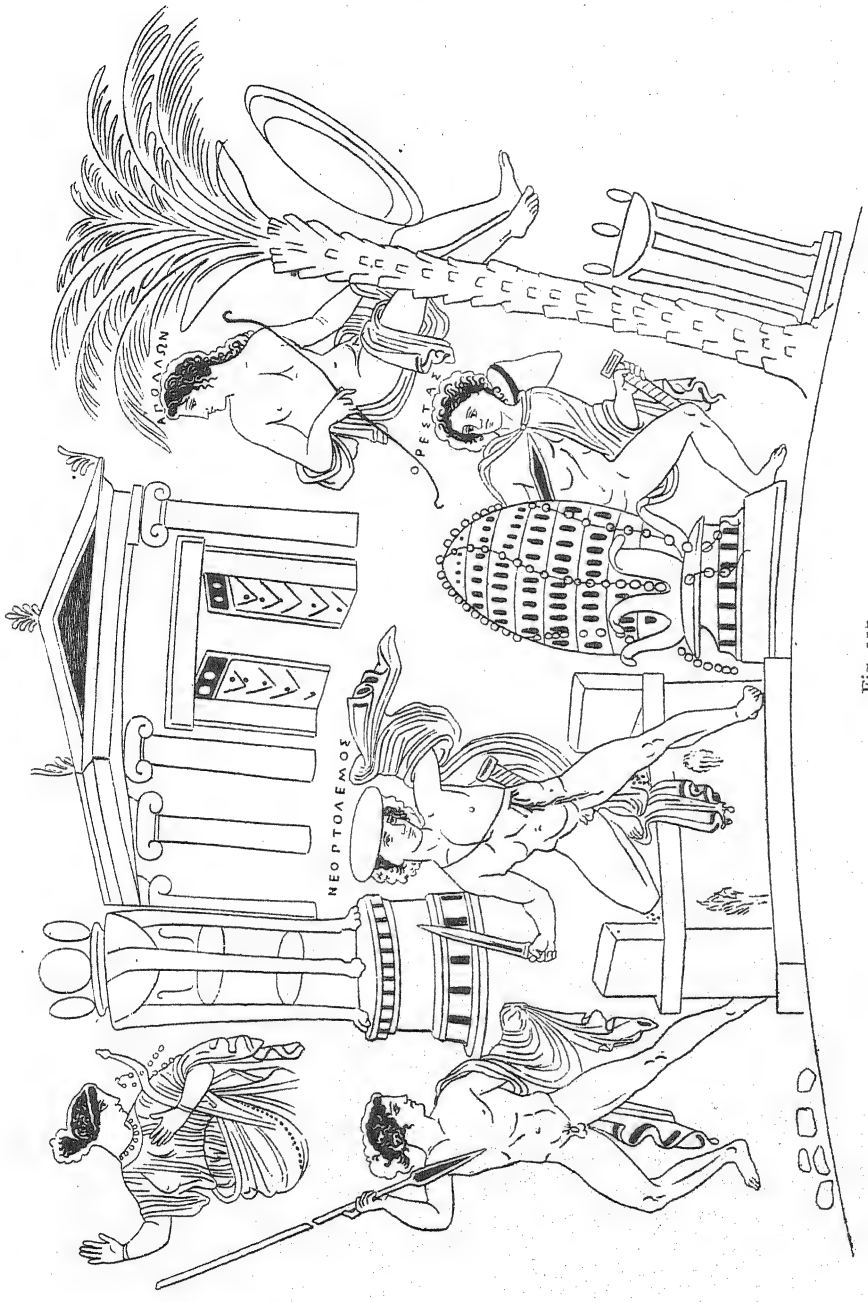


Fig. 117.

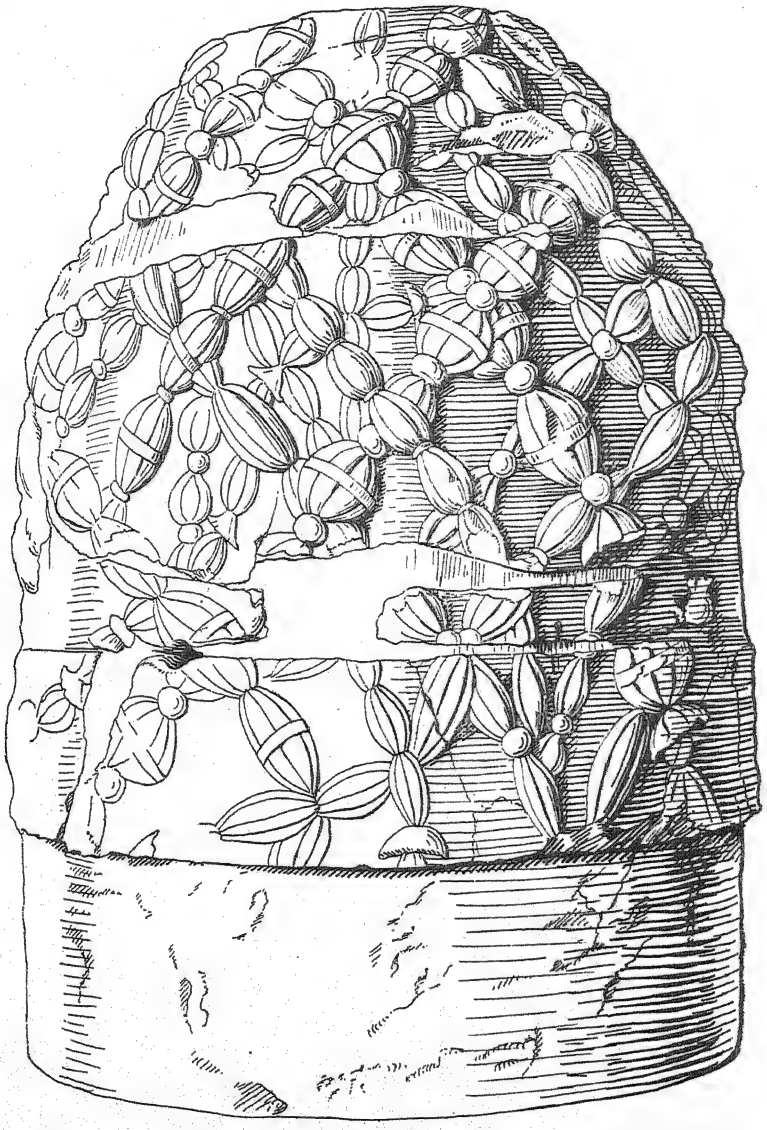


Fig. 118.

upon it. The flattened top is best explained on the assumption that the apex was made in a separate piece, though it is possible that at some period it served as the pedestal for a statuette (W. H. Roscher *op. cit.* p. 82 f. : but see *infra* p. 175 n. o). The band cut away round the bottom has been taken to imply that the whole *omphalós* was let into a larger base (G. Karo *loc. cit.* iv. 199, W. H. Roscher *op. cit.* p. 82), but may rather indicate that it was adorned with a metal collar of acanthus-leaves like that shown in the vase-painting (fig. 117).

unseen for example by Pausanias[1], was kept—as Varro knew—'in the temple at one side[2].' Delphic building-accounts of the year 343—342 B.C. and a little later prove that the *omphalós* had a porch in front of it and was protected by carefully surfaced walls supporting a roof[3]—circumstances which suggest that, like the *omphalós* at Argos[4], it stood in a small chapel of its own[5]. H. Pomtow provisionally locates it in the niche between the second and third columns of the north aisle, though he admits that it may equally

[1] On this much-disputed point see Frazer *Pausanias* v. 316 ff., F. Studniczka in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 263, H. Pomtow in *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 59 f., W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 72 f. It was reserved for F. Courby in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1914 p. 259 f. and in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 72 to appreciate the simple truth. Yet Paus. 10. 24. 5 *ἐς δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ἐσωτάτω, παρίασί τε ἐς αὐτὸ ὀλίγοι κ.τ.λ.* drops a broad enough hint, as G. Karo saw (Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 199 'l'omphalos lui-même était invisible pour le grand public').

[2] Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 7. 17 et terrae medium non hoc, sed quod vocant Delphis in aede ad latus (sic cod. F., *allatus* codd. G. H., *illatus* cod. a., *ablatus* cod. b. Lobeck cj. *arquatum*, Roscher *lanatum*?) est quiddam ut thesauri specie, quod Graeci vocant *ὀμφαλόν*, etc.

[3] É. Bourguet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 42 col. i. *a* line 30 ff. *Θευγένει τᾶς ἐγκαύσιο|ς τοῦ ἐπιστυλίου τοῦ ἐπὶ τᾶι | προστάσει τᾶι πρὸ τοῦ ὀμφαλ|οῦ μισθὸς δραχμαὶ δέκα ἓξ.*

Id. ib. 1902 xxvi. 65 col. ii. *b* line 14 ff. *Θευφά|ντωι καὶ Σίωνι τοῦ Πασίωνος | ἔργου τοῦ περὶ τὸν ὀμφαλόν, π|[λ]ίνθων δέκ[α] ἑτεροπλεύρων, τ|[ῶ]ν πλευρίων παρξοᾶς τοῦ ἄνω| σ[τ]ίχου τοῦ ὑπὸ τῶι ὑποδοκίω|ι, [ἑ]κάστου τοῦ πλευρίου δραχ|μα[ὶ] τέτο[ρε]ς, σύμπας μισθὸς ‖ [δραχμαὶ τετρ]ώκοντα.*

During the building-operations the *omphalós* was safeguarded by a special construction of crude brick (*id. ib.* 1902 xxvi. 81 ff. F Inv. no. 207, 8 ff. *οἰκοδομ|[ῆ]σαι πλίνθοις γαίναις περ|[ὶ] τὸν ὀμφαλόν*, cp. *ib.* p. 92 H Inv. no. 1802 col. iii line 3 ff. *[τ]|ῶν σκ[απέτων τῶν περὶ τὸν ὀμφ]|αλόν*).

[4] W. Vollgraff in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1903 xxvii. 270 ff. no. 28 line 1 ff. *θεός. προμάντιες ἀνέθεν | Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀρισ[τ]εὺς Σφυρή|δας, Φιλοκράτης Νατελιά|δας, προφῆται (Αἰ)σχύλος Ἀραχνά|δας, Τρυγῆς Αἰθωνίδας καὶ κα|τεσκεύασσαν καὶ ἔσσαντο [τὸν] | ἐκ μαντήας Γᾶς ὀμφαλὸν καὶ τ[ὰ]|ν περίστασιν καὶ τὸ φάργμα καὶ τὸν | βωμὸν πρόσ(β)ορον ποτ' ἀ(ρ)ῶ καὶ πέτ|τρινον ῥόον καὶ τὰν ἀρχιθύραν | ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ θη̃αυρὸν ἐν τῷ μαν|τήῳ κατεσκεύασσαν τοῖς πελά|νοις κλᾳκτὸν καὶ τὰν ὁδὸν ἐργάσ|σαντο ἄπανσαν κ.τ.λ.* This inscription presumably refers to the cult of Apollon *Deiradiótes*, whose temple, said to have been founded by Pythaeus (Telesilla *frag.* 3 Bergk[4] *ap.* Paus. 2. 35. 2), stood on the way up to the Argive Larisa (Paus. 2. 24. 1 *ἀνιόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔστι μὲν τῆς Ἀκραίας Ἥρας τὸ ἱερόν, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ναὸς Ἀπόλλωνος, ὃν Πυθαεὺς πρῶτος παραγενόμενος ἐκ Δελφῶν λέγεται ποιῆσαι. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ νῦν χαλκοῦν ἐστιν ὀρθόν, Δειραδιώτης Ἀπόλλων καλούμενος, ὅτι καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος καλεῖται Δειράς. ἡ δέ οἱ μαντικὴ—μαντεύεται γὰρ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς—καθέστηκε τρόπον τοῦτον. γυνὴ μὲν προφητεύουσά ἐστιν, ἀνδρὸς εὐνῆς εἰργομένη· θυομένης δὲ ἐν νυκτὶ ἀρνὸς κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον, γευσαμένη δὴ τοῦ αἵματος ἡ γυνὴ κάτοχος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεται.* See further Sir J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2409, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3364 ff.). It is reasonable to conclude that the Argive cult, if not a filial of the Delphic, was at least in some respects under the influence of Delphoi.

[5] So G. Karo in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 198, A. Frickenhaus in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1910 xxxv. 271 n. 1, H. Pomtow in *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 60 f., cp. W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 81 n. 150.

well have occupied a corresponding position in the south aisle[1]. F. Courby[2] by a consideration of the tasks assigned to the various builders has made it probable that the *omphalós* in fact adjoined the southern rather than the northern wall of the temple[3]. Further, by a careful examination of the ruins as photographed in 1894[4] he shows that in the fourth century B.C. a side-chapel (2·90^{m} broad inside by 5·40^{m} deep) actually stood against the southern wall of the *naós*, close to its western end, thereby interrupting the inner line of Ionic columns[5]. Finally, in September 1913, buried in the made earth beneath this chapel he found the *omphalós* itself (pl. ix)[6]. It is a rough block of limestone, once coated with

[1] H. Pomtow in *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 61, 68 ff. fig.

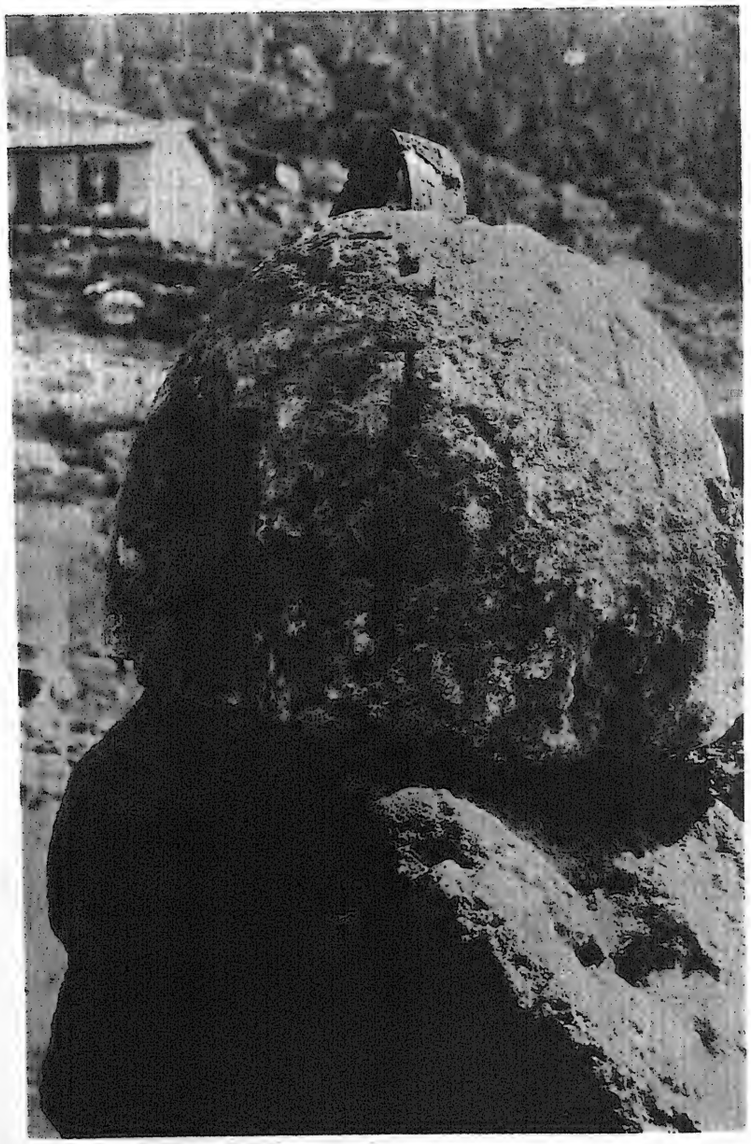
[2] F. Courby in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1914 pp. 263, 266, and in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 76.

[3] Pankrates was at work on the walls of the *opisthódomos* and on the eastern end of the north wall of the *naós* (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 65 col. iii *a* line 10 ff.). Theuphantos and Sion placed two angle-triglyphs in the *prónaos*, worked at the walls round the *omphalós*, and saw to the western end of the south wall of the *naós* (*ib.* 1902 xxvi. 64 col. ii *b* line 5 ff., 65 col. iii *a* line 1 ff.). 'Si les tâches,' says Courby, 'n'ont pas été distribuées au hasard entre les entrepreneurs et si, comme il faut bien l'admettre, quelque préoccupation de logique et de bon ordre a présidé à leur répartition, on supposera que Pankratès ayant opéré au Nord, Theuphantos et Sion opéraient au Sud, et c'est donc de ce côté qu'on replacera l'omphalos' (*Comptes rendus* etc. 1914 pp. 263, 266, cp. *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 76).

[4] The foundations of the inner colonnade, insufficiently filled in, have since given way.

[5] Courby *Comptes rendus* etc. 1914 p. 266: 'Au Sud, sur une longueur de 3^{m} 96 à partir du mur ouest, couraient deux assises de blocs en calcaire, rigoureusement symétriques à celles du soubassement nord, et qui portaient, à n'en pas douter, un tronçon de la colonnade sud. En ce point, le soubassement est interrompu par une bâtisse en encoignure avec des restes d'un mur appliqué contre le côté sud de la cella, et d'un autre mur perpendiculaire au premier. Un examen attentif des détails que donnent les photographies [*ib.* p. 264 fig. 1, p. 265 fig. 2] prouve que cette bâtisse est, sinon tout à fait contemporaine du temple, du moins bien antérieure à notre ère.' See further Courby in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 47—69 ('Le fond de la cella') with figs. 45—61 and pls. 3, 4, F. Poulsen *Delphi* trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 p. 150 f.

[6] Courby *Comptes rendus* etc. 1914 p. 267 f. fig. 3. *Id.* in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 76 ff. figs. 64 (=my pl. ix), 65, 66, 67, 68 (=my fig. 119), 69: 'En septembre 1913, un sondage pratiqué contre le mur Sud de la cella au pied des blocs *α*, *β*, *β'* (pl. III, et fig. 47, 48, 49), dans le renfoncement inférieur de la fondation, fit apparaître un petit monument de poros en forme d'omphalos qui reposait debout, contre le parement, sur le remblai provenant des fouilles (fig. 64, 65, 66, 67). Il mesure 0^{m} 385 de diamètre et 0^{m} 287 de hauteur (fig. 68). Le travail en est assez grossier; les coups de ciseau du ravalement en sillonnent par endroits la surface. On aperçoit encore çà et là des débris d'un stuc analogue à celui qui recouvrait le poros du temple au IVe siècle. Dans un canal de section rectangulaire qui le traverse de haut en bas pénètre, jusqu'à 0^{m} 105 du bas, une tige de fer plate, tranchante d'un bord, à profil recourbé de ce côté et terminé en pointe, qui a toutes les apparences d'une lame de couteau (fig. 68): deux clous (fig. 69) enfoncés en arrière assujettissaient solidement cette lame. On peut reconstituer ainsi ce qui s'est produit. La cavité recevait une tige (de bois, sans doute, puisqu'il n'y en a plus trace) qu'on a calée, plus tard, d'une manière assez primitive et par des procédés de fortune. A 0^{m} 18 environ du bas court une inscription archaïque profondément gravée, où l'on reconnaît



a

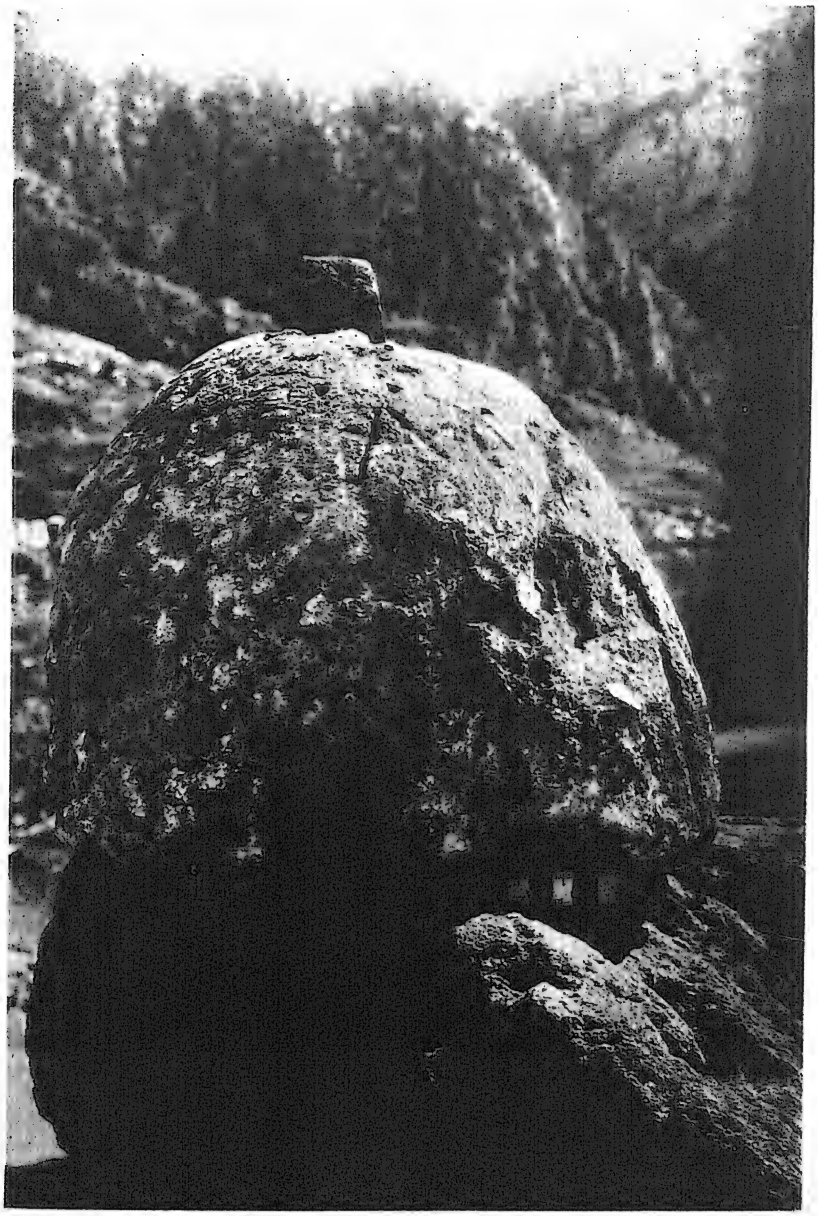


b

Three views of the inscribed *omphalós* found by F. Courby beneath the inner chapel of the Delphic temple.

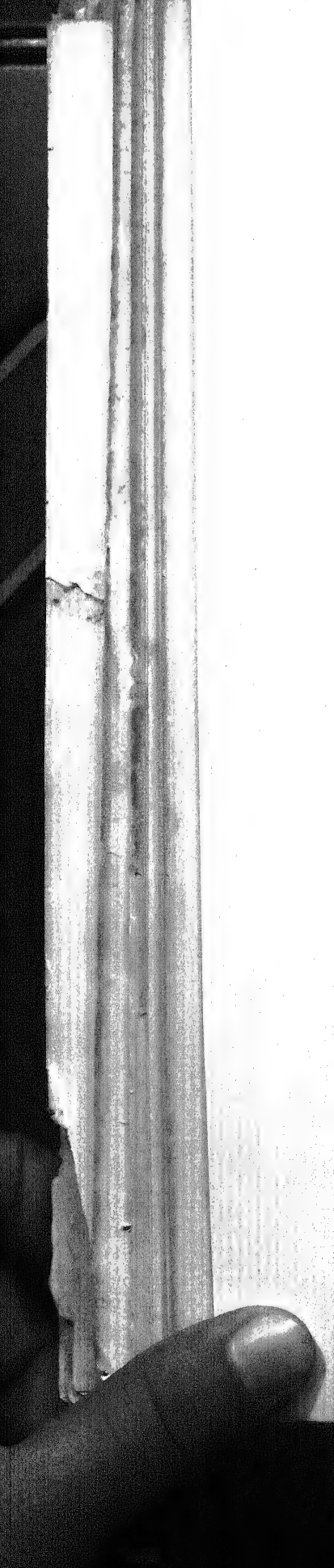
See page 174 ff.





c

ıple.
page 174 ff.



stucco and pierced from top to bottom by a square hole. From the edge of this hole projects a knife-shaped blade of iron, which is wedged in by a couple of nails and presumably served to keep in

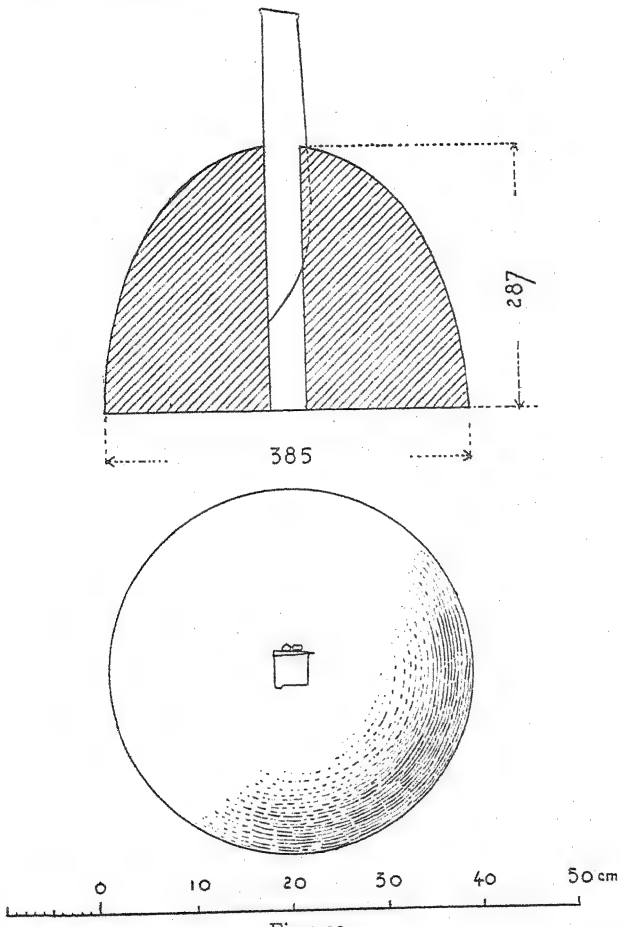


Fig. 119.

place a wooden stem, now lost. On the block are engraved four archaic letters, referable to the seventh century B.C. (fig. 120), of which the last three give us in the genitive case the name of

facilement les trois lettres ε γ α et, peut-être, dans le signe en z qui se voit à la suite, la lettre s. On lira donc : [facsimile to scale ⅓ = my fig. 120] ε γ α s.' 'S'il en est ainsi, on s'explique peut-être la destination de la tige qui traversait l'omphalos et qu'on a cru nécessaire d'y fixer solidement : on y attachait sans doute les bandelettes et les réseaux de l'*ἀγρηνὸν*, mais il est probable qu'elle servait surtout à maintenir les images des deux aigles[1] ([1]On expliquera peut-être de cette manière la cavité profonde qui a été creusée au sommet de l'omphalos de marbre du Musée); ce qui nous engagerait à prendre le *ἐπ' αὐτῷ* de Strabon au sens de *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ*, comme le voulait M. Svoronos (p. 70).'

the earth-goddess Ga[1] and the first appears to be the mystic symbol E[2].



Fig. 120.

[1] The cult of Ge at Delphoi is attested by Aisch. *Eum.* 1 ff. *πρῶτον μὲν εὐχῇ τῇδε πρεσβεύω θεῶν | τὴν πρωτόμαντιν Γαῖαν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Θέμιν, | ἣ δὴ τὸ μητρὸς δευτέρα τόδ' ἔζετο | μαντεῖον, ὡς λόγος τις*, Paus. 10. 5. 5 f. *φασὶ γὰρ δὴ τὰ ἀρχαιότατα Γῆς εἶναι τὸ χρηστήριον, καὶ Δαφνίδα ἐπ' αὐτῷ τετάχθαι πρόμαντιν ὑπὸ τῆς Γῆς· εἶναι δὲ αὐτὴν τῶν περὶ τὸ ὄρος νυμφῶν· ἔστι δὲ ἐν Ἕλλησι ποίησις, ὄνομα μὲν τοῖς ἔπεσίν ἐστιν Εὐμολπία, Μουσαίῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀντιοφήμου* (cp. Orph. *Arg.* 308) *προσποιοῦσι τὰ ἔπη· πεποιημένον οὖν ἐστιν ἐν τούτοις Ποσειδῶνος ἐν κοινῷ καὶ Γῆς εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖον, καὶ τὴν μὲν χρᾶν αὐτήν, Ποσειδῶνι δὲ ὑπηρέτην ἐς τὰ μαντεύματα εἶναι Πύρκωνα. καὶ οὕτως ἔχει τὰ ἔπη· αὐτίκα δὲ Χθονίης φωνὴ* (codd. *σφῶν δὴ* aut *σφῶν*, Lobeck cj. *φωνὴ*, Tyrwhitt cj. *Χθονίη σφιν Γῇ* cp. Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 615, 25 *Γῇ Χθονίῃ*) *πινυτὸν φάτο μῦθον, | σὺν δέ τε Πύρκων ἀμφίπολος κλυτοῦ Ἐννοσιγαίου* [Mous. *frag.* 1 Kinkel, 11 Diels]. *χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, ὅσον τῇ Γῇ μετῆν, δοθῆναι Θέμιδι ὑπ' αὐτῆς λέγουσιν, Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ παρὰ Θέμιδος λαβεῖν δωρεάν*, schol. Pind. *Pyth.* argum. 1 *μητρῷον δέ, ὅτι Γῆς ἐστι τὸ μαντεῖον.* The sanctuary of Ge is mentioned in the building-accounts *c.* 340 B.C. (É. Bourguet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 65 col. iii *a* line 3 f. *ἐν τῶι σκέλει τῶι ποτ|ὶ (τ)ὸ τᾶς Γᾶς ἱερόν*) and in Plout. *de Pyth. or.* 17 *περιελθόντες οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν μεσημβρινῶν καθεζόμεθα κρηπίδων <τοῦ> νεὼ πρὸς τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερὸν τό τε ὕδωρ ἀποβλέποντες* (ante *ἀποβλέποντες* lacuna xii litterarum in E, post *ἀποβλέποντες* lacuna xi litterarum in B: W. R. Paton cj. *τῆς Κασσοτίδος?*)·...*παρὰ τὸ νᾶμα καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερόν, ἧς λέγεται τὸ μαντεῖον γενέσθαι, κ.τ.λ.* It seems likely too that at Delphoi the earth-mother bore at least one other name, *viz.* Themis (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 101 n. 7, H. Pomtow in *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 57 f.; cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 318 *ἐρσηφόροις β'* [Γ]*ῆς Θέμιδος*, *ib.* iii. 1 no. 350 *ἱερίας Γῆς Θέμιδος*, Aisch. *P.v.* 209 f. *Θέμις | καὶ Γαῖα, πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία*, J. E. Harrison *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 480 ff.). O. Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 101 thinks that she bore here the further titles of Melaina (cp. *h. Ap.* 369 *Γαῖα μέλαινα* and Melaina or Melanis or Melantho or Kelaino the mother of Delphos together with Melantheia or Melantho his grandmother: this view, already sketched by Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 326 f., is attractive; but *Γαῖα μέλαινα* is, after all, a commonish tag—see Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 72, and the blackness of Melaina & Co. need not be chthonian—see L. Weniger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2565 f.) and Eurysterna (cp. Hes. *theog.* 117 *Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος* with schol. *ad loc.* *Μνασέας ὁ Πατρεὺς* (*cod.* C. *Παταρεὺς*) *ἐν τῇ τῶν Δελφικῶν χρησμῶν συναγωγῇ* (Mnaseas *frag.* 47 in *Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 157 Müller) *Εὐρυστέρνας ἱερὸν φησιν ἀναστῆσαι* (whence Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 101 n. 11 restores *Εὐρυστέρνας | ἱρὸν ἀναστῆσαι*), Paus. 7. 25. 13 *Γῆς δὲ ἱερόν ἐστιν ὁ Γαῖος* (Schneider cj. *ἐστι τὸ Γαῖον*) *ἐπίκλησιν Εὐρυστέρνου*).

[2] In the temple at Delphoi visitors were shown three symbols resembling the letter E—a wooden original said to have been put up by the sages, a bronze copy of it presented by the Athenians, and a golden *replica* dedicated by the empress Livia (Plout. *de* E *apud Delphos* 3). Coppers of Delphoi struck by Hadrian and by Faustina Senior represent the *façade* of the temple with E in the centre of it (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 119 pl. x, 23=my fig. 121 and pl. x, 22=my fig. 122, J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 36 pl. 27, 12 and 46 pl. 29, 17 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 342). Attempts to explain the symbol have been numerous. Plout. *de* E *apud Delphos* 3 takes E as *πέντε*, the five sages Chilon, Thales, Solon, Bias, Pittakos; *id. ib.* 4 equates

Thus far Monsieur Courby, whose modest but convincing announcement will rank among the most brilliant archaeological discoveries of our time. For the speculations that follow he is not responsible. But it seems to me that his momentous find goes a long way towards establishing my hypothesis of a Delphic *omphalós*-and-pillar. The slender wooden post implied by the square hole in the *omphalós* was—if I am right—none other than the 'lofty pillar' of Apollon, to which 'tithe and trophy' were attached in his earliest cult, the cult established by the Hyperboreans Pagasos and Agyieus[1]. As the veritable earth-centre it furnished the starting-point of later arithmology. In the mystic language of the Pythagoreans[2],


Fig. 121.


Fig. 122.

the second vowel Ε with the second planetary body, the sun; *id. ib.* 5 writes Ε as *εἰ*, 'if,' 'if only,' a word that might introduce a question or a prayer addressed to the god; *id. ib.* 6 treats Ε or *εἰ* as a symbol of dialectic; *id. ib.* 7—16 gives a Pythagorean disquisition on Ε, that is *πέντε*, as the numerical base resulting from the union of the first even *δύο* with the first odd *τρία*; *id. ib.* 17—21 concludes that Ε is for *εἶ*, 'thou art,' as a metaphysical invocation of the deity. Years ago I ventured the suggestion (W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 p. 354 n. 11, *Folk-Lore* 1903 xiv. 287 f.) that the Ε was a sacred relic, in fact the head of Poseidon's trident kept in the sanctuary, where he had an altar (Paus. 10. 24. 4) and probably a chapel (see H. Pomtow in *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 45 ff.), much as the trident of Neptune is kept affixed to the wall of the ancient church of S. Vigil in Tridentum, the modern *Trento*, *Trent* (L. Schmitz in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* ii. 1230); and it will be admitted that the trident-head, which symbolises Poseidon on coins of Corinth, Leukas, Mantineia, Troizen, etc., is of the requisite shape—indeed Agathon *Telephos frag.* 4 Nauck[2] *ap.* Athen. 454 D describes the letter Ε as *τριόδους πλάγιος*, 'a trident laid crosswise.' My friend Mr A. H. Smith once told me that in his opinion the mystic Ε might possibly be explained by the resemblance that it bears to the Π-shaped window or smoke-hole over the door of hut-urns from Etruria etc. (*Folk-Lore* 1903 xiv. 288). Miss J. E. Harrison (*ib.* 1904 xv. 416 n. 271) has acutely compared the Delphic Ε with the trinity of pillars represented *e.g.* on Phoenician reliefs from Sardinia (G. Patroni in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1904 xiv. 230 f. pl. 21, 2 a and pl. 25, 2) and suggested 'that the Ε was originally three betyl stones or pillars placed on a basis and representing the three Charites' (J. E. Harrison in the *Comptes rendus du Congrès International d'Archéologie* Ière Session, Athènes 1905 pp. 194—196, citing Paus. 9. 38. 1, Plout. *de mus.* 14 (quoted *infra* § 3 (a) iii (χ)), schol. Pind. *Ol.* 14. 16 *παρὰ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνί φησι καθέζεσθαι τὰς Χάριτας διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκειότητα. ἐν γοῦν Δελφοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς εἰσιν ἱδρυμέναι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος*). R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 489 n. 4 draws attention to a passage in the *θεολογούμενα τῆς ἀριθμητικῆς* (*theolog. arithm.* 32 p. 30 f. Ast *τούτῳ δὴ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῷ ε' ἀριθμῷ δικαιότατα ἐνοφθείσης καὶ τῆς τοῦ στίχου ἀριθμητικῆς εἰκόνος ζυγῷ τινι οὐκ ἀπιθάνως εἰκασθείσης, τὸ παράγγελμα τοῖς γνωρίμοις ἐν συμβόλου σχήματι ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐνεποιήσατο "ζυγὸν μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν," τουτέστι, δικαιοσύνην*), according to which Pythagoras assigned the number 5 or Ε to justice and saw in it the image of scales (*ζυγόν*): Eisler notes that this implies Ε 'in der Stellung des Π in der delphischen Inschrift.'

[1] *Supra* p. 169.

[2] On which see A. Delatte *Études sur la littérature pythagoricienne* Paris 1915 p. 139 ff.

who are known to have been deeply interested in Delphoi[1], the 'axle,' the 'tower of Zan,' and 'Apollon' were all synonymous descriptions of the monad[2]; and an Orphic fragment uses 'Agyieus' with the same signification[3]. Further, Apollon's 'lofty pillar' was flanked by his 'pure doorposts[4].' That is to say, we have once more[5] the association of the sacred tree or pillar with a doorway, which we have already taken to denote the sky resting on its side-supports[6]. If this be so, we are at last in a position to solve the old problem of the Delphic ΠΙ. It was simply a graphic expression for the sky upborne by its central and lateral pillars[7].

The likeness of the Delphic *Agyieús*, thus reconstituted, to the Germanic *Irminsûl* is sufficiently striking. It becomes even more so, when we note that the *Irminsûl* described by Widukind[8] was erected at the gateway of the town with a pillar on either side of it

[1] Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 82 *τί ἐστι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖον; τετρακτύς· ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ἁρμονία, ἐν ᾗ αἱ Σειρῆνες* (H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 i. 358 n. explains that the Sirens produced the music of the spheres, and A. Delatte *op. cit.* p. 259 ff. adds that this harmony was the supreme revelation vouchsafed to men by Pythagoras as Apollon incarnate: see, however, *supra* i. 258 ff.), cp. Nikomachos of Gerasa (?=Iambl. *συναγωγὴ τῶν Πυθαγορείων δογμάτων* 7: G. Mau in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 647, W. Kroll *ib.* ix. 650) *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 144 a 16 Bekker who speaks of the *τετράς* as *ἁρμονίτα* (*sic*) *ἡ ἁρμονία*. Again, the Pythagoreans had their own name for the tripod (Hesych. *τρίοψ· ὁ ὑπὸ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς τρίπους*) and perhaps their own interpretation of the mystic Ε (*supra* p. 177 n. 0).

[2] Nikomachos of Gerasa *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 143 a 31 ff. Bekker *ἄξων τέ ἐστιν* (*sc. ἡ μονάς*) *αὐτοῖς καὶ ἥλιος καὶ πυράλιος, καὶ μορφὼ δὲ καὶ Ζανὸς πύργος, καὶ σπερματίτης λόγος, Ἀπόλλων τε καὶ προφήτης καὶ λόγιος*. But *id. ib.* p. 144 a 36 ff. describes the *πεντάς* in somewhat similar terms:... *καὶ κυκλιοῦχος καὶ ἀμίθεος καὶ Ζανὸς πύργος καὶ διδυμαία καὶ ἄξων ἑδραία* (A. Delatte *op. cit.* p. 154 cj. *ἀξονεδραία*, cp. *ἀξονήλατος*, in the sense 'celle qui se tient ferme sur l'axe du monde').

[3] Orph. *frag.* 144 Abel *ap.* Lyd. *de mens.* 2. 6 p. 22, 21 ff. Wünsch *Ὀρφεὺς δὲ τὸν ἕνα ἀριθμὸν Ἀγυιέα καλεῖ, κ.τ.λ.*

[4] *Supra* p. 169.

[5] *Supra* pp. 158 ff. (Italian tree-cults with gateway or arch), 160 (*dókana* with central tree or column), 160 f., 166 (*Agyieús*-pillars before doorways), 161 (pillars of Zeus *Kataibátes* at Tarentum).

[6] *Supra* p. 160.

[7] Cp. the Egyptian signs  and  , which depict the sky resting on or falling off the four pillars that support it (E. A. Wallis Budge *Easy Lessons in Egyptian Hieroglyphs* London 1899 p. 74, Sir G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*[4] London 1901 p. 17 nn. 1 and 2).

The same conception of the pillared sky found ritual expression in the great festival-tent erected by Ion at Delphoi (Eur. *Ion* 1132 ff. *ὁ δὲ νεανίας | σεμνῶς ἀτοίχους περιβολὰς σκηνωμάτων | ὀρθοστάταις ἱδρύεθ'*...). That this was an imitation of the sky is clear, not only from the fact that it was made big enough to hold the entire populace (*ib.* 1140, 1167 f.), but also from the cosmic decoration of its roof (*ib.* 1146 ff.: see further R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 57 ff., 156 f.).

[8] *Supra* p. 53 f.

and an eagle set upon it. The mention of the eagle brings us up against another long-standing puzzle. What are we to make of the eagles on the *omphalós*? Can they too be explained in the light of this pillar connecting earth with heaven? The Delphic eagles appear in classical literature from the fifth century B.C. onwards[1]. Pindar, our earliest source, writing in 462 B.C. speaks of the Pythian priestess 'who sitteth beside the golden eagles of Zeus[2],' and an old Greek commentator on the passage tells the orthodox tale:

'A story is bruited abroad to the effect that Zeus, wanting to determine the centre of the world, let fly eagles of equal speed from west and east. They, winging their way in opposite directions, met at Pytho and by that very fact marked the central point of the whole world. Later, in token of what had befallen, he made other eagles of gold and set them up in the precinct of the god[3].'

Observe that, whenever this tale is told of Zeus, the teller uses the verb *aphiénai*, 'to let fly[4].' We shall not be far wrong, if we surmise that the tale was in fact aetiological and aimed at explaining the cult-epithet *Aphésios*, which Zeus is known to have borne in the Megarid[5] and at Argos[6]. Unfortunately the meaning of that epithet is doubtful. In modern times it has been usually taken to denote Zeus as a rain-god[7]. But 'He who lets fly' is rather, I think, suggestive of thunderbolts[8]. Be that as it may, Zeus *Aphésios* was

[1] Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 6 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Pind. *frag.* 27 Boeckh *ap.* Strab. 419, Eur. *Ion* 225 (if, with F. Studniczka in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 269, we accept C. Robert's risky emendation *στέμμασί γ' ἐνδυτόν, ἀμφὶ δὲ γοργ<ὼ>* | *<χρυσοφαέννω Διὸς οἰωνώ>*), Philodamos *paean Dion.* 123 ff. in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 407 (if, with O. Kern and H. Pomtow in *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 61 n. 22, we may take the words *ναὸ[ν]... | [ν]ε[ο]χρύσεον χρυσέοις τύποις | ... ἀργαίνοντε* to describe the two golden eagles, melted down by the Phocians but now renewed, and the words *αὐτόχθονι κόσμῳ* to denote the *omphalós* itself), Strab. 419, Plout. *de def. or.* 1, Loukian. *de salt.* 38 with schol. *ad loc.* p. 188, 25 ff. Rabe, Claud. *in Fl. Mallii Theodori consulatum prol.* 11 ff., schol. Bernens. *in* Lucan. 5. 71 ff. p. 156, 8 ff. Usener, schol. Eur. *Or.* 331, schol. Soph. *O.T.* 480.

Delphoi was haunted by eagles in the time of Euripides (Eur. *Ion* 153 ff.), and is so to this day (P. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1915 xxxv. 70). I once saw two eagles hovering above the deep glen of the Pleistos—a sight to be remembered.

[2] Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 6 ff. *ἔνθα ποτὲ χρυσέων* | *Διὸς αἰετῶν πάρεδρος* | *οὐκ ἀποδάμου Ἀπόλλωνος τυχόντος ἱέρεα* | *χρῆσεν κ.τ.λ.*

[3] Schol. vet. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 6 p. 95, 4 ff. Drachmann.

[4] Schol. vet. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 6 p. 95, 7 *ἀφῆκεν*, *ib.* p. 95, 22 *ἀφεθέντες*, Pind. *frag.* 27 Boeckh *ap.* Strab. 419 *ἀφεθέντες*.

[5] Append. B Megaris.

[6] *Supra* i. 117, Append. B Phliasia.

[7] Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 195, Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* p. 169, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2715, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 832 n. 4, p. 1110 n. 2. It remains, of course, possible that the connexion of *Ἀφέσιος* with *ἀφιέναι* was secondary, cp. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in *Hermes* 1898 xxxiii. 513 f. and H. Usener *Die Sintfluthsagen* Bonn 1899 p. 230 ff.

[8] *E.g. Il.* 8. 133 (Zeus) *ἀφῆκ' ἀργῆτα κεραυνόν*, *Od.* 24. 539 *Κρονίδης ἀφίει ψολόεντα κεραυνόν*.

in all probability worshipped at Delphoi. And it is interesting to find that as far back as Homeric times the Pythian Apollon was called *aphétor*, 'he that lets fly[1].' This appellation, which occurs but once, was and is still a bone of contention to Homer's expositors[2]. It looks as though Apollon had stepped into the place of Zeus and inherited his local title. The archer as well as the thunderer 'lets fly.' Under the rule of Apollon the eagles, however, were felt to be a mistake. Attempts were made to rewrite the myth with the somewhat cheap substitution of swans or ravens[3]. Perhaps Philomelos the Phocian, who seized the temple (*c.* 356 B.C.) and appropriated the golden eagles[4], salved his conscience with the reflection that after all eagles were not the rightful birds of Apollon. Whether the eagles melted down by Philomelos were subsequently renewed in gold, we cannot say for certain. But it appears that in later days a pair of eagles was represented in mosaic on the floor to right and left of the *omphalós*[5].



Fig. 123.

The evidence of literature may be supplemented by that of art. An electrum *statér* of Kyzikos, struck *c.* 450–400 B.C., shows two eagles, beak to beak, perched awkwardly enough on the sides of a filleted *omphalós* (fig. 123)[6]. This coin presumably depicts the famous *omphalós* at Delphoi, not—as W. H. Roscher would make out[7]—a counterpart of it at Branchidai.

[1] *Il.* 9. 404 f. *οὐδ' ὅσα λάινος οὐδὸς ἀφήτορος ἐντὸς ἐέργει,* | *Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος, Πυθοῖ ἔνι πετρηέσσῃ* cited by Diod. 16. 56, Strab. 420 f., Ail. *var. hist.* 6. 9 Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 545, 1, Porphyrii *de philosophia ex oraculis haurienda* ed. G. Wolff Berolini 1856 p. 236 Oraculorum Appendix 26 *ἐρημαῖος δὲ λελείψεται οὐδὸς ἀφήτωρ*, *et. mag.* p. 177, 21 f., p. 546, 44 f., schol. Kallim. *h. Ap.* 35, *h. Artem.* 250, and by Ioul. *or.* 2. 80 B (with *ἔεργε*). The same passage is the stock in trade of schol. *Il.* 9. 404, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 759, 63 ff., Apollon. *lex. hom.* p. 49, 15 ff. Bekker, Hesych. *s.vv. ἀφήτορος, φητώ* (but note the gloss *ἀφητορεία · μαντεία*), Souid. *s.v. ἀφήτορος*, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 267 *Ἐπίθετα Ἀπόλλωνος* 5 *ἀφήτορος*, i. 278 *Ἀπόλλων...ἀφήτωρ*, i. 283 *Ἐπίθετα Ἀπόλλωνος...ἀφήτωρ.*

[2] Consult O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2719, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 68, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 106.

[3] Plout. *de def. or.* 1 *ἀετούς τινας ἢ κύκνους*, Strab. 419 *οἱ ἀετοὶ οἱ ἀφεθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός,...οἱ δὲ κόρακάς φασι.*

[4] Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 7 b p. 95, 24 ff. Drachmann.

[5] Schol. Loukian. *de salt.* 38 p. 188, 25 ff. Rabe *λέγουσιν ἐν Δελφοῖς ὀμφαλὸν εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑδάφους τοῦ νεὼ καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν αἰετὸν* (*ἀετὸν* cod. R. H. N. Ulrichs *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* Bremen 1840 i. 92 f. n. 59 cj. *ἀετούς*. F. Wieseler in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1857 xxix. 172 cj. *αἰετῶ*) *γεγράφθαι ἀπὸ συνθέσεως λίθων καὶ τοῦτο ἔφασκον τὸ μέσον ἁπάσης τῆς γῆς.*

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 32 pl. 8, 7, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1453 f. pl. 177, 24, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 525, W. Greenwell in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1887 vii. 58 f. pl. 1, 23, J. H. Middleton in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1888 ix. 295 fig. 1, Anson *Num. Gr.* iv. 43 no. 421 pl. 8. I figure a specimen in the McClean collection.

[7] W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 50 f. pl. 1, 1, cp. *ib.* p. 36 ff.

A votive relief in fine yellowish marble, found at Sparta but clearly Attic in style and probably carved in the last quarter of the fifth century B.C., has Artemis with a *próchoos* filling the *phiále* of Apollon: between them is seen a plain *omphalós* set on a plinth, which supports two eagles with reverted heads (fig. 124)[1]. A very similar relief, found at Athens, decorates a pre-Euclidean decree, which confers upon a certain exegete—apparently one of those known as *Pythóchrestoi*—a throne in the Prytaneion and a seat



Fig. 124.

[1] P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1887 xii. 378 ff. pl. 12, J. H. Middleton in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1888 ix. 295 f. (wrongly takes Artemis to be Nike), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 364 f., 523, F. Studniczka in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 267 fig. 6 (suggests that the *omphalós* was originally painted with an *agrenón*), G. Karo in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 199 fig. 5403, M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 181 no. 468 fig. 59, cp. *ib.* p. 125 f. (where the relief is dated as late as *s.* iii B.C.), J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1911 xiii. 308 f. fig. 2, W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 84 pl. 7, 4. Height 0·46^{m}, breadth 0·57^{m}.

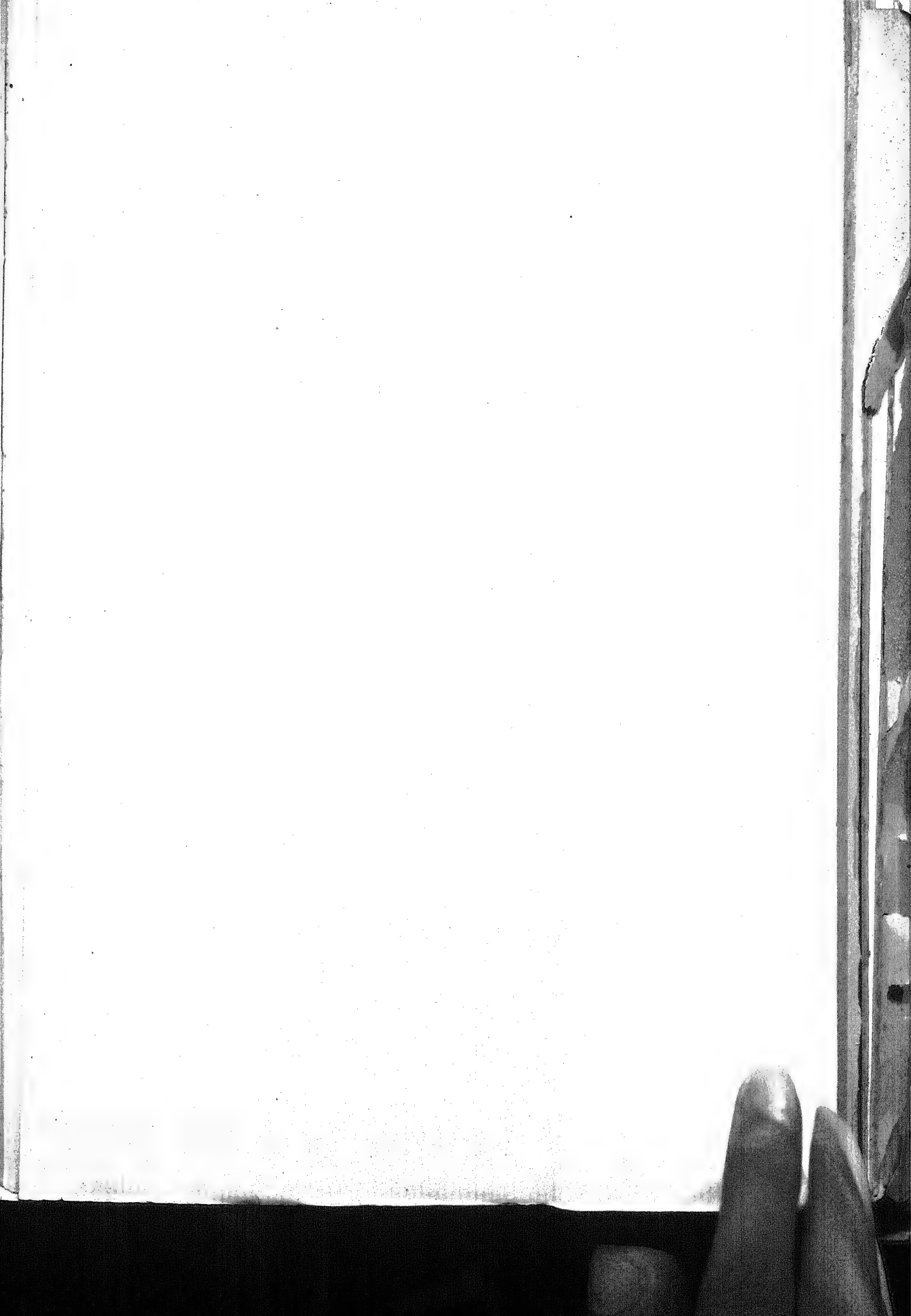
of honour in the theatre: the sculptured subject was practically identical with that of the relief from Sparta, except that here the carefully spaced lettering leads J. N. Svoronos to conjecture the former existence of another figure, perhaps Leto, to the left of Apollon and Artemis (fig. 125)[1]. A third relief, referable to the

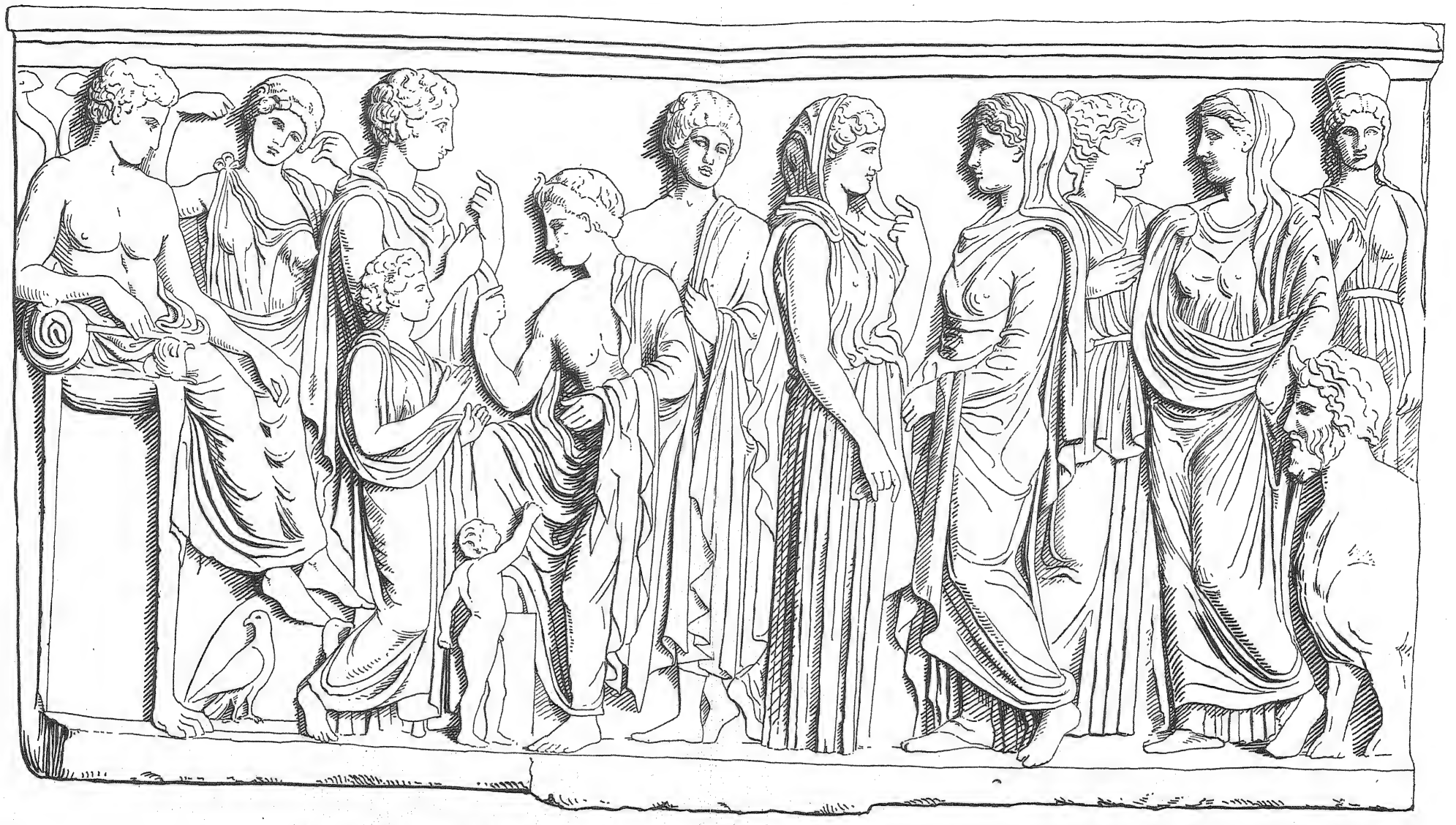


Fig. 125.

opening years of the fourth century B.C., was found at Phaleron between the parallel Long Walls in a precinct dedicated to Kephisos

[1] A. Wilhelm in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i Beiblatt p. 43, F. Studniczka in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 267, G. Karo in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 199 n. 16, and especially J. N. Svoronos '*Ψήφισμα Ἀττικὸν ἀνέκδοτον καὶ οἱ ὀμφαλοὶ τῶν Πυθίων*' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1911 xiii. 301—316 with 13 figs., of which fig. 1 shows our relief, *id. Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 211, 1 = my fig. 125, W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 84 ff. pl. 9, 5. Height 0·55^{m}, breadth 0·37^{m}.





Relief from Phaleron: Xenokrateia and her boy supplicate Kephisos and the deities associated with him.

See page 182 ff.

and sundry associated deities. This magnificent slab of Pentelic marble (pl. x)[1] fits into a large pillar-like base of *pôros*, which is inscribed—partly in prose and partly in verse—as follows:

'Xenokrateia, wife of Xeniades from the deme Cholleidai, as daughter (before her marriage) and mother (after it) set up by way of oblation and dedicated to Kephisos and the gods that share his altar this gift to instruct whoso will to sacrifice with a view to the consummation of blessings[2].'

It would seem that Xenokrateia had gained her heart's desire, a man-child born in lawful wedlock, by promising this tablet to Kephisos and the other fertility-powers that shared his altar. Their names are recorded on a sacred boundary-stone from the same site: 'To Hestia, Kephisos, Apollon *Pýthios*, Leto, Artemis *Lochía*, Eileithyia, Acheloios, Kalliroe, the Geraistian birth-nymphs, and Rhapso[3].' The list serves as a key to the composition of our relief[4]. On the left is Apollon *Pýthios*: he sits on a tripod-throne with a griffin for arm-rest, two coiled snakes for rings and back, and the *omphalós* with its eagles for foot-stool. Beside him in the background stands Leto binding her hair with a fillet, once added in colour. Before him Artemis holds a torch, similarly put in with paint. Next to these august persons are Xenokrateia and her boy, mere mortals and therefore figured on a smaller scale: they make

[1] B. Staes ''Αναθηματικὸν ἀνάγλυφον ἐκ Φαλήρου' in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1909 pp. 239—264 pl. 8, map, and figs. 1—3, *id.* ''Αναγκαία προσθήκη' *ib.* 1910 pp. 173—176, Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*[2] p. 45 ff. no. 2756 fig., Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 493 ff. pls. 181 f. (pl. 181=my pl. x), G. Karo in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 271 f., W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 86 f. pl. 8, 2. Height 0·37[m], breadth 1·05[m].

[2] Ξενοκράτεια Κηφισῶ(ι) ἱερ|ὸν ἱδρύσατο καὶ ἀνέθηκεν | ξυνβώμοις τε θεοῖς διδασκαλ|ίας τόδε δῶρον, Ξενιάδου θυγάτ|ηρ καὶ μήτηρ, ἐκ Χολειδῶν, | θύειν τῶι βουλομένωι ἐπὶ | τελεστῶν ἀγαθῶν. Staes read the concluding words as τελεστῶν 'Αγάθων[ος καὶ τοῦ δεῖνα]; but Svoronos could discover no certain trace of any letters after ἀγαθῶν, and certainly no trace of any further line such as would be needed to contain the name of Agathon's fellow-*telestés*. The queer diction and arrangement of the sentence is, I think, sufficiently explained by the exigencies of metre, an attempt being made to hitch the whole into dactylic hexameters and a final pentameter (?) thus: Ξε(ι)νοκράτεια | Κηφισῷ ἱερὸν ἱδρύσατο | καὶ ἀνέθηκεν | ξυμβώμοις τε θεοῖσ(ι) διδασκαλίας τόδε δῶρον, | Ξε(ι)νιάδου θυγάτηρ καὶ μήτηρ, | ἐκ Χολ(λ)ειδῶν, | θύειν τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐπὶ τελεστῶν ἀγαθῶν. Xenokrateia was no Sappho.

[3] 'Εστίαι, Κηφισ|ῶι, 'Απόλλωνι | Πυθίωι, Λητοῖ, | 'Αρτέμιδι Λοχ|ίαι, 'Ιλειθύαι, 'Αχ|ελώιωι, Καλλ|ιρόηι, Γεραισ|ταῖς Νύμφαι|ς Γενεθλί|αις, 'Ραψοῖ (B. Staes in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1909 p. 244 ff. fig. 1, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 495, *supra* i. 112 n. 3).

[4] This was seen first by J. N. Svoronos *loc. cit.* p. 495 ff.: he did not, however, make sufficient use of the clue that he had himself discovered; for he takes Hestia (mentioned in the list) to be Ilisos (absent from the list).

B. Staes in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1909 p. 251 ff., *id. Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*[2] p. 45 ff. no. 2756, had interpreted the whole relief as illustrating the myth of Ion: according to him, the six figures on the left (Apollon *Pýthios*, Leto, Artemis, the Pythian priestess, Ion, Xouthos setting foot on the threshold of the sanctuary) are grouped at Delphoi, the seven figures on the right (Hermes, four Nymphs, cult-image of Artemis or Eileithyia, Acheloios or Kephisos) at Athens.

their petition to Kephisos, a youthful god with a small horn (?) over his forehead and his foot supported on an altar. Behind him and facing the spectator is an older figure, whose draperies were formerly perhaps completed by the addition of a painted *chitón* and veil: she would thus have been sufficiently characterised as Hestia[1]. Then comes a group of four females, two stately matronal forms facing left in conversation with two more youthful goddesses facing right. The older figures are the Geraistian nymphs, the younger Eileithyia (holding a girdle)[2] and Rhapso (with painted needle and thread?[3]). On the right stands Acheloios, represented as a bull with human face, and behind him his daughter Kalliroe, conceived as a Caryatid guarding a well-house. It will be observed that these three reliefs show an *omphalós* and eagles of identical type, and that in each case there is some reason to connect the scene with the *Pýthion* at Athens. Possibly, as J. N. Svoronos contends[4], eagles with reverted heads were actually to be seen on either side of the Athenian *omphalós*.

Eagles with reverted heads occur again on a votive relief of white marble (fig. 126)[5] found in Aigina some three hundred paces from a sanctuary of Apollon[6]. This monument, which may be dated *c.* 350 B.C., shows Apollon with a *kithára* in his left hand, a *phiále* in his right, and a worshipper drawing near to greet the god. Between them is an *omphalós* without a base, but covered with

[1] B. Staes and J. N. Svoronos *locc. citt.* regard this figure as male, the former calling it Hermes, the latter Ilisos. But Hermes would have had a *chlamýs* rather than a *himátion*; and Ilisos makes a very indifferent pair to Kephisos. Staes honestly remarks '*τὸ γυναικεῖον μᾶλλον πρόσωπον τῆς μορφῆς ταύτης*' ('Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1909 p. 255). That is right: all we have to do is to complete her costume in paint.

[2] Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 499 n. 1 cites Theokr. 17. 60 *Εἰλείθυιαν ἐβώσατο λυσίζωνον*. So Cornut. *theol.* 34 p. 73, 8 ff. Lang *Εἰλείθυια,...ἣν εὔχονται ἐλθεῖν αὐταῖς ἡπίαν καὶ λυσίζωνον αἱ ὠδίνουσαι*, Orph. *h. Prothyr.* 2. 4 ff. *Προθυραία,* | ...*λυσίζων'*, ... | ... | *Εἰλείθυια*, cp. *id. h. Artem.* 36. 5.

[3] Svoronos *loc. cit.* p. 499: 'Mit Rücksicht auf ihr Erscheinen unter den Geburtsgöttinnen...und die Bedeutungen des Wortes *ῥάπτω*: *ἐνῶ, συγκολλῶ, συνάπτω* und sogar *ὀπῶ*[1] [[1] Favorin. Lex. s.v. *ῥάπτω*.] (vgl. *ὀπύω*) dürfen wir wohl auch Rapso als eine Schutznymphe oder Moire der Ehe betrachten, speziell des Augenblicks der Entjungferung und der Empfängnis, der Festnähung des Embryo im Mutterleibe.'

[4] J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1911 xiii. 308 ff., cp. W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 84 ff.

[5] J. N. Svoronos '*Αἰγίνης ἀνάγλυφον ἀναθηματικόν*' in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1912 p. 254 f. pl. 22 (=my fig. 126), W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 126 f. pl. 8, 3. Height 0·50^{m}, breadth 0·455^{m}.

[6] Four stones inscribed *ὅρος τεμένους Ἀπόλλωνος Ποσειδῶνος* (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i nos. 33—36) mark the boundaries of the *Apollónion* (*ib.* i no. 2, 37 *παρὰ τὸ Ἀπολλών*[*ιον*]) or temple of Apollon (Paus. 2. 30. 1), who in Aigina bore a variety of titles (see K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 75 f.) including that of *Pýthios* (Pind. *Nem.* 3. 122 with schol. *ad loc.*, *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 545, 8, 11, 35 ff.).

fillets and topped by the two birds. The design agrees exactly



Fig. 126.

with that of a copper coin (fig. 127)[1] struck by Septimius Severus at Megara, where there was an ancient cult of Apollon *Pýthios*[2].



Fig. 127.



Fig. 128.

[1] J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1911 xiii. 312 fig. 7, *id.* in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1912 p. 254 f. pl. 22 (=my fig. 127), W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 126 f. pl. 1, 9.

[2] Paus. 1. 42. 5, cp. schol. Pind. *Nem.* 5. 84 Πύθια, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1065 *ἀρχ(ι)ερεὺς ὁ Α[π]έλλωνος Π[υθίου? υθαέως?]*, *ib.* i no. 1058, 4 f. *ἀγωνοθέτην Πυ|θαήων*, Lebas—Foucart *Péloponnèse* no. 42 b, 1 Πυθάεια *πυγμήν*, 8 Πυθάεια [Σεβα]στε[ῖα π]αγκράτιον.

The worshipper on the coin is probably Septimius Severus himself. Another copper of Megara (fig. 128)[1], struck by Geta, repeats the type, but omits the emperor. J. N. Svoronos[2] and W. H. Roscher[3] infer that Aigina and Megara had similar *omphaloí* of their own in the service of Apollon *Pýthios*.

A copper coin of Patara (fig. 129)[4], struck by Gordianus Pius, represents Apollon, with a bay-branch in his right hand and a bow (?) in his left, standing beside a small *omphalós*, on which sits a single eagle with spread wings. Another copper of Patara (fig. 130)[5], struck in the same reign, shows the god between an *omphalós*, surmounted by an eagle and entwined with a snake, and a



Fig. 129.



Fig. 130.

tripod-*lébes*, from which a second snake is drinking. The substitution of one eagle for two is a noteworthy change, probably brought about by oriental influence; for an eagle on a sacred stone had in Levantine art of the Graeco-Roman age a solar significance[6], which would well suit Apollon and might suffice to modify his Pythian attribute.

We have now passed in review the literary and the monumental evidence for the eagles connected with the Delphic *omphalós*. We have yet to determine their original meaning. More than fifty years ago C. Boetticher in the course of a careful monograph[7] arrived

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 124 pl. 22, 7 ('two birds (ravens?)'), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 6 pl. A, 9=my fig. 128 ('omphalos surmounted by eagles, or altar on which ravens'), J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1911 xiii. 312 fig. 6 ('βωμόμορφον ὀμφαλὸν μετὰ δύο ἀετῶν').

[2] J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1911 xiii. 312, *id.* in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1912 p. 255.

[3] W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 126 f.

[4] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 304, 310 ('Rabe') Münztaf. 5, 6=my fig. 129, W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 108 pl. 1, 17. The coin is at Paris.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. 77 pl. 16, 2 (=my fig. 130), cp. *ib.* p. 77 pl. 16, 3, J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1911 xiii. 312 f. fig. 8, cp. *ib.* fig. 9, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 307 no. 2. See further W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 107 ff.

[6] *Supra* i. 603 f. fig. 475.

[7] C. Boetticher *Der Omphalos des Zeus zu Delphi* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* xix) Berlin 1859 pp. 1—17 figs. 1—4.

at the conclusion that the true owner of the *omphalós* was Zeus[1], and compared its two golden eagles with the two gilded eagles that flanked the altar of Zeus *Lýkaios*[2]. Whatever be thought of Boetticher's main contention, the analogy that he drew is sound and its implications are of some consequence. The altar of Zeus *Lýkaios* flanked by the gilded eagles was simply a circular summit of Mount Lykaion[3]. I am disposed to infer that the *omphalós* at Delphoi was likewise, to begin with, a mound—a mere mass of earth[4], which in process of time was conventionalised into a hemispherical or ovoid stone, but to the last bore upon its surface the tell-tale monosyllable *Gâs*[5]. This mound (the 'Archer's hill' some called it[6]) supported the sky-pillar[7], and was therefore haunted by the sky-god, who here as elsewhere came and went in the form of an eagle. I take it that both in Arkadia and in Phokis the eagles betoken the telephany of the god himself[8]. The fact that they

[1] *Id. ib.* p. 5: 'Der Omphalos ist vom Ursprunge an das Weihethum des Zeus Moiragetes und der ihm beisitzenden Moiren gewesen; durch eine Reihe schicksallenkender Mächte, welche alle nur Zeus Willen offenbaren, vererbt er sich auf den jüngsten Gott der Stätte, den Apollon, der nach einem bezeichnenden Worte Platons: in des Zeus Namen als Exeget der Satzungen und Anordnungen seines Vaters für die ganze Menschheit *ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ καθήμενος ἐξηγεῖται*' [Plat. *rep.* 427 c].

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 7 f. [3] *Supra* i. 81 ff.

[4] Cp. fig. 131 = M. Rostowzew 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1911 xxvi. 41 fig. 18 a wall-painting from a house at Pompeii (*reg.* vii. 2. 18) decorated in the third or 'ornate' style (*supra* p. 143 n. 4). Height 1·17^{m}, breadth 0·63^{m}. In the centre is a sacred tree with a gateway erected over it and a statue of Artemis or Hekate holding torches beneath it. Close by is seen a circular wall, with openings in it, surrounding another tree, which bears fruit (? apples), and an omphaloid hillock, which is covered with an *agrenón* and topped by a tall tripod. The remainder of the picture is occupied by two persons (? man and woman), carrying *thýrsos* and torch, three goats grazing, and a number of votive offerings. See further H. Heydemann in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1868 p. 45 ('un simulacro femminile di bronzo,...due uomini coronati...'), Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 141 no. 686 ('una divinità muliebre...due donne...'), A. Mau *Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji* Berlin 1882 p. 430.

[5] *Supra* p. 175 f. The Delphic *omphalós* was known to Pindar, Bakchylides, the tragedians, etc. as the 'navel of the Earth' (see W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 54 ff.). But neither Homer nor Hesiod mentions it as such (*id. ib.* p. 10); our earliest source for the expression is Epimenides, who writes: *οὔτε γὰρ ἦν γαίης μέσος ὀμφαλὸς οὐδὲ θαλάσσης· | εἰ δέ τις ἐστί, θεοῖς δῆλος, θνητοῖσι δ' ἄφαντος* (*frag.* 6 Kinkel *ap.* Plout. *de def. or.* 1)—a passage considered *infra* p. 191.

[6] Hesych. Τοξίου *βουνός* (Τοξιούβονος cod. Musurus corr. Τοξίου *βουνός*. Dobree cj. Τοξίου *βωμός*)· *τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Σικυῶνι. βέλτιον δὲ ἀκούειν τὴν ἐν Δελφοῖς Νάπην λεγομένην· ἐκεῖ γὰρ καὶ ὁ δράκων κατετοξεύθη. καὶ ὁ ὀμφαλὸς τῆς γῆς τάφος ἐστὶ τοῦ Πύθωνος.* See further T. Schreiber *Apollon Pythoktonos* Leipzig 1879 pp. 6 n. 27, 44, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1256 n. 2, Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3404 f.

[7] *Supra* p. 169 ff.

[8] Zeus took the form of an eagle, when he first came from Crete to Naxos (*supra* i. 164 n. 4), consorted with Europe in the tree (*supra* i. 532), inspected the charms of Semele (Nonn. *Dion.* 7. 210 ff.), ravished Aigina (Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 181, 184 Migne), Athen. 566 D, Nonn. *Dion.* 7. 122, 7. 213, 13. 201 ff., 16. 56 ff., 24. 77 ff., 33. 296 f.,

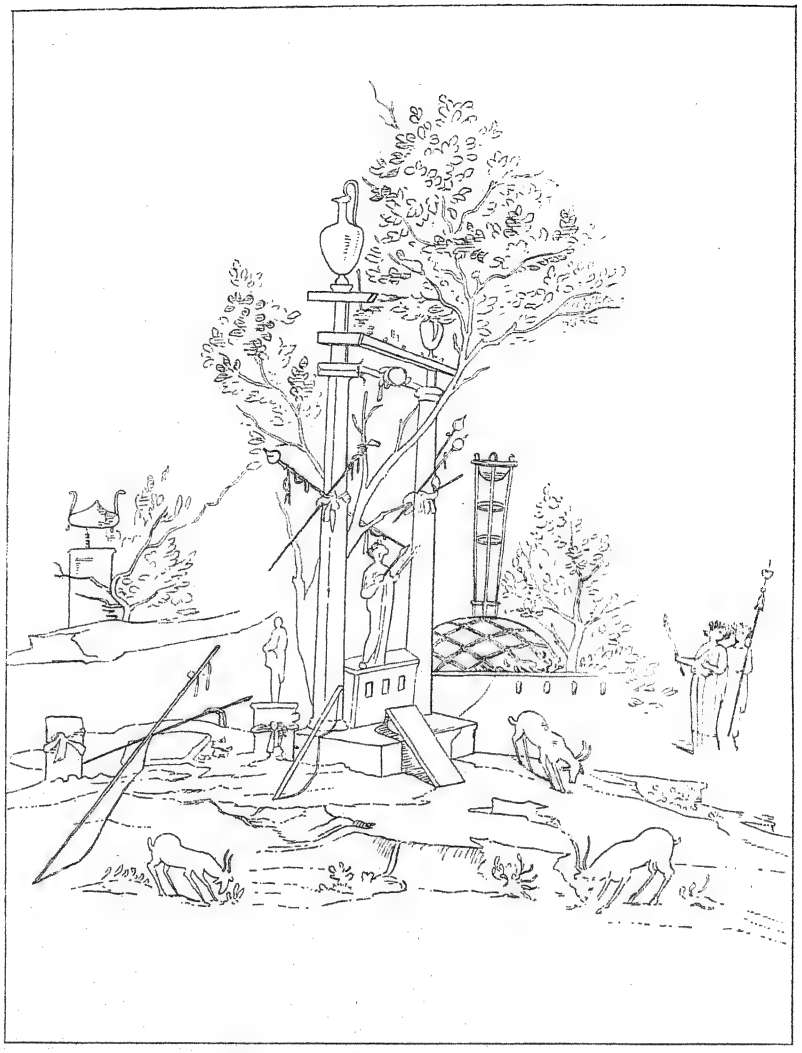


Fig. 131.

cp. 39. 169 f., Myth. Vat. 2. 203. Alleged representations of the scene are discussed by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 399—403. See, however, Ov. *met.* 6. 110 ff. addidit ut... | Iuppiter... | ...Asopida luserit ignis, and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 841 n. 8), Asteria (*supra* i. 543 n. 6), Thaleia (*supra* i. 105 f.), and carried off Ganymedes (*Anth. Pal.* 12. 64. 3 f. (Alkaios of Messene), *ib.* 12. 65. 1 ff. (Meleagros), Ov. *met.* 10. 155 ff., Loukian. *dial. deor.* 4. 1 ff., Nonn. *Dion.* 11. 134 f., 11. 293 ff., 15. 281 f., 25. 434 ff., Herakleit. *de incredib.* 28 p. 83, 13 ff. Festa, *append. narrat.* 23 p. 368, 33 ff. Westermann, Myth. Vat. 1. 184. An ingenious attempt to distinguish Zeus as an eagle in works of art representing the rape of Ganymedes is made by O. Jahn *Archäologische Beiträge* Berlin 1847 pp. 20—24, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 520 f., 526 ff. Atlas pl. 8, 6,

were two, not one, is hardly to be explained as a device of heraldry[1], or the result of a desire for symmetry[2], or an attempt to represent both sides of a single bird[3], or a juxtaposition of memory pictures[4]. Rather it illustrates Usener's law of religious development[5]: the eagles are *Augenblicksgötter* that have not yet coalesced into a *Sondergott*.

But I am far from supposing that we have thus exhausted the import of the Delphic *omphalós*. It will not do to blink the question: Why was a particular mound of earth reduced to a compact shape and safeguarded by a whole network of fillets? When W. H. Roscher shows that the term *omphalós* was used of earth's central point[6], he does indeed insist upon a truth which helps to explain a variety of *data*, but he does not—to my thinking—really get down to the root of things. For, after all, early man was (*pace* Piette[7]) a poor mathematician and knew little of circles and centres. No, we must assume that to him the word *omphalós* meant just what it says—'the navel,' that is, the navel of the human body, not the hub of the universe. Now there is reason to believe that the Delphic cult was once comparable with that of 'Minoan' Crete[8].

P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1598 f. fig.: but see P. Friedländer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 744).

It may be objected that some of these transformation-scenes are palpably late figments (*e.g.* the eagle spying upon Semele), that others were probably modelled on the myth of Ganymedes (*e.g.* the eagle ravishing Aigina: so P. Friedländer *loc. cit.* vii. 739), and that in his case earlier versions of the tale are extant not involving the bird-metamorphosis at all (*id. ib.* vii. 737 ff.). But we do well to bear in mind that late writers often used early materials (cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 126 n. 5), and that the appearance of Zeus as an eagle is supported by numerous parallels.

[1] E. Curtius *Ueber Wappengebrauch und Wappenstil im griechischen Alterthum* (*Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1874* Phil.-hist. Classe) Berlin 1874 p. 104 ff., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 856 f., M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1898 pp. 489 f., 495, 501 f., 630, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 55, Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 152 ff.

[2] A. Riegl *Stilfragen* Berlin 1893 pp. 33—40.

[3] Good examples of 'split' quadrupeds and birds are given by F. Boas 'The Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast' in the *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* 1897 ix. 144 ff. with figs.—a reference kindly supplied to me by my friend Dr A. C. Haddon.

[4] E. Loewy *The Rendering of Nature in early Greek Art* trans. J. Fothergill London 1907 p. 29 f. fig. 7.

[5] *Supra* p. 13 n. 1.

[6] *Supra* p. 167.

[7] E. Piette 'Études d'ethnographie préhistorique iii Les galets coloriés du Mas-d'Azil' in *L'Anthropologie* 1896 vii. 385—427 with figs. 1—107 and Atlas of 25 col. pls., cp. 'Les galets peints du Mas-d'Azil' *ib.* 1903 xiv. 655—660 with figs. 1—4, H. Obermaier *Der Mensch aller Zeiten* i (Der Mensch der Vorzeit) Berlin etc. 1912 p. 216 ff. col. pl. 13 and figs. 136—138.

[8] The first priests of Apollon *Delphínios* at Pytho were Κρῆτες ἀπὸ Κνωσσοῦ Μινωΐου (*h. Ap.* 388 ff.: see further W. Aly *Der kretische Apollonkult* Leipzig 1908 p. 35 ff., M. H. Swindler *Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo* (Bryn Mawr College

It is therefore of importance to observe that the Cretans too had a holy centre called Omphalos, where it was said that the navel-string of the infant Zeus had fallen to the ground. Kallimachos, having told how Rhea entrusted the babe to the arms of Neda, continues:

> When bearing thee from Knossos, father Zeus,
> The Nymph left Thenai (Thenai near to Knossos),
> There, lord, fell off thy navel; wherefore now
> Cydonians call that spot the Omphalian Plain[1].

Diodoros tells the same tale in substantial agreement with Kallimachos:

'The story goes that, when he (Zeus) as an infant was being carried by the Kouretes, his navel fell off near the river named Triton, and that the place was consecrated and called Omphalos after the occurrence, the surrounding district being likewise known as the Omphalian Plain[2].'

This narrative was denounced by K. Hoeck as a piece of late

Monographs: Monograph Series xiii) Bryn Mawr 1913 pp. 22 ff., 41 f., 62 ff.). The leader of these Cretan settlers was Kastalios (*et. gen. s.v.* Δελφίνιος, *et. mag.* p. 255, 18 ff., Orion p. 46, 22 ff., Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 207). After the slaughter of Python Apollon was purified in Crete by Karmanor (Paus. 2. 7. 7, cp. 10. 6. 7, 10. 7. 2, 10. 16. 5), the father of Euboulos whose daughter Karme became by Zeus the mother of Britomartis (Paus. 2. 30. 3, cp. Diod. 5. 76, Ant. Lib. 40, Verg. *Ciris* 220 ff.). According to others, Apollon was purified in Crete by Chrysothemis (schol. Pind. *Pyth.* argum. 3). This son of Karmanor is said to have won the prize in the earliest hymnic contest at Delphoi (Paus. 10. 7. 2). On another occasion the prize was secured by Eleuther (Paus. 10. 7. 3), perhaps the eponym of Eleutherna in Crete (so J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 8). Koretas, the reputed discoverer of the oracle (Plout. *de def. or.* 42, 46), bears a name suggestive of Crete (so J. N. Svoronos *loc. cit.*). And Pteras, the eponym of the Cretan Aptereoi, was supposed by some to have built the second temple at Delphoi (Paus. 10. 5. 10).

A leonine head in limestone, part of a ritual *rhytón*, found beneath the temple of Apollon (*Fouilles de Delphes* iv. 1. 3 fig. 2 *a*, *b*, v. 1. 3 ff. figs. 13, 13 *a*) resembles closely the famous lioness-*rhytón* in marble found at Knossos (J. de Mot in the *Rev. Arch.* 1904 ii. 217, G. Karo 'Minoische Rhyta' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 254 ff. figs. 6 f., F. Poulsen *Delphi* trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 p. 15 f. figs. 1—3, p. 59). A bronze axe from Delphoi, which is engraved with 'Minoan' characters, will be figured later (*infra* § 3 (c) i (*μ*)). And 'Minoan' pottery etc. has come to light in the Delphic precinct (*Fouilles de Delphes* v. 1. 5 f., 8 ff. figs. 26—51, 15 ff. figs. 62—90, 20 f. figs. 91—97, v. 2. 133).

[1] Kallim. *h. Zeus* 42 ff. *εὖτε Θενὰς ἀπέλειπεν ἀπὸ* (so J. A. F. A. Meineke for MSS. *ἐπὶ*) *Κνωσσοῖο φέρουσα,* | *Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἡ νύμφη σε* (*Θεναὶ δ' ἔσαν ἐγγύθι Κνωσσοῦ*), | *τουτάκι τοι πέσε, δαῖμον, ἄπ' ὀμφαλός· ἔνθεν ἐκεῖνο* | *'Ομφάλιον μετέπειτα πέδον καλέουσι Κύδωνες*, cp. schol. Nik. *alex.* 7 *ἄρκτον ὑπ' ὀμφαλόεσσαν·...ἄλλοι δὲ τὴν Κρητικήν· 'Ομφαλὸς γὰρ τόπος ἐν Κρήτῃ, ὡς καὶ Καλλίμαχος· πέσε, δαῖμον, ἄπ' ὀμφαλός, ἔνθεν ἐκεῖνο* | *'Ομφάλιον μετέπειτα πέδον καλέουσι Κύδωνες*, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *'Ομφάλιον· τόπος Κρήτης, πλησίον Θενῶν καὶ Κνωσσοῦ. ἔστι καὶ Θετταλίας* (*id. s.v.* Παραύαιοι, cp. Ptol. 3. 13. 5). *τὸ ἐθνικὸν 'Ομφαλίτης* (cp. Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 127).

[2] Diod. 5. 70 *φερομένου μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Κουρήτων αὐτοῦ νηπίου φασὶν ἀποπεσεῖν τὸν ὀμφαλὸν περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν καλούμενον Τρίτωνα, καὶ τὸ χωρίον τε* (so L. Dindorf for MSS. *δὲ*. P. Wesseling cj. *διὰ*) *τοῦτο καθιερωθὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τότε συμβάντος 'Ομφαλὸν προσαγορευθῆναι καὶ τὸ περικείμενον πεδίον ὁμοίως 'Ομφάλειον.*

aetiology[1]. But it is clear that Kallimachos and Diodoros are drawing upon a common source. Moreover, since Kallimachos in his context has been paraphrasing Epimenides with regard to the tomb of Zeus[2], while Diodoros in his sequel mentions Epimenides as his first authority for things Cretan[3], it is legitimate to conclude that poet and prose-writer alike are indebted to Epimenides. As a native of Crete[4], and a Koures to boot[5], he would know the local myth. And the story, thus vouched for, must be at least as old as the beginning of the fifth century B.C.[6] That we are on the right track in attributing it to Epimenides appears from another consideration. Epimenides in a noteworthy couplet denied that the Delphic *omphalós* was the central point of land or sea[7]. Why? Because he knew the tale told about the Cretan *Omphalós*, and took the word to mean 'navel,' not 'central point.' So then Knossos, the metropolis of the Delphian shrine[8], had a sacred *Omphalós*, which *c.* 500 B.C. was believed to be the spot hallowed by the navel-string of Zeus. I submit that a like belief attached to Delphoi, and that the Delphic *omphalós* was originally the mound in which the navel-string of Zeus lay buried. Dare we add that the knife-blade, actually found by Courby and regarded by him as mere packing for the wooden pillar of the *omphalós*[9], was the very implement said to have been used at the primal *omphaletomía*?

This explanation of course presupposes an actual custom of burying the umbilical cord[10]. But such customs are amazingly fre-

[1] K. Hoeck *Kreta* Göttingen 1823 i. 177.

[2] *Supra* i. 157 n. 3, 664 n. 1.

[3] Diod. 5. 80, cp. E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2866 f., v. 678.

[4] H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 ii. 185 ff. has a convenient collection of the sources, which are critically studied by H. Demoulin *Épiménide de Crète* Bruxelles 1901 and O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 173—178.

[5] Myronianos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 454 Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 1. 115 Μυρωνιανὸς δὲ ἐν Ὁμοίοις φησὶν ὅτι Κούρητα αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν Κρῆτες and Plout. *v. Sol.* 12 καὶ Κούρητα νέον αὐτὸν οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι προσηγόρευον, cp. Diog. Laert. 1. 111 ἐποίησε δὲ Κουρήτων καὶ Κορυβάντων γένεσιν.

[6] O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 174.

[7] *Supra* p. 187 n. 5.

[8] *Supra* p. 189 n. 8.

[9] *Supra* p. 175.

[10] W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 18: 'Wer bedenkt, dass die Geburt des Zeus ebenso für das Prototyp aller menschlichen Geburten galt wie seine heilige Hochzeit (ἱερὸς γάμος) für das Ur- und Vorbild aller menschlichen Hochzeiten, der wird es doch wohl mit mir für recht wahrscheinlich erklären, dass der Mythos von der Nabelschnur des höchsten Gottes auch eine ähnliche Bedeutung und Behandlung dieses Organes bei den menschlichen Geburten voraussetzt. Ja, es scheint nicht unmöglich, dass man in uralter Zeit zu Omphalion die Nabelschnur des Zeus ebenso als kostbare Reliquie zeigte und verehrte, wie in Delphi den Stein, den Kronos nach der Geburt des Gottes ausgespien haben sollte (Paus. 10, 24, 6) oder zu Tegea die Locke der Gorgo Medusa (Paus. 8, 47, 5) usw.'

quent in uncivilised or semi-civilised communities[1]. To quote a typical case:

'among the Maoris, when the navel-string dropped off, the child was carried to a priest to be solemnly named by him. But before the ceremony of naming began, the navel-string was buried in a sacred place and a young sapling was planted over it. Ever afterwards that tree, as it grew, was a *tohu oranga* or sign of life for the child[2].'

Analogous practices have survived here and there in modern Greece[3]. Thus in Lesbos the severed portion of the cord is wrapped in cloth and thrown into the school, or the church, or the fields. It is believed that, if the cord falls in the school, the child will become a teacher; if in the church, a priest; if in the fields, a farmer. So, when a child hangs about a place, his mother gets angry and says to him: 'Did they throw your navel there?[4]' Similar usages are reported from Kephallenia, Aigina, Limnobria? (*Burdur*) in Pisidia, Sinasos in Kappadokia, etc., and there can be little doubt that from time immemorial the Greeks have believed in a sympathetic relation existing between the infant and the umbilical cord. It is therefore reasonable to conjecture that in Phokis, as in Crete, the navel-string of Zeus—or rather of a local king (Python?) personating the sky-god[5]—was deposited in a holy place. And where could it be more safely bestowed than beneath the central support of heaven itself? To make security doubly secure, the mound in which the relic lay buried was covered by the *agrenón* with its numerous knots[6]. So far as I can see, nothing short of this hypothesis will

[1] See the examples collected by H. Ploss *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker*[2] Leipzig 1884 i. 15—18, ii. 194, 199 f. and Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 182—201, ii. 56, *ib.*[3]: Taboo p. 48, *ib.*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] ii. 167 ff., *ib.*[3]: Balder the Beautiful ii. 160 ff.

[2] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 182, citing R. Taylor *Te Ika A Maui, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*[2] London 1870 p. 184.

[3] They were collected, at the request of W. H. Roscher, by N. G. Polites in Λαογραφία 1912 iii. 698 ff., cp. P. D. Sepherles *ib.* 1913 iv. 322, K. I. Mantzouranes *ib.* 1913 iv. 323 f. See W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 pp. 18 f., 131 f.

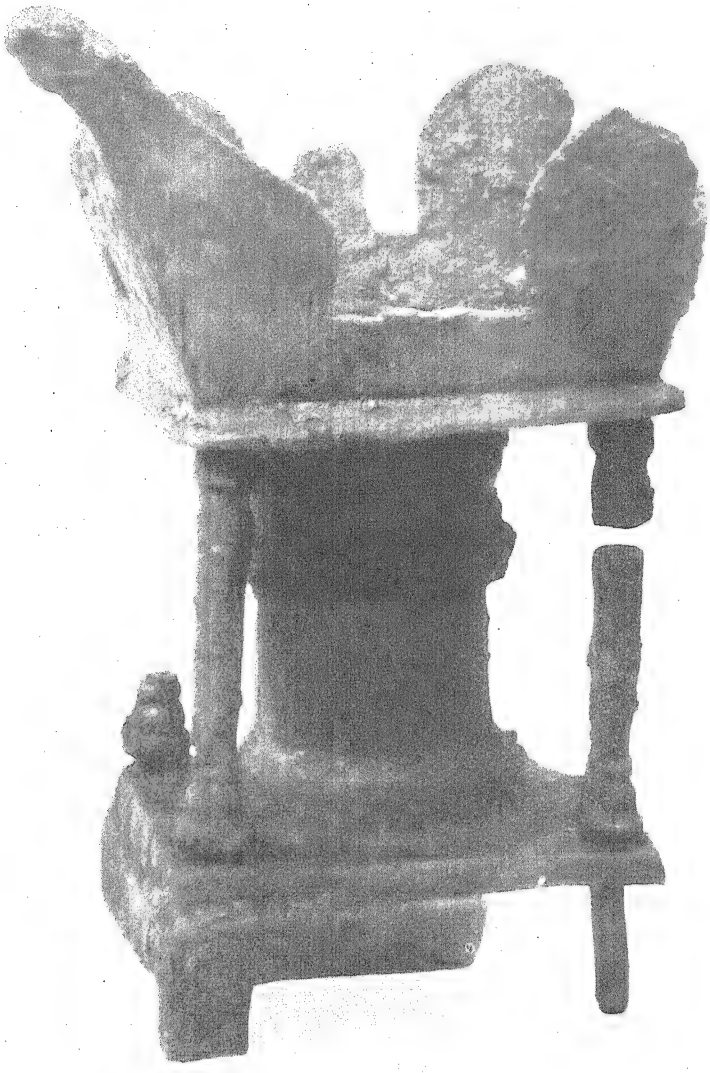
[4] G. Georgeakis and L. Pineau *Le Folk-Lore de Lesbos* (Littératures populaires de toutes les nations xxxi) Paris 1894 p. 331 f.: 'Quand on a coupé le nombril du nouveau-né, on l'attache dans un morceau de linge, et on le jette soit dans l'école, soit dans l'église ou dans un champ: l'enfant alors sera ou instituteur ou prêtre ou agriculteur. C'est pourquoi, quand un enfant va très souvent dans le même lieu, sa mère, en colère, lui dit: "C'est là que l'on a jeté ton nombril!"'

[5] On kings impersonating Zeus see *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 299 ff., *supra* i. 853 f. Index, *infra* Index; and on the Delphic kings in particular, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 402 ff.

[6] Knots as protective amulets are discussed by Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo p. 306 ff., P. Wolters 'Faden und Knoten als Amulett' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1905 viii Beiheft pp. 1—22, F. W. von Bissing 'Ägyptische Knotenamulette' *ib.* pp. 23—26, J. Heckenbach *De nuditate sacra sacrisque vinculis* Giessen 1911 pp. 4 f., 23, 69 ff., J. Pley *De lanae in antiquorum ritibus usu* Giessen 1911 pp. 30 ff., 80 ff., I. Scheftelowitz *Das Schlingen- und Netzmotiv im Glauben und Brauch der Völker* Giessen 1912 pp. 38—49.



a



b

(*a*) Altar as represented on a coin of the Cretan community.
(*b*) Small bronze altar resembling that on the Cretan coin.

See page 193 *n.* 2.

account for the awful sanctity attaching to the Delphic *omphalós*, for the manifest meaning of its name, and for the peculiar character of its decoration[1].

(*o*) The Delphic Tripod.

The Delphic *Agyieús*-pillar with its side-posts and lintel was in a manner duplicated by the Delphic tripod. Sir Arthur Evans, when discussing the libation-table found in the Dictaean cave, traced briefly but convincingly the whole pedigree of the columnar tripod[2]. He showed that the simplest form of sacred pillar, on the top of which libations were poured (fig. 132)[3], had already in the third period of the Late 'Minoan' age given rise to a tripod-*lébes* with a central stem (fig. 133)[4]; and that this in turn became the parent of such

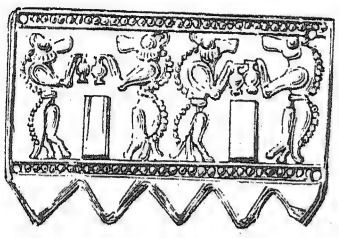


Fig. 132.



Fig. 133.

types as the tripod from Corinth with three lion-goddesses for its supports[5] or the Plataean tripod at Delphoi with a coil of three

[1] The cowrie-covered case, in which the umbilical cord of the king of Uganda was preserved (W. Ridgeway *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of non-European Races* Cambridge 1915 p. 375 ff. figs. 85—87), bears a superficial resemblance to the fillet-covered *omphalós* at Delphoi.

[2] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 117 f.

In the same context (p. 113 ff.) Sir Arthur traces the analogous evolution of the 'baetylic altar,' regarding it as essentially an 'offertory table placed above the sacred pillar,' and illustrating its ultimate shape from an imperial copper of the Cretan community (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 353 pl. 35, 36 (= my pl. xi, *a*), cp. *ib.* pl. 35, 37, K(οινὸν) K(ρητῶν)). At a recent auction of Egyptian and Hellenistic antiquities I acquired a small bronze altar (pl. xi, *b*: extreme height 7⅛ ins.), which closely resembles that of the Cretan coin. It has four legs, a thick central stem, and an upper tray, with widely projecting horns, so contrived that it can be lifted off from the pillar-like legs and the flat-topped barrel. This curious arrangement strongly confirms Sir Arthur's contention that the central cylinder was the original idol.

[3] Fig. 132 = Sir A. J. Evans *loc. cit.* p. 117 fig. 13 an impressed glass plaque found by Ch. Tsountas in a grave of the lower town at Mykenai. Cp. *supra* i. 36 f. fig. 9.

[4] Fig. 133 = Sir A. J. Evans *loc. cit.* p. 117 fig. 14 a similar plaque found by Ch. Tsountas in the same place.

[5] A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 592 f., P. Gardner 'A stone tripod at Oxford' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1896 xvi. 275—280 with figs. 1 f. and pl. 12, C. Dubois in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 475 fig. 7068. Height 0·66^{m}, lower diameter 0·54^{m}, upper diameter 0·36^{m}.

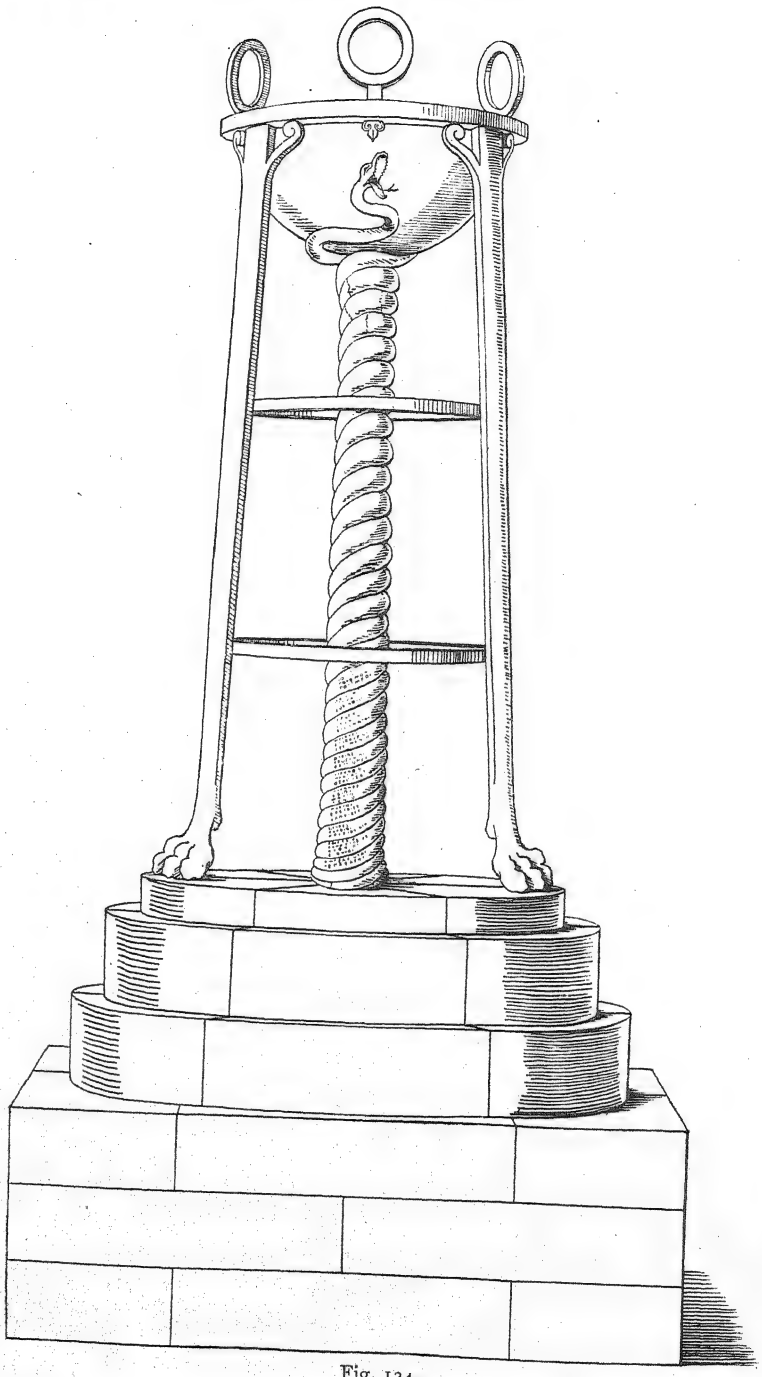


Fig. 134.

serpents for its base (figs. 134 and 135)[1]. Now the mantic tripod also appears to have been of the columnar kind—witness a certain number of sculptured copies. Thus a handsome tripod in Pentelic marble, found at Ostia and preserved in the Louvre (fig. 136)[2], has its

[1] The fullest collection of passages, ancient and modern, bearing on this famous monument is that printed by Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 70. See also É. Bourguet *Les ruines de Delphes* Paris 1914 pp. 160—162, Frazer *Pausanias* v. 299—307, F. Poulsen *Delphi* trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 p. 200 ff. Bourguet adopts the view advocated by H. Strack (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1864 v Abh. p. 43 ff.), F. Wieseler (*Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1864 x. 245 ff., *id. Ueber den delphischen Dreifuss* (extr. from the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe xv) Göttingen 1871 p. 91 f. n.), P. Wolters (Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 110 ff. no. 227), and E. Fabricius ('Das platäische Weihgeschenk in Delphi' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 176—191 with figs.), *viz.* that the serpent-base was a central column supporting the *lébes* and enclosed by the legs of the tripod. Frazer and Poulsen favour the rival view advanced by P. A. Dethier and A. D. Mordtmann ('Epigraphik von Byzantion und Constantinopolis' in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1864 v Abh. pp. 3—48 with figs. *x*, *y*, *z* and pls. 1—4), *viz.* that the feet of the tripod rested on the serpent-heads projecting from the top of the spiral column. Restorations on the former hypothesis are given by H. Strack (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1864 v Abh. pl. 3, 24*c*), B. Graef (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 189 fig.), and A. Tournaire (in his panorama of the precinct, *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1 pl. 9); restorations on the latter hypothesis, by P. A. Dethier and A. D. Mordtmann (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1864 v Abh. pl. 2, 24, cp. pl. 4, 24*a*, 24*b*), and by F. Andre (H. Luckenbach *Erläuterungen zur Wandtafel von Delphi* München und Berlin 1904 pp. 22—25 fig. 22). I follow Strack, Wieseler, etc. rather than Dethier, Mordtmann, etc. because (*a*) the extant serpent-head shows no trace of a tripod-foot attached to its upper surface (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1864 v Abh. p. 12 n. 1), and (*b*) the monument as reconstructed by Dethier, Mordtmann, etc. would have been *sui generis*, whereas the monument as reconstructed by Strack, Wieseler, etc. fits into a whole series of recognised types. The sketch that I give (fig. 134) is a fresh restoration, which takes into account (1) the plinth still *in situ* at Delphoi (Rhomaides phot. Delphoi no. 17); (2) the twenty-nine coils now in the Hippodrome (*Almeidan*) at Constantinople (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i pl. opposite to p. 176), (3) the serpent-heads figured in a Turkish miniature of 1530—1540 A.D. representing a festival in the *Almeidan* under Sultan Soliman (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1864 v Abh. pp. 9, 30 pl. 1, 14*c*, *d*, *e*), (4) the serpent-heads seen and drawn by Wheler in 1675 A.D. (G. Wheler *A journey into Greece* London 1682 p. 185 fig.), and (5) the upper part of one of the heads, found by Fossati in 1848 A.D. and preserved in the Museum of St Eirene at Constantinople (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1864 v Abh. p. 8 pl. 1, 17*a*, *b*, *c*, *d*).



Fig. 135.

[2] Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* ii. 258—269 pl. 121 fig. 50 (=my fig. 136), Fröhner *Sculpt. du Louvre* i. 114 f. no. 90, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 462 fig. 510, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 20 no. 3. Height 1·16m. The parts restored are the plinth, the griffin-feet, and all the lower portion of the monument including the hoop, the three uprights excepting one *bucranium* and the upper portion of another, the foliage-lyres, and the quiver-strap.

lébes resting on a central shaft, which is conceived as a bay-trunk and entwined with a snake—Python presumably, since the god's quiver is hanging beside it. Similarly a statuette in Greek marble that forms part of the same collection (fig. 137)[1] represents Apollon

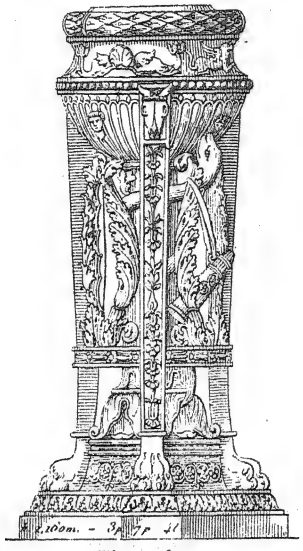


Fig. 136.



Fig. 137.

standing by a tripod, whose *lébes* again rests on a bay-trunk entwined with a snake. These examples remind us that the name *tripos* was given to a species of bay-tree with three roots[2]. But a statuette in Italian marble at Dresden (fig. 138)[3], which presupposes a Greek bronze[4] of Praxitelean character[5], shows Apollon leaning on a columnar tripod of a much earlier type[6]. If it be objected that the column necessary in a marble copy would have been absent from the bronze original, we can point not only to reliefs[7] and vase-

[1] Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 346 fig. 925 (=my fig. 137), Fröhner *Sculpt. du Louvre* i. 97 f. no. 73, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 175 no. 5. Height 0 535^{m}. The parts restored are the plinth, both feet of Apollon, the tip of his nose, a patch over his left breast, his right hand with the bay-branch (tenon antique), his left hand with the snake's tail, the middle of the snake's body, and the greater portion of the tripod-hoops.

[2] Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* i. 509 tripos species est lauri, tres habens radices, Apollini consecrata propter triplicem vim divinationis.

[3] B. Leplat *Recueil des marbres antiques qui se trouvent dans la galerie du roy de Pologne à Dresden* Dresde 1733 pl. 49, H. Hettner *Die Bildwerke der königlichen antiken Sammlung zu Dresden*[4] Dresden 1881 no. 160, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 211 Atlas pl. 22, 40 (=my fig. 138), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 94 no. 6. Height 4 ft. 6 ins.

[4] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 211.

[5] Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 208 ff., W. Klein *Praxiteles* Leipzig 1898 p. 158 ff.

[6] Note that the supporting column tapers downwards like those of 'Minoan' art.

[7] E. Fabricius in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 186 cites the Chigi base

paintings (fig. 139)[1], in which there is no question of structural exigency, as portraying such tripods, but also to sundry bases[2] and votive replicas[3] as furnishing additional proof of their existence. An architect's specification, found in or near Athens and dated by M. Holleaux before 350 B.C., actually gives a detailed description of one:

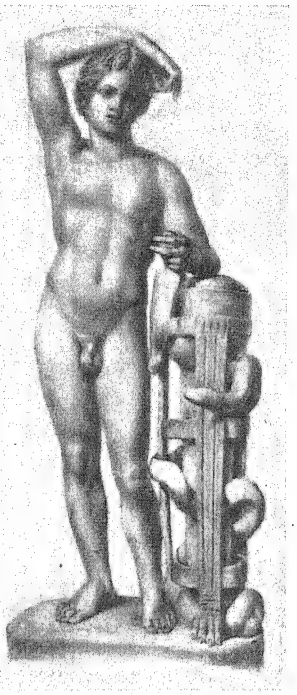


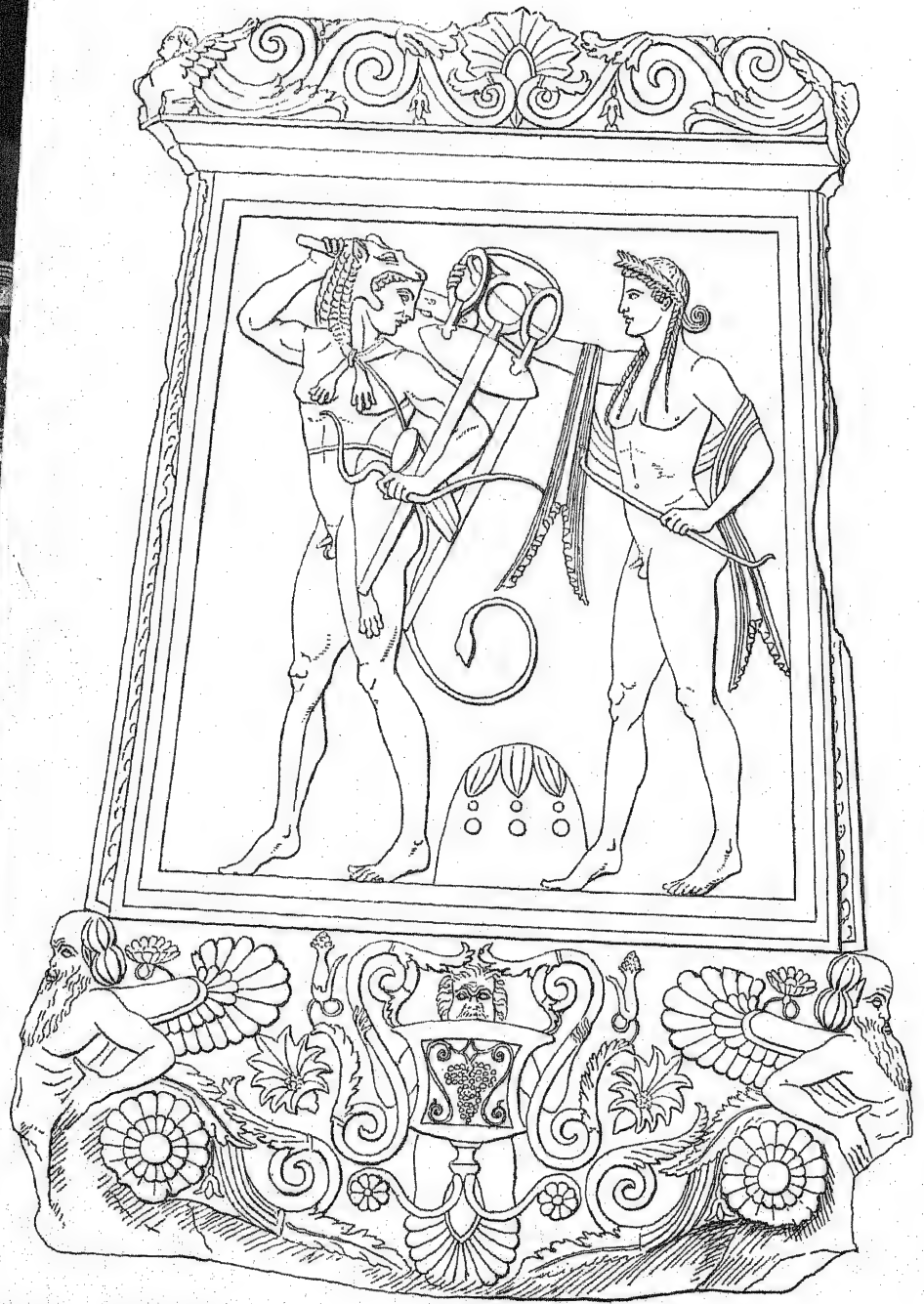
Fig. 138.

(*infra* p. 199 n. 2), a relief found in the theatre at Athens, which shows a tripod with a central support in the form of a Doric pillar (L. von Sybel *Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen* Marburg 1881 p. 281 no. 3912), and a relief drawn by F. Adler on the Akropolis, which has a tripod with a central stem broad at the base and rapidly tapering upwards (not in L. von Sybel *op. cit.*).

[1] F. Wieseler *Ueber den delphischen Dreifuss* (extr. from the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe xv) Göttingen 1871 p. 90 n. adduces: (i) A red-figured *amphora* from Sorrento in the British Museum, signed by the vase-painter Polygnotos; this has for its main subject two women attaching fillets to the horns of two bulls, which stand before two large columnar tripods (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 209 f. no. E 284, Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iv. 10 pl. 243, W. Klein *Die griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*[2] Wien 1887 p. 199, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 123, 1, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 376 f. fig.). (ii) A red-figured *oinochóe* in the Pourtalès collection, which depicts Nike flying through the air with a fillet towards a columnar tripod (T. Panofka *Antiques du cabinet du comte de Pourtalès-Gorgier* Paris 1834 p. 30 f. pl. 6, 1 = my fig. 139). Both vases are referable to the fine style of vase-painting (*c.* 460—440 B.C.), and in both the tripod-support takes the form of a Doric column.

[2] E. Fabricius in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 187 ff. notes the following examples: (i) Adjoining the S. angle of the pre-Periclean Propylaia there is still *in situ* the stepped base of a columnar tripod, which cannot be later than the first half of *s.* v B.C. (R. Bohn *Die Propyläen der Akropolis zu Athen* Berlin & Stuttgart 1882 p. 17 pl. 3, W. Doerpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1885 x pl. 2, W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 198 fig. 22 = M. L. D'Ooge *The Acropolis of Athens* New York 1908 p. 31 fig. 7). (ii) An inscribed block, found W. of the theatre and now lying in the Asklepieion on the S. slope of the Akropolis, formerly supported a choragic tripod of the columnar kind and is assigned to a date not long after 292 B.C. (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1295, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 926, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 710: Fabricius *loc. cit.* gives section and plan).

[3] E. Fabricius *loc. cit.* p. 186: 'Unter jenen kleinen Nachbildungen wirklicher Dreifüsse aus Olympia [see A. Furtwängler in *Olympia* iv. 72 ff. nos. 534—547 pl. 27, cp. *ib.* p. 212 f. no. 1370 fig.] befinden sich, wie K. Purgold mir mitgetheilt hat, einige Exemplare [but see A. Furtwängler in *Olympia* iv. 73 no. 538 pl. 27], bei denen unterhalb des Kessels in der Mitte zwischen den Beinen ein senkrechter Stab aus ineinandergedrehten Bronzedrähten angebracht ist.'



a



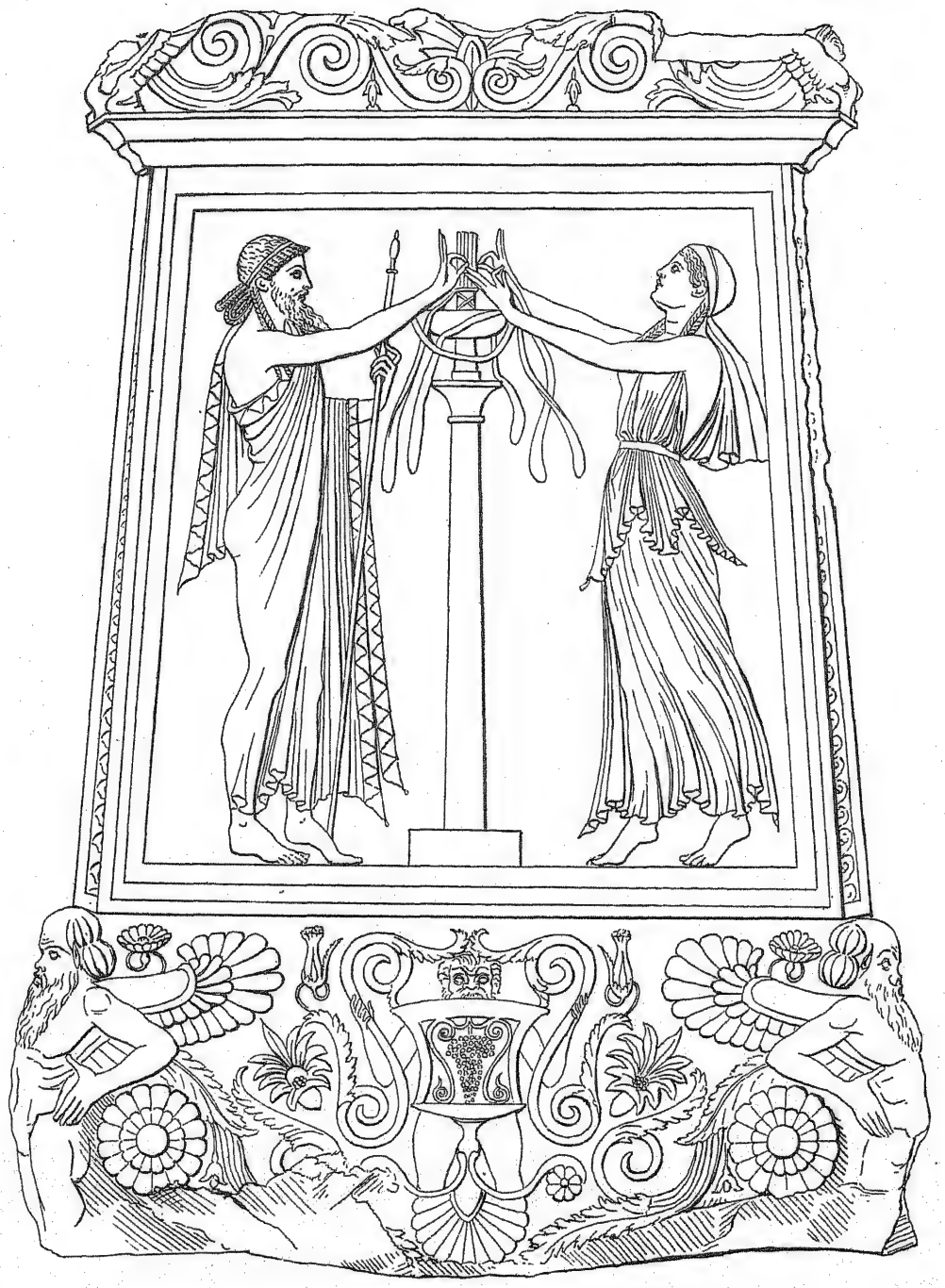
b

The Chigi base at Dresden, representing :

(*a*) The rape of the Delphic tripod by Herakles.

(*b*) The dedication of a columnar tripod by the *Pythía* and the *neokóros*.

(*c*) The dedication of a torch by a priest and priestess.



c

See page 199 *n.* 2.

offerings tend to repeat the pattern of the local *chose sacrée*[1]. Accordingly the Chigi base at Dresden (pl. xii)[2], which itself seems to have carried a columnar tripod[3], represents in one of its three archaistic panels a Pythian priest and priestess dedicating a similar tripod on the top of a pillar. Moreover, archaising reliefs of the imperial age (figs. 140, 141)[4], made in all probability to commemorate

[1] On the principle underlying this multiplication see *Folk-Lore* 1903 xiv. 271.

[2] This marble base (height 1·30^{m}), which came to the Dresden Museum along with the Chigi collection, portrays (*a*) the rape of the Delphic tripod by Herakles, (*b*) the dedication of a columnar tripod by the *Pythía* and the *neokóros*, (*c*) the dedication of a torch by a priest and priestess. Various archaeologists have attempted to combine the three scenes in a consistent whole. According to K. O. Müller *Handbuch der Archaeologie der Kunst*[3] Stuttgart 1878 p. 78, P. Pervanoglu in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 119 ff., Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 169 ff. no. 423, the central panel represents the struggle between Herakles and Apollon as the mythical prototype of a Pythian contest for a prize-tripod, the panel to the right shows the consecration of the prize, the panel to the left that of the torch with which the victor had won his race. The base as a whole supported the tripod thus gained, which, to judge from the kneeling *Silenoí*, the *Sátyroi* with drinking-cups, etc., was dedicated to Dionysos. Hence the ivy-wreath and 'Sardanapalos' type (E. Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1117 ff., P. Wolters in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1893 viii. 179 f., K. A. McDowall in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1904 xxiv. 255 ff., V. Macchioro in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1909 xii. 189 ff., W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 210 f. no. 320) of the *neokóros*. A very different and far less probable explanation was given by C. Boetticher *Das Grab des Dionysos* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* xviii) Berlin 1856 with figs. 1 f. and 'Zu den Bildwerken der dreiseitigen Basis in Dresden' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1858 xvi. 197 ff. pl. 117. He took (*a*) as the rape of the tripod, marking the locality, (*b*) as the consecration of the tripod in which were the remains of Dionysos, torn to pieces by the Titans, (*c*) as the consecration of a *bákchos* or *phanós*, symbolising the resuscitation of the god. He also supposed that the priest and priestess were the *neokóros* and the principal *thyiás*, and that the base carried a *phanós*, not a tripod. See further W. G. Becker *Augusteum Dresden's antike Denkmäler enthaltend* Leipzig 1804 i. 42 ff. pls. 5—7, B. Leplat *Recueil des marbres antiques qui se trouvent dans la galerie du roy de Pologne à Dresden* Dresde 1733 pl. 3, H. Hettner *Die Bildwerke der königlichen antiken Sammlung zu Dresden*[4] Dresden 1881 no. 80, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1868 p. 46 f., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 405 Atlas pl. 24, 14, *id. Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 260 ff. fig. 70 a, b, *ib.* p. 298 n. 203, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 150, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 3. 328 f. pl. 27, 7, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 60 nos. 1—3. My illustrations are made from the cast at Cambridge.

[3] This is the inference usually, and in my opinion correctly, drawn from the fact that the upper surface of the base is triangular in shape with a smooth circular mark (12¼ inches across) in the centre of it: see the diagrams given by C. Boetticher in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1858 xvi. 227 f. F. Hauser *Die neu-attischen Reliefs* Stuttgart 1889 p. 52 f. no. 69 and p. 117 holds that the base bore a moveable object such as a *candelabrum*, but admits (p. 52) that its reliefs must have been copied from those of a tripod-base.

[4] (1) In the Villa Albani (G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 ii pl. 99, T. Schreiber *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder* pl. 34 (=my fig. 140), Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 344 a, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 37–57 pl. 2, 3 (=Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 97 fig. 103), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 151 no. 3, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 260, 262 ff., W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1913 ii. 426 f. no. 1876). Restored:

Pythian victories[1], portray a pillar built into the terrace-wall at

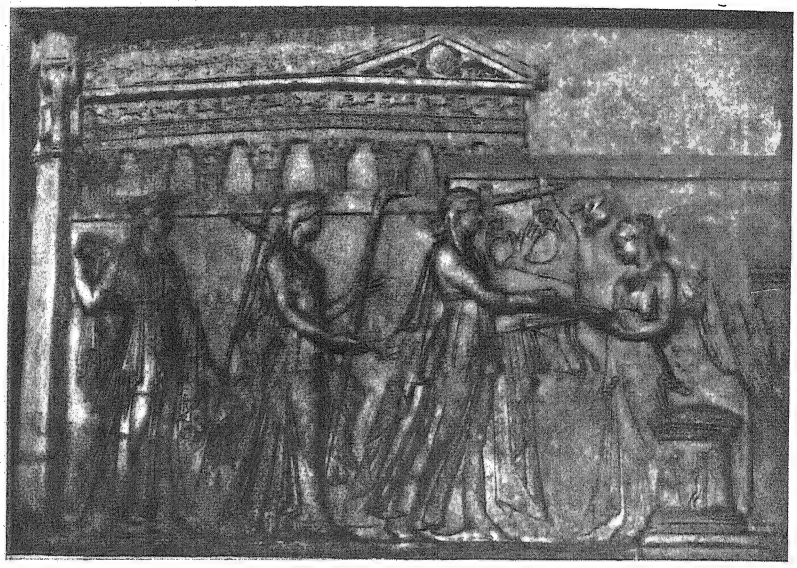


Fig. 140.

central portion of the pillar and of the figure adjoining it, together with hands or fingers, nose-tips, etc.

(2) At Berlin (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 373 f. no. 921, T. Schreiber *op. cit.* pl. 35 (=my fig. 141), F. Studniczka *Die Siegesgoettin* Leipzig 1898 p. 20 pl. 8, 38 (=*id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1906 xxi. 77 f. fig. 1), Overbeck *op. cit.* Apollon p. 259 f. Atlas pl. 21, 10, *id. Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 262 fig. 71, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 3. 303 ff. pl. 25, 4). Restored: only the extreme edges of the relief and the top of Nike's nearer wing. Pentelic marble. Height 0·775^{m}, breadth 1·035^{m}.

(3) In the Louvre (Fröhner *Sculpt. du Louvre* i. 42 ff. no. 12, Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* ii. 236 pl. 120 fig. 39 (=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 20 no. 1), T. Schreiber *op. cit.* pl. 36, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 260, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 652 f. fig. 344, J. Warrack *Greek Sculpture* Edinburgh s. a. pl. 62). Restored: the edges of the relief, including plane-tree, head and left leg of small statue, top of Nike's wings, forearms of Apollon and Artemis, upper part of tripod, and most of pediment. Greek marble. Height 0·65^{m}, breadth 1·08^{m}.

(4) In the British Museum—fragment containing left half only (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 357 f. no. 775, *Description of the collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum* London 1842 ix. 157 ff. pl. 36, 2, F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1906 xxi. 79 with fig. 3 on p. 82 from a photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co. no. 1050). Pentelic marble. Height 2 ft. 4 ins., breadth 1 ft. 9 ins.

Other replicas, excerpts, etc. are listed by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 260 ff. Atlas pl. 21, 11 f.

[1] Cp. the citharodic relief of *c.* 400 B.C. from Miletos (? Athens), acquired by the Dresden Museum in 1892 (P. Herrmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix Arch. Anz. p. 26 f. fig., F. Studniczka *ib.* 1906 xxi. 80 with fig. 2 on p. 79, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 60 no. 4),—a possible forerunner of the archaising series. The prototype is, however, to be sought in an archaic original such as the fragmentary altar of the Barracco Museum (*Catalogue Barracco* no. 82, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 160 nos. 2 and 3).

Delphoi[1] and bearing a tripod of the species under discussion. We conclude that the mantic tripod, like these votive tripods, had a central support.

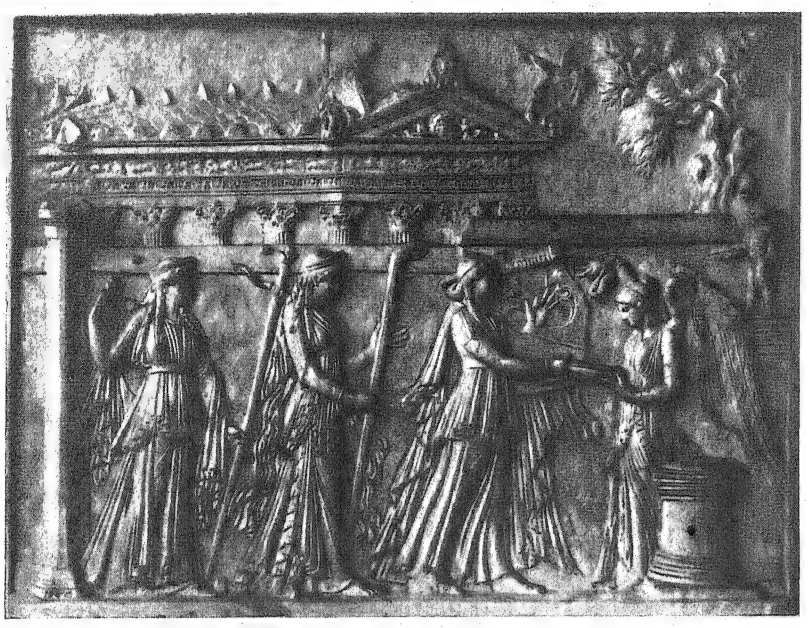


Fig. 141.

But if so, it follows that Apollon seated on his tripod is virtually seated on the top of a sacred pillar. He is thus a figure comparable with Zeus enthroned on the summit of his sky-pillar[2]. Indeed, an

[1] The locality of the scene represented has often been discussed. Most modern critics have identified the temple with that of Apollon at Delphoi (so *e.g.* F. G. Welcker *op. cit.* ii. 42 f., 49, 53, W. Fröhner *op. cit.* i. 42 f., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 267 f., W. Helbig *op. cit.* ii. 426). But L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1873 p. 222 ff., followed by B. Graef in Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *op. cit.* ii. 3. 305, argued for the temple of the Palatine Apollo in Rome. F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1906 xxi. 81 ff. favours the Pythion on the Ilissos with the Olympieion in the background, but *ib.* 1907 xxii. 6—8 candidly admits that there is much to be said in favour of the identification with Delphoi. In particular, the chariot-frieze of the temple, the plane-tree in the precinct (Klearchos *περὶ παροιμιῶν* 1 *frag.* 46 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 318 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 701 D, Theophr. *hist. plant.* 4. 13. 2, Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 238), the terrace-wall rising from left to right, the small ancient-looking effigy of Apollon (Paus. 10. 16. 8), if not also the triangular pillar supporting the tripod (? = the trophy erected by the Messenians of Naupaktos, on which see Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1897 xxi. 616 ff.), all find their readiest explanation in the Delphian precinct.

[2] *Supra* pp. 45 ff. (with i. 62 fig. 38), 89 f. Cp. the language of Eur. *I. T.* 1253 ff. *τρίποδί τ' ἐν χρυσέῳ θάσσεις, ἐν ἀψευδεῖ θρόνῳ | μαντείας βροτοῖς | θεσφάτων νέμων | ἀδύτων ὕπο, κ.τ.λ.*

art-type traceable to the fifth century B.C. (figs. 142, 143)[1] represents

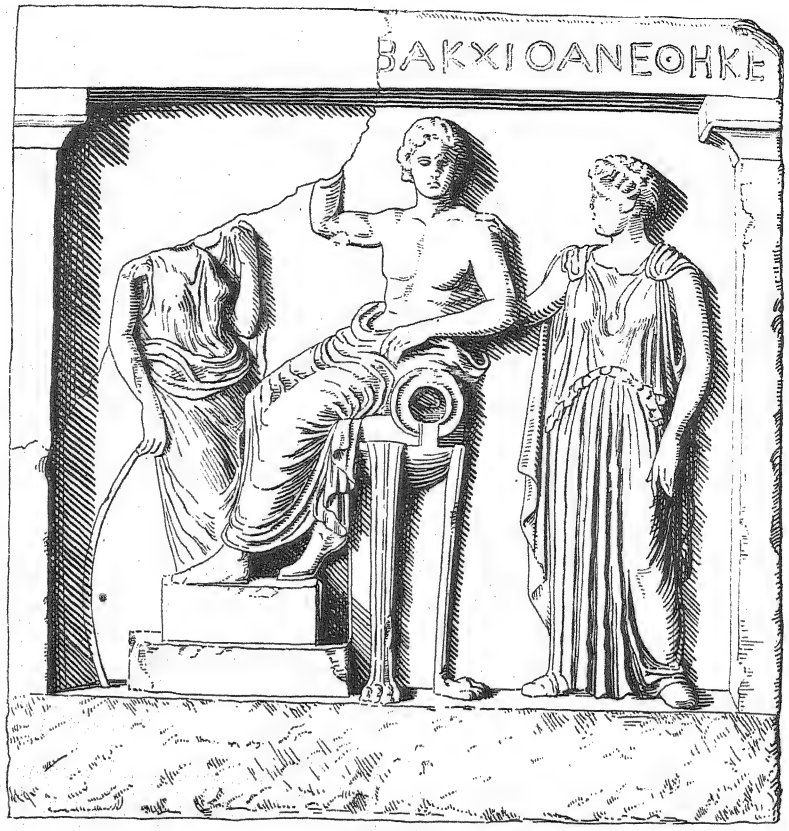


Fig. 142.

[1] A fifth-century type of Apollon on the tripod is furnished by a relief in Pentelic marble (height 0·70m, breadth 0·69m), now at Athens (Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 334 f. pl. 54=my fig. 142, Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*[2] p. 238 f. no. 1389 fig.). The god rests his feet on a two-stepped base and raises his right hand, which may have held a *phiále* or, less probably, some attribute added in paint (bay-branch?). Before him stands Artemis leaning on her bow, the string of which was presumably painted. Behind him stands Leto laying her right hand on the shoulder of her son. The three together form the *personnel* of the Athenian Pythion (A. Furtwängler in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1878 iii. 186 n. 1, Svoronos *loc. cit.* p. 335). The relief is inscribed [.....] ΒΑΚΧΙΟΑΝΕ-ΘΗΚΕ, *i.e.* [ὁ δεῖνα] Βακχίου ἀνέθηκε. On it see further Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 371 no. 1131, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 232, 282 Atlas pl. 20, 16, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 458, T. Schreiber *ib.* i. 600, B. Sauer *ib.* ii. 1977 fig. 4, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 327 no. 2. The same type, with some variation of details, occurs on a red-figured vase of the second Hamilton collection (Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* i. 96 ff. pl. 28=my fig. 143, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 142 f. pl. 46, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 232, 326 no. 49, 329 Atlas pl. 22, 7, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 286, 2), which shows Apollon on the tripod, with a *phiále* in his right and a bow in his left hand, flanked by two females (? *Pythia* and attendant).

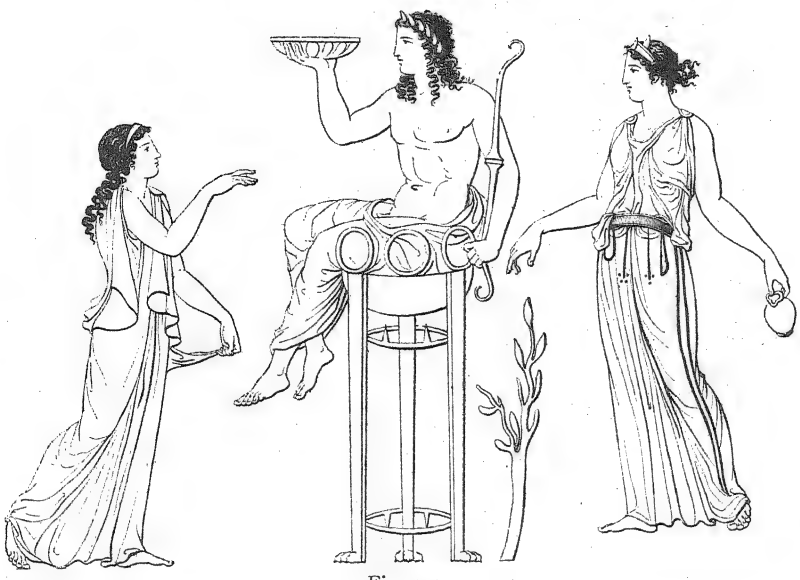


Fig. 143.

The figure of Apollon, isolated from this group, reappears on a handsome Apulian *amphora* with volute handles, found at Ceglie and now at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 905 ff. no. 3256), the neck of which shows Orestes at Pytho pursued by an Erinys: between them is Apollon on his tripod with his right hand outstretched and his left holding a long bay-branch; two females (?*Pythía* and attendant) fly in alarm (Raoul-Rochette *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1831 p. 193 ff. pl. 35, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 710 f. Atlas pl. 29, 4, *id. Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 232 Atlas pl. 22, 8, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 982). Similarly a Lucanian *amphora* from Anzi in the same collection (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 868 no. 3148) figures the god with a *phiále* raised in his right hand, but has the attribute in his left overpainted as a club, Apollon being thereby converted into a Herakles (E. Gerhard *Berlin's antike Bildwerke* Berlin 1836 i. 275 f. no. 979, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 143). The same figure, reversed and bereft of its attributes, but still accompanied by Leto and Artemis, served for Apollon *Pýthios* in the dedication of Xenokrateia (*supra* p. 183 n. 1). It was even translated, without essential change, from sculpture in relief to sculpture in the round, cp. (i) a statue in the Villa Albani at Rome (S. Raffei *Ricerche sopra un Apolline della villa Albani* Rome 1821 with views of front, side, and back, Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 486 B fig. 737 A = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 249 no. 6 side-view, T. Panofka *Die Heilgötter der Griechen* Berlin 1845 p. 5 pl. 1, 6 front-view, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 231 ff. Atlas pl. 23, 30 three-quarter position, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 3. 309 pl. 25, 14 front-view, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1913 ii. 409 f. no. 1848); (ii) a statue at Naples (G. Finati in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1843 xiii. 1—4 pl. 41, Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 485 fig. 937 front-view, *ib.* pl. 486 A fig. 937 three-quarter position = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 248 no. 3 and i. 249 no. 2, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 231 ff.).

Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 282 rightly observes that in all these representations Apollon has a bare body with a *himátion* wrapped about his legs. Since this is the normal costume of the seated Zeus, we may, I think, conclude that Apollon is here conceived as the mouthpiece of Zeus himself.

Apollon in the customary garb of Zeus, seated as his *prophétes*[1] on the tripod and divining with uplifted *phiále* in the presence of Artemis and Leto. The tripod itself, for those that know its history, is tantamount to a celestial seat[2]. The god seated upon it is for the

[1] Aisch. *Eum.* 17 ff. *τέχνης δέ νιν Ζεὺς ἔνθεον κτίσας φρένα | ἵζει τέταρτον τόνδε μάντιν ἐν θρόνοις* (so A. Turnèbe for *χρόνοισ* M.)· | *Διὸς προφήτης δ' ἐστὶ* (*ἐστὶν* M.) *Λοξίας πατρός* (Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 22. 13 has *πατρὸς προφήτης ἐστὶ Λοξίας Διός*). The same thought is expressed in *h. Ap.* 132 *χρήσω δ' ἀνθρώποισι Διὸς νημερτέα βουλήν*, *h. Herm.* 471 f. *καὶ τιμὰς σέ γέ* (*δέ* M.) *φασι δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς | μαντείας θ'*, *ἑκάεργε, Διὸς πάρα, θέσφατα πάντα* with E. E. Sikes *ad loc.*, *ib.* 531 ff. *...ἐπέων τε καὶ ἔργων | τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὅσα φημὶ δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς. | μαντείην δέ, φέριστε, διοτρεφές* (*διαμπερὲς* M.), *ἣν ἐρεείνεις* (G. J. Hermann cj. *ἣν ἐρεείνῃς*), | *οὔτε σε θέσφατόν ἐστι δαήμεναι οὔτε τιν' ἄλλον* (*ἄλλων* M.) | *ἀθανάτων· τὸ γὰρ οἷδε Διὸς νόος· αὐτὰρ ἐγώ γε* (this line is omitted in E.) | *πιστωθεὶς κατένευσα καὶ ὤμοσα καρτερὸν ὅρκον*, | *μή τινα νόσφιν ἐμεῖο* (*ἐμοῖο* M.) *θεῶν αἰειγενετάων* | *ἄλλον γ' εἴσεσθαι Ζηνὸς πυκινόφρονα βουλήν. κ.τ.λ.*, Pind. *Ol.* 8. 58 f. *ὡς ἐμοὶ φάσμα λέγει Κρονίδα | πεμφθὲν βαρυγδούπου Διός* with schol. vet. 55 b *ὡς ἐμοὶ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ γεγενημένον ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς δηλοῖ* and schol. rec. 57 *οὕτως ἐμοὶ λέγει, ἀντὶ τοῦ νοεῖν δίδωσι, τὸ πεμφθὲν φάσμα, ἤγουν ἡ πεμφθεῖσα ὄψις τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Κρόνου τοῦ τῶν βαρυήχων βροντῶν αἰτίου*, Aisch. *Eum.* 616 ff. *οὐπώποτ' εἶπον μαντικοῖσιν ἐν θρόνοις, | οὐκ ἀνδρός, οὐ γυναικός, οὐ πόλεως πέρι, | ὃ μὴ κελεύσαι* (*κελεύσει* M. G. J. Hermann cj. *κελεύσαι*, G. Wakefield *κελεύσοι*, R. Porson *'κέλευσε*, N. Wecklein *κελεύοι*) *Ζεὺς 'Ολυμπίων* (F. H. M. Blaydes cj. *'Ολύμπιος*) *πατήρ*, *ib.* 713 f. *κἄγωγε* (*κἀγὼ τε* M.· corr. R. Porson) *χρησμοὺς τοὺς ἐμούς τε καὶ Διὸς | ταρβεῖν κελεύω μηδ' ἀκαρπώτους κτίσαι*, Aisch. *hiereae frag.* 86 Nauck[2] *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 22. 13 *στέλλειν ὅπως τάχιστα· ταῦτα γὰρ πατὴρ | Ζεὺς ἐγκαθίει Λοξίᾳ θεσπίσματα* and *ap.* schol. Soph. *O. C.* 793 *δοκεῖ γὰρ ὁ 'Απόλλων παρὰ Διὸς λαμβάνειν τοὺς χρησμοὺς ὡς καὶ ἐν 'Ιφικλείᾳ* (Soph. *frag.* 292 Nauck[2], where W. Schneider cj. *'Ιφιγενείᾳ*, W. Hippenstiel *'Ιφικλεῖ?*, W. Dindorf *Οἰκλεῖ*) *φησί, καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν 'Ιερείαις 'στέλλειν ὅπως τάχιστα· ταῦτα γὰρ πατὴρ | Ζεὺς ἐγκαθιεῖ* (*ἐγκαθίει* corr. P. N. Papageorgius) *Λοξίᾳ <θεσπίσματα>,' καὶ 'Αριστοφάνης Ηρωσιν* (*frag.* 19 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 1074 Meineke)), Soph. *O. T.* 498 f. *ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὖν Ζεὺς ὅ τ' 'Απόλλων ξυνετοὶ καὶ τὰ βροτῶν | εἰδότες*, *O. C.* 491 ff. *ἆρ' οὐκ ἄμεινον ἢ σὺ τἀν Θήβαις φρονῶ; | πολλῷ γ', ὅσῳπερ κἀκ* (*καὶ* A. R. Ald. *ἐκ* L. cett. J. L. C. W. Döderlein cj. *κἀκ*) *σαφεστέρων κλύω, | Φοίβου τε καὐτοῦ Ζηνός, ὃς κείνου πατήρ*, Kallim. *h. Ap.* 28 f. *τὸν χορὸν ὠπόλλων, ὅτι οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀείδει* (O. Schneider cj. *ὅτε—ἀείδῃ*, J. A. F. A. Meineke *ὅτε—ἀείσῃ*), | *τιμήσει· δύναται γάρ, ἐπεὶ Διὶ δεξιὸς ἧσται*, anon. *h. Ap.* 7 (E. Abel *Orphica* Lipsiae—Pragae 1885 p. 285) *ζωογόνον, ζάθεον, ζηνόφρονα, ζηνοδοτῆρα* (Brodaeus cj. *ζηλοδοτῆρα*), Verg. *Aen.* 3. 251 f. quae Phoebo pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo | praedixit with Serv. *ad loc.* notandum Apollinem quae dicit a Iove cognoscere, *id. in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 20 ne ipse quidem Apollo sua sponte divinat. etc.

[2] Ennius (*frag.* 416 Baehrens) *ap.* Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 7. 48 appears to have spoken of the sky as *cava cortina* on account of its likeness to the *lébes* of Apollon. The passage is thus printed by G. Goetz—F. Schoell (1910): apud Ennium (*Ann.* 9 V.[2]): '†quaeque in corpore cau[s]a c<a>eruleo †cęlo cortina receptat.' cava cortina dicta, quod est inter terram et caelum ad similitudinem cortinae Apollinis; ea a corde, quod inde sortes primae existimatae. C. O. Mueller (1833), followed by I. Vahlen[1] (1854) and L. Mueller (1884), restored the extract from Ennius as *quae cava corpore caeruleo cortina receptat*; Ae. Baehrens (1886), as *quaeque in corpore – – | – caua caeruleo caelo cortina receptat.* Probably Ennius was thinking of the sky as an inverted caldron. It should, however, be borne in mind that the tripod-*lébes* was sometimes fitted with a hemispherical lid (*e.g. supra* i pl. xiii), and that this lid might on occasion be banded with the astronomical zones and spangled with stars (F. Wieseler *Ueber den delphischen Dreifuss* (extr. from the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe xv) Göttingen 1871 pp. 33, 59 n., 81 n. 55, 93 n. 61, 95 fig. 7 after R. Garrucci *Vetri ornati di figure in oro trovati nei*

time being in heaven, released from the limitations of terrestrial life and free to range in thought over land and sea (fig. 144)[1]. Themis

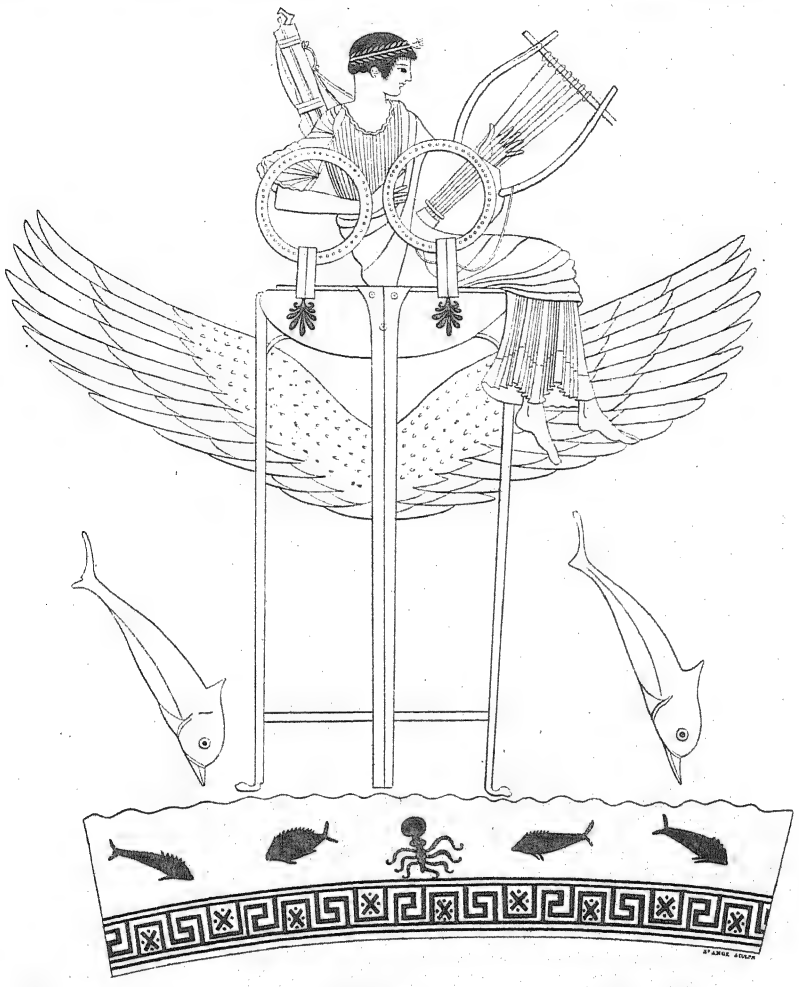


Fig. 144.

cimiteri dei cristiani primitivi di Roma Roma 1858 p. 75 f. pl. 36, 5 a fragmentary vessel of *s.* iv A.D., on which we see Apollon in a loose transparent *chitón* standing beside his tripod, inscribed [VI]VAS MVLTIS ANNIS PIE ♀ ZESES ♀, the whole being executed in gold foil between two layers of glass). Asklepiades of Myrlea thought that tripods dedicated to the gods were made round in imitation of the universe (Athen. 489 C).

[1] A magnificent red-figured *hydría*, painted *c.* 480 B.C. and now preserved in the Vatican, shows Apollon, with lyre, bow and quiver, uplifted on a great winged tripod above the sea, in which are four fish and an octopus: the plunging dolphins mark him as Apollon *Delphínios* (*Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii pl. 15 (*ib.*[2] pl. 21), T. Panofka in the *Ann. d.*

is finely conceived by a fifth-century artist as sitting on the Delphic tripod and fixing her gaze on the *phiále*, while she divines the future for Aigeus (fig. 145)[1]. In this masterly painting Themis is but the prototype of the *Pythía*: even the *Pythía*, when she mounts the tripod (fig. 146, *b*)[2], lays by mortality and becomes more than human in her insight and foresight.

Inst. 1832 iv. 333 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* i pl. 46 = my fig. 144, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 20 ff. pl. 6, L. de Ronchaud in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 315 fig. 370, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 102 fig. 108, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 63 no. 13, 64 f., 360 Atlas pl. 20, 12, M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2839, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 93, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 79, 4, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 311 no. 497, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 66 no. 51, *supra* i. 335). As to the further interpretation of the scene, opinions differ. According to T. Panofka, C. Lenormant, J. de Witte, L. de Ronchaud, Apollon is crossing the sea from Crete to Delphoi. J. Overbeck, M. Mayer, S. Reinach, W. Helbig, hold that he is on his way from the land of the Hyperboreoi to Delphoi, where his advent was celebrated in the spring. K. Wernicke speaks more cautiously of 'der Meerfahrt des A. Delphinios.' A. Baumeister thinks 'dass hier das Orakel des Gottes als Kolonien gründend und aussendend gedacht wird.' Is it over-rash to see in this striking picture an artist's conception of the ecstasy or 'travelling clairvoyance' of the god? In any case an odd sequel to it is Artemid. *oneirocr.* 5. 21 *ἔδοξέ τις ἐπὶ κύκλῳ τρίποδος διαπλεῖν πέλαγος μέγα: φεύγων* (ἔφυγε B.) *ἀδικημάτων γραφὴν ἑάλω καὶ εἰς νῆσον κατεδικάσθη· τὸ γὰρ περιέχον ἦν αὐτὸν περίῤῥυτον, καὶ ἐοικὸς* (οἶκος codd. Ald. J. G. Reiff corr.) *τὸ σχῆμα τῇ νήσῳ.*

[1] Fig. 145 is the interior design of a red-figured *kýlix* from Vulci, now at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 719 f. no. 2538), painted by an Attic master (? Aison: see Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 16 no. 2) *c.* 440 B.C. The scene is laid in the temple at Delphoi, which is suggested by the Doric column and entablature in the background. ΑΙΓΕΥΣ, with *himátion*, bay-wreath, and fillet, propping his left arm-pit on a staff, awaits the response of ΘΕΜΙΣ, who sits on the tripod, wearing *chitón*, *himátion* drawn up over her head, ear-ring, and necklace. In her right hand she holds a sprig of bay, in her left a *phiále*, which she is apparently using as a divining-glass (so first Miss P. B. Mudie Cooke in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1913 iii. 169, cp. *supra* i. 128). F. E. Robbins 'The Lot Oracle at Delphi' in *Class. Philol.* 1916 xi. 278—292 supposes that Themis is reading lots (*Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 235). See further E. Gerhard *Das Orakel der Themis* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* vi) Berlin 1846 pp. 1—11 pl., *id. Auserl. Vasenb.* iv. 102—104 pl. 327 f. = Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 162, O. Benndorf in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* A pl. 11, 2 (after Gerhard), Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 110—113 pl. 140. My fig. 145 is after the last-named publication. I cannot, however, agree with Hauser that the female figure on the tripod is but a priestess (*ib.* p. 110 'Sie wird hier Themis...genannt mit einem mythologisch nicht gerechtfertigten Namen.'): see Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. c fig. 19, *ead. Themis* p. 480 f. fig. 142, who rightly remarks—'she is not the Pythia; the days of Ægeus are earlier than this; she is Themis, who came after Ge and before Apollo.'

[2] A red-figured *nestorís* from Basilicata, now at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 155 f. no. 1984), shows on the one side Orestes pursued by two Furies, on the other Orestes in the presence of Apollon at Delphoi. Both paintings are of interest. In (*a*) the double row of striped pebbles may indicate the scene of murder (cp. Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Scapegoat p. 15 ff.). The bared breast of the right-hand Fury recalls the last appeal of the desperate queen (Aisch. *cho.* 896 ff., Eur. *El.* 1206 ff., *Or.* 526 ff., 839 ff., with C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 p. 173). And the face seen in the uplifted mirror is that of Klytaimestra herself—a masterly device to express

(π) The *Pythia* as Bride of Apollon.

At this point two questions may be raised. If Themis, whom the Fates once bore 'up the dread stair' to Zeus[1], was really the

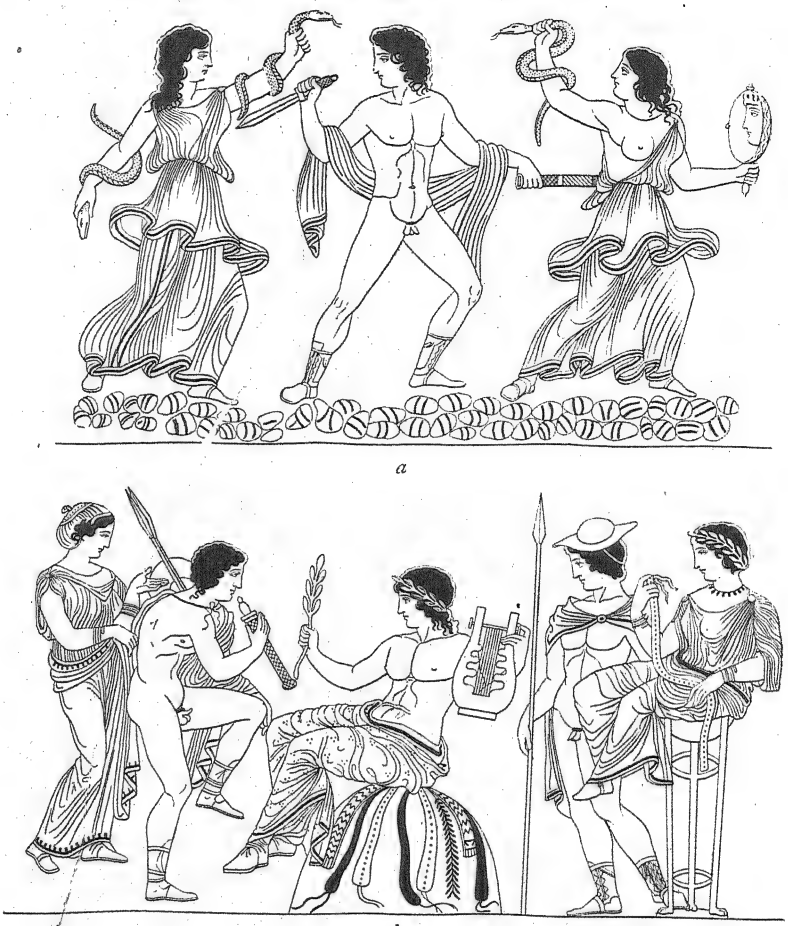


Fig. 145.

the haunting presence, and a reminder that the Erinys was originally none other than the angry ghost (Miss J. E. Harrison 'Delphika' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 205 ff. and in her *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 213 ff.). In (*b*) Apollon is seated, with bay-branch and lyre, on the *omphalós*: to the left we see Orestes, to the right Pylades, both in traveller's attire, the former holding a sheathed sword and two spears, the latter a spear. Behind Orestes stands Elektra. Behind Pylades is the *Pythía*, seated on the tripod with a fillet in her hands. The moment represented is doubtful. According to C. Boetticher, Orestes is receiving from Apollon the sword and the commission to slay his mother. Raoul-Rochette and most critics regard the scene as one of purification after the deed: *e.g.* J. Overbeck thinks that Orestes is about to touch his blood-stained blade with the bay-branch of Apollon. H. Heydemann would recognise here the concluding act of the whole drama—'die Schwertweihe nach völliger Genesung und Rückkehr aus der Krim.' See further Raoul—Rochette *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1831 p. 186 ff. pls. 36 and 37=my fig. 146, Inghirami *Vas. fit.* iv. 115 f. pl. 385 f., Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 706, 715 f. Atlas pl. 29, 2, 2ª, 11, C. Boetticher in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1860 xviii. 49 ff. pl. 138, 1=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 390, 2 f.

[1] *Supra* p. 37.

prototype of the *Pythia*, are we to infer that the *Pythia* was in some sense the bride of Apollon? It would seem so: at least the language



a

b

Fig. 146.

used by Origenes[1] and Ioannes Chrysostomos[2], if not that used by

[1] Orig. *c. Cels.* 3. 25 ὅτε διὰ τοῦ Πυθίου στομίου περικαθεζομένη τῇ καλουμένῃ προφήτιδι πνεῦμα διὰ τῶν γυναικείων ὑπεισέρχεται τὸ μαντικόν, ὁ Ἀπόλλων, τὸ καθαρὸν ἀπὸ γηΐνου σώματος (P. Koetschau *ad loc.* notes that ὁ Ἀπόλλων is not to be altered into τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος with E. Bouhéreau, nor to be deleted with F. Guyet, but to be regarded as in apposition [an alternative propounded by Bouhéreau]), 7. 3 ἱστόρηται τοίνυν περὶ τῆς Πυθίας, ὅπερ δοκεῖ τῶν ἄλλων μαντείων λαμπρότερον τυγχάνειν, ὅτι περικαθεζομένη τὸ τῆς Κασταλίας στόμιον ἡ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος προφῆτις δέχεται πνεῦμα διὰ τῶν γυναικείων κόλπων· οὗ πληρωθεῖσα ἀποφθέγγεται τὰ νομιζόμενα εἶναι σεμνὰ καὶ θεῖα μαντεύματα. κ.τ.λ., 8. 46 ἡ μὲν Πυθία ἱστόρηται (so edd. ἱστόρησεν cod. A.) ὅτι καὶ νοθευθεῖσα ἔχρησέ ποτε.

[2] Io. Chrys. *hom.* 29. 1 *in epist. i ad Cor.* (lxi. 242 Migne) λέγεται τοίνυν αὕτη ἡ Πυθία γυνή τις οὖσα ἐπικαθῆσθαι τῷ τριποδί ποτε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, διαιροῦσα τὰ σκέλη· εἶθ' οὕτω

Strabon[1] before them, definitely implies that Apollon impregnated the *Pythia* as she sat on the tripod[2] and filled her with his own divinity[3]. Moreover, the marital relation of the god and his pro-

πνεῦμα πονηρὸν κάτωθεν ἀναδιδόμενον καὶ διὰ τῶν γεννητικῶν αὐτῆς διαδυόμενον μορίων πληροῦν τὴν γυναῖκα τῆς μανίας, καὶ ταύτην τὰς τρίχας λύουσαν λοιπὸν ἐκβακχεύεσθαί τε καὶ ἀφρὸν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἀφιέναι, καὶ οὕτως ἐν παροινίᾳ γενομένην τὰ τῆς μανίας φθέγγεσθαι ῥήματα.

[1] Strab. 419 *φασὶ δ' εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖον ἄντρον κοῖλον κατὰ βάθους* (*βάθος* cod. k. Ald.), *οὐ μάλα εὐρύστομον, ἀναφέρεσθαι δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ἐνθουσιαστικόν, ὑπερκεῖσθαι δὲ τοῦ στομίου τρίποδα ὑψηλόν, ἐφ' ὃν τὴν Πυθίαν ἀναβαίνουσαν, δεχομένην* (cp. Orig. *c. Cels.* 7. 3 *supra* p. 208 n. 1) *τὸ πνεῦμα, ἀποθεσπίζειν ἔμμετρά τε καὶ ἄμετρα· ἐντείνειν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα εἰς μέτρον ποιητάς τινας ὑπουργοῦντας τῷ ἱερῷ.*

[2] If Apollon was *ἐνόλμιος*, his priestess was *ἐνολμίς*: cp. Soph. *frag.* 942 Nauck[2], 1044 Jebb *ἐνόλμιος ap. et. mag.* p. 344, 37 ff. *ἐνολμίς· ἦν τι γένος μάντεων* (F. G. Sturz proposed *ἐνολμίς—μαντειῶν*, or *ἐνόλμιος* or *ἔνολμος—μάντεων*) *οὕτω καλούμενον διὰ τὸ ἐν ὅλμῳ κοιμηθῆναι* [*γίνεσθαι*] (*γίνεσθαι* om. M. F. G. Sturz cj. *διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐν ὅλμῳ κοιμηθέντας μαντικοὺς γίνεσθαι*)· *ὅλμοι δὲ λέγονται οἱ τρίποδες τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ὅθεν καὶ παροιμία "ἐν ὅλμῳ εὐνάσω" ἀντὶ τοῦ μαντικὸς <ἐγένου* (ins. F. Sylburg)*>. ὁ δὲ Σοφοκλῆς "ἐνόλμιος"* (R. F. P. Brunck, perhaps rightly, placed *ἀντὶ τοῦ μαντικός* after *ὁ δὲ Σοφοκλῆς*) *"ἐνόλμιος."* The *et. gen.* as cited by E. Miller *Mélanges de littérature grecque* Paris 1868 p. 114 has *ὁ δὲ Σοφοκλῆς Ἐνολμὶν τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα λέγει*), Zenob. 3. 63 *ἐν ὅλμῳ εὐνάσω· οἱ μὲν Ὄλμον μάντιν φασίν· οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐν ὅλμῳ κοιμηθέντας μαντικοὺς γίνεσθαι, ὅθεν* (so *et. mag. loc. cit.* *ὡς* codd.) *καὶ παροιμίαν γενέσθαι. καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικός φησιν ὡς οἱ ἐν ὅλμῳ κοιμηθέντες μαντικοί· καὶ τοὺς τρίποδας τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὅλμους καλεῖσθαι, καὶ Ἀπόλλων ὑπὸ Σοφοκλέους "ἔνολμος,"* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 836, 44 ff. *περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου ὅλμου λόγος ἦν ὡς οἱ κοιμώμενοι ἐν αὐτῷ μαντικοὶ ἐγίνοντο. Παυσανίας οὖν φησὶν παροιμιακῶς "ἐν ὅλμῳ ἐκοιμήσω," ἤγουν μαντικὸς ἐγένου,* schol. *Il.* 11. 147 (published by L. C. Valckenaer *Animadversionum ad Ammonium grammaticum libri tres* Lugduni Batavorum 1739 p. 184) *ὅθεν καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τοὺς ἐπί τι τερατολογοῦντας ἔφασκον ἐπ' ὅλμον κοιμᾶσθαι. διὸ καὶ Παυσανίας ἐπί τινα γραφὴν ἔλεγε παρ' ὅλμον ὑπνώττειν· καὶ εἰς παροιμίαν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξέπεσε πρὸς τὰ μαντικὰ ἀφορῶντας,* Plout. *prov. Alex.* 2. 14 *ἐν ὅλμῳ ἐκοιμήθην· οἱ ἐν ὅλμῳ κοιμηθέντες ἐπιθειαστικώτατοί εἰσιν,* Hesych. *ἐν ὅλμῳ εὐνάσω* (*ἐν νάσῳ* cod. corr. H. Junius)*· οἱ μὲν Ὄλμον μάντιν φασίν· οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐν ὅλμῳ κοιμηθέντας μαντικοὺς γίνεσθαι,* Souid. *s.v. ἐν ὅλμῳ ἐκοιμήθη· οἱ μὲν Ὄλμον φασὶ μαντεῖον, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐν ὅλμῳ κοιμηθέντας μαντικοὺς γίνεσθαι· ὅτι καὶ οἱ τρίποδες τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὅλμοι καλοῦνται* = Favorin. *lex.* p. 659, 13 ff.

[3] In keeping with her character as bride of Apollon is the fact that the *Pythia* was always a virgin. At first a young woman was chosen, but after the outrage of Echekrates the Thessalian a woman over fifty years of age dressed as a virgin. See Eur. *Ion* 1324 f. ΙΩ. *χαῖρ', ὦ φίλη μοι μῆτερ, οὐ τεκοῦσά περ.* | ΠΥ. *ἀλλ' οὖν λεγόμεθά γ'* (so P. Elmsley for codd. *λεγόμεσθ'*. C. Badham cj. *ἐλεγόμεθ'*)· *ἡ φάτις δ' οὔ μοι πικρά,* Diod. 16. 26 *θεσπιῳδεῖν δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον λέγεται παρθένους διά τε τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀδιάφθορον καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ὁμογενές· ταύτας γὰρ εὐπετεῖν πρὸς τὸ τηρεῖν τὰ ἀπόῤῥητα τῶν χρησμῳδουμένων* (*χρησμοδοτουμένων* codd. F. L.). *ἐν δὲ τοῖς νεωτέροις χρόνοις φασὶν Ἐχεκράτην* (*Ἐχεκράτη* cod. T. et schol. Aristoph. *Plout.* 9 in ed. Ald.) *τὸν Θετταλὸν παραγενόμενον εἰς τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ θεασάμενον τὴν χρησμολογοῦσαν παρθένον ἐρασθῆναι διὰ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς καὶ συναρπάσαντα βιάσασθαι· τοὺς δὲ Δελφοὺς διὰ τὸ γεγενημένον πάθος εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν νομοθετῆσαι μηκέτι παρθένον χρηστηριάζειν, ἀλλὰ γυναῖκα πρεσβυτέραν πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν χρησμολογεῖν· κοσμεῖσθαι δ' αὐτὴν παρθενικῇ σκευῇ καθάπερ ὑπομνήματι* (*ὑπόμνημά τι* schol. Aristoph. *loc. cit.*) *τῆς παλαιᾶς προφήτιδος* (sic codd. F. L. et schol. Aristoph. *loc. cit.* *προφητείας* cett.), Plout. *de def. or.* 51 *τούτων ἕνεκα καὶ συνουσίας ἁγνὸν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸν βίον ὅλως ἀνεπίμικτον ἀλλοδαπαῖς καὶ ἄθικτον ὁμιλίαις* (sic codd. V. Barb. Ambr. *ὁμιλίαις καὶ ἄθικτον* cett.) *φυλάττουσι* (sic codd V[1]. Barb. Ambr. F. *φυλαττούσης* cett.) *τῆς Πυθίας*

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These copies presuppose as their common archetype an Attic relief of the late fifth or the early fourth century (the *coiffure* of the central figure and the pathos of the whole scene point rather to the latter date). They have moreover close stylistic affinity with two further reliefs—on the one hand that of Hermes, Eurydike, and Orpheus (the best copy is at Naples: see Brunn—Bruckmann *op. cit.* pl. 341 a, L. Mariani in the *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 45 ff. no. 138 fig., J. Pickard 'The Orpheus Relief' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1898 ii. 169—172), on the other that of Herakles, Peirithoos, and Theseus (the only complete copy is in the Museo Torlonia at Rome: see W. Helbig *op. cit.*[3] ii. 447 f. no. 1908, *id.* 'La composizione d'un rilievo Torlonia completata da un frammento conservato nel Museo di Berlino' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1892 i. 673—686 pl. 1, 2, Friederichs—Wolters *op. cit.* p. 402 f. no. 1201, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 1795 f. fig. 1880, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 340 no. 4, P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1789 f. with fig. 15). In view of the fact that all three reliefs are approximately the same in size and shape it has been conjectured that they were originally parts of a connected whole—votive slabs commemorating successful dramas, perhaps a trilogy (E. Reisch *Griechische Weihgeschenke* (*Abhandlungen des archäologisch-epigraphischen Seminares der Universität Wien* viii)

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A replica, also of Pentelic marble, at Berlin (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 375 f. no. 925 fig., R. Kekule von Stradonitz *Die griechische Skulptur*[2] Berlin 1907 p. 174 ff. fig.) has the same subject cleaned up and worked over by a Renaissance-artist, who has substituted a sprig of olive for the knife and has chiselled away the tell-tale sheath. The relation of the Berlin to the Lateran relief gave rise to a long controversy (A. Conze 'Das Berliner Medearelief' in *Historische und philologische Aufsätze Ernst Curtius...gewidmet* Berlin 1884 pp. 97—104 pl. 2, O. Kern 'Zu den beiden Peliadenreliefs' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 68—72, A. Michaelis 'Nochmals die Peliadenreliefs' *ib.* 1888 iii. 225—229, E. Loewy 'Un rilievo del Museo Lateranense e le sue pretese repliche' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1897 pp. 42—50 pl. 3 f., R. Kekule von Stradonitz 'Über das Peliadenrelief in den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1897 xii. 96—100), which is summarised by H. Lechat in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1897 x. 351 f. and by H. N. Fowler in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1897 i. 402 f.

A third relief, known only from a drawing of *s.* xvii in the dal Pozzo collection (ii. 28 no. 34) at Windsor Castle and from a sketch in bistre and white made in the first half of *s.* xviii and formerly owned by Cardinal Albani (both published by O. Kern *loc. cit.* 1888 iii. 68 fig. 1, 70 fig. 2), gave Medeia a *chitón* with close-fitting sleeves down to the wrist and the elder sister a sheath of somewhat different shape (A. Michaelis *loc. cit.* 1888 iii. 225).

These copies presuppose as their common archetype an Attic relief of the late fifth or the early fourth century (the *coiffure* of the central figure and the pathos of the whole scene point rather to the latter date). They have moreover close stylistic affinity with two further reliefs—on the one hand that of Hermes, Eurydike, and Orpheus (the best copy is at Naples: see Brunn—Bruckmann *op. cit.* pl. 341 a, L. Mariani in the *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 45 ff. no. 138 fig., J. Pickard 'The Orpheus Relief' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1898 ii. 169—172), on the other that of Herakles, Peirithoos, and Theseus (the only complete copy is in the Museo Torlonia at Rome: see W. Helbig *op. cit.*[3] ii. 447 f. no. 1908, *id.* 'La composizione d'un rilievo Torlonia completata da un frammento conservato nel Museo di Berlino' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1892 i. 673—686 pl. 1, 2, Friederichs—Wolters *op. cit.* p. 402 f. no. 1201, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 1795 f. fig. 1880, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 340 no. 4, P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1789 f. with fig. 15). In view of the fact that all three reliefs are approximately the same in size and shape it has been conjectured that they were originally parts of a connected whole—votive slabs commemorating successful dramas, perhaps a trilogy (E. Reisch *Griechische Weihgeschenke* (*Abhandlungen des archäologisch-epigraphischen Seminares der Universität Wien* viii)

Arkas[6], Melikertes[7], Peleus' sons[8], Dionysos' attendants[9], and the Aristophanic conception of Demos[10]. Nay more, it survives to this hour in the folk-tales of Sicily and Walachia[11], Germany and Scandinavia, Poland and Finland[12]. I am therefore inclined to conjecture

Wien 1890 p. 130 ff., pursuing a hint of P. Wolters *ib.* p. 130 n. 1), or even, since some copies at least are appreciably narrower above than below, the three sides of a triangular base on which, as on the Chigi base (*supra* p. 199 n. 2 pl. xii), stood a choragic tripod (L. Mariani *loc. cit.* p. 46 f., H. Bulle *Der schoene Mensch*[2] Muenchen—Leipzig 1912 p. 587). If so, the significance of the whole design is not hard to guess. Pelias was the subject of an attempted, but unsuccessful, resurrection. So was Eurydike. So was Peirithoos. Nothing could be more appropriate than the representing of these myths on the base of a tripod-*lébes*, the very caldron of apotheosis.

Other monuments of the Pelias-story are noted by K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2505 f., O. Höfer *ib.* iii. 1846 f. To the vases there given must be added a red-figured *hydría* of early fine style (*c.* 465 B.C.), formerly in the Hamilton collection (Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* i. 60 ff. pl. 7), which on the dispersal of the Deepdene treasures (*Hope Sale Catalogue* 1917 p. 16 no. 81 wrongly described) was acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. This magnificent vase (height 11½ ins.) has been attributed by Mr J. D. Beazley to the hand of 'the Villa Giulia painter' (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 464 ff.) and is in faultless condition. It represents the three Peliades about to carry out the instructions of Medeia, though Medeia herself is absent. On the left the eldest sister, in Ionic *chitón* and *himátion* tucked round her waist, grips a short sword in one hand and raises the other with a gesture of amazement; she is aghast, but resolved. The second sister, in a Doric *péplos* girt over its long *apóptygma*, bears high a *phiále* containing the fateful decoction, but betrays her inward misgivings by the nervous pressure of her hand against her cheek. On the right the third and youngest, in a Doric *péplos* with short *apóptygma* and *kólpos*, turns to flee from the spot in a horror of expostulation. Her *chignon* in profile, despite the all but full-face features, is a lingering trace of earlier style. Pl. xiii is from a photograph taken for me by Mr W. H. Hayles.

[3] *Nóstoi frag.* 6 Kinkel *ap.* schol. Eur. *Med.* argum. 1 and schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 1321, Ov. *met.* 7. 159 ff. O. Jahn *Archäologische Beiträge* Berlin 1847 p. 157 n. 155 (following the Duc de Luynes in *Nouv. Ann.* 1839 ii. 251) sees on a late black-figured *lékythos* now at Leyden (Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i pl. 69—70, 5 (=my fig. 148) and 6, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 42, 6 and 7) 'die Darstellung des Verjüngungsprocesses..., welchen Medeia mit Jason oder Aison vornahm.' K. Wernicke in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1889 iv Arch. Anz. p. 149 and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1087 decides for Aison.

[4] Simonid. *frag.* 204 Bergk[4] and Pherekyd. *frag.* 74 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 89 Müller) *ap.* schol. Eur. *Med.* argum. 1 and schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 1321. This version of the myth is illustrated by a red-figured *hydría* from Vulci now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 148 f. no. E 163. My pl. xiv is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming); for we need not with H. Heydemann *Iason in Kolchis* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1886) p. 19 n. 48 regard the inscription IAϟON as a mistake for AIϟON.

[5] *Supra* i. 419 n. 10, 679. A mirror at Paris (Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iv. 101 ff. pl. 352, 1 (=my fig. 149), Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 537 ff. no. 1329) is best explained as representing Pelops, who emerges from the caldron in the presence of Tantalos, Ganymedes (cp. Mnaseas *frag.* 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 154 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Il.* 20. 234, Herodian. 1. 11. 2, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 13, Io. Malal. *chron.* 4 p. 80 f. Dindorf, Souid. *s.v.* Ἴλιον, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 120 B f. (i. 211 Bekker)), Klotho, and Demeter. The dog is probably the golden hound of Tantalos (*supra* i. 720 n. 4).

[6] *Infra* p. 228 n. 5. [7] *Supra* i. 674, 674 n. 4, 679. [8] *Supra* i. 419 n. 10.
[9] *Supra* i. 785. [10] *Supra* i. 785. [11] *Supra* i. 786.
[12] W. Mannhardt *Germanische Mythen* Berlin 1858 pp. 64—75, O. Dähnhardt *Natur-*



Hydria in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: the Peliades about to carry out the instructions of Medeia.

See page 212 *n.* 0.



Hydría from Vulci, now in the British Museum: Medeia renews the youth of Iason.

See page 212 *n.* 4.

SCOTLAND WISDOM

that the curious custom of the *Pythia* sitting on the Delphic tripod finds its ultimate explanation in the caldron of apotheosis.



Fig. 147.

sagen Leipzig and Berlin 1909 i. 85 f., 154, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* neu bearbeitet von J. Bolte und G. Polívka Leipzig 1913 i. 422 f.

It should be observed that these tales are often concerned with the resurrection of animals. The story of Thor's goats (*Gylfaginning* 44, translated by K. Simrock *Die Edda*[7] Stuttgart 1878 p. 277 f. Parallels collected by J. W. Wolf *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie* Göttingen—Leipzig 1852 i. 88—90 'Die wiederbelebten böcke,' *id.* in his *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* Göttingen 1853 i. 70 f., R. Köhler in T. Benfey's *Orient und Occident* Göttingen 1864 ii. 680, K. Simrock *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie* Bonn 1878 p. 239 ff. 'Wiederbelebung der Böcke,' J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 184 n. 1, *ib.* 1883 iii. 995. R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 285 is right in compar-

Direct proof is wanting. But the following facts deserve to be weighed. Dodona, as well as Delphoi, had an oracular caldron[1].

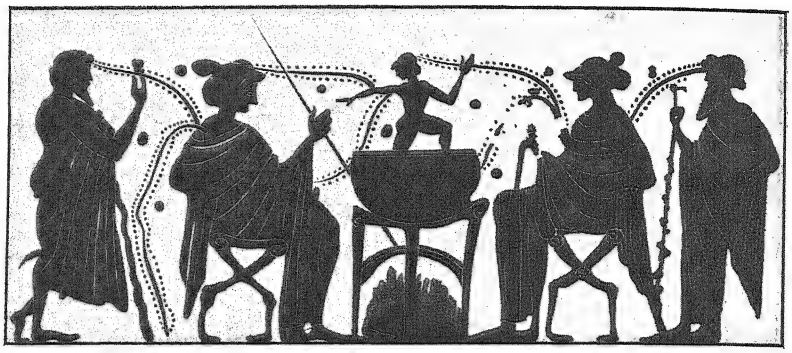


Fig. 148.

A queer tale is told about it by Herakleides Pontikos (*c.* 390–*c.* 310 B.C.), who is known to have written a treatise *On Oracles*[2]:

'When the Thebans came to consult the oracle about a war, the prophetess at Dodona made answer that they would be victorious, if they had committed impiety. Hereupon one of the sacred envoys caught up Myrtila the prophetess, and cast her into a caldron of hot water that was set there[3].'

ing the boar Sæhrîmnir (*Grimnismál* 22, translated by O. Bray *The Elder or Poetic Edda* London 1908 p. 11; *Gylfaginnîng* 38, translated by K. Simrock *op. cit.* p. 273), but quite wrong in his explanation of the *motif*) can be capped—as my daughter points out to me—by 'The Three Cows' (J. Jacobs *More English Fairy Tales* London 1894 pp. 82—84, 228) and an incident in 'Rushen Coatie' (*id. ib.* pp. 150—155, 233—237). See also 'The Sharp Grey Sheep' (J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* Edinburgh 1860 ii. 286—292 no. 43 English translation and Gaelic text). The same trait reappears in sundry miracles ascribed to the saints (*e.g.* Jacobus de Voragine *Legenda Aurea* cap. 107 p. 450 Graesse[2] St Germanus and the calf, S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 xii. 653 St Abban and the calf, J. W. Wolf in his *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* Göttingen 1853 i. 213 St Mochua and the stags; W. J. A. von Tettau—J. D. H. Temme *Die Volkssagen Ostpreussens, Litthauens und Westpreussens* Berlin 1837 p. 33 St Adalbert's finger).

[1] Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 11. 1 p. 10, 20 ff. Stählin ἄδυτα τοίνυν ἄθεα μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖτε μηδὲ βαράθρων στόματα τερατείας ἔμπλεα ἢ λέβητα Θεσπρώτιον ἢ τρίποδα Κιρραῖον ἢ Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον· κ.τ.λ., a passage quoted by Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 3. 1 *totidem verbis* and paraphrased by Theodoret. *Graec. affect. cur.* 10. 3 p. 243, 3 ff. Raeder...καὶ τὴν Κασταλίαν πηγὴν καὶ τὸ Κολοφώνιον ῥεῖθρον καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν δρῦν καὶ τὸ Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον καὶ τὸν Κιρραῖον τρίποδα καὶ τὸν Θεσπρώτιον λέβητα, κ.τ.λ. On caldrons and tripods at Dodona see further the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 5 ff.

[2] *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 197 Müller, Daebritz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 481 f.

[3] Zenob. 2. 84 Βοιωτοῖς μαντεύσαιο· αὕτη καταρατικὴ ἐστιν. Ἡρακλείδης γάρ φησι, μαντευομένοις τοῖς Θηβαίοις περὶ πολέμου ἀπεκρίνατο ἡ προφῆτις ἡ ἐν Δωδώνῃ νίκην αὐτοῖς ἀσεβήσασιν ἔσεσθαι. εἷς δὲ τῶν θεωρῶν ἁρπάσας Μυρτίλαν τὴν προφῆτιν ἐνέβαλεν εἰς θερμοῦ παρακείμενον λέβητα. ἄλλοι δέ φασιν, ὅτι Θηβαίοις πολεμοῦσι Βόμβος μάντις πλείους ἔφη νικήσειν, εἰ προθύσαιεν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἕνα. οἱ δὲ ἀποκτείναντες τὸν Βόμβον ἐνίκησαν. Plout. *prov. Alex.* 1. 9 repeats both explanations, but reads Βόμβρος and Βόμβρον.

Euripides had alluded to the story a century before in his *Erechtheus*; and either he or some later author gave it a sentimental turn by



Fig. 149.

making the priestess fall in love with one of the envoys[1]. The same

[1] *Appendix proverbiorum Bodleiana, Vaticana, Coisliniana* 3. 97 μίασμα ὀρυός· παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ ἐν' Ερεχθεῖ (Eur. *frag.* 368 Nauck[2]) αἰνιττόμενον τὸ Θηβαίων παρανόμημα εἰς τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ μαντεῖον, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ παροιμία Βοιωτοῖς μαντεύσαις. ἠσέβησαν γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἱέρειαν· ἐμβαλόντες αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν ἐν Δωδώνῃ λέβητα ζέοντα, ἐρωτικῶς διατεθεῖσαν εἰς ἕνα τῶν θεωρῶν (so A. Schott for codd. θεῶν). E. L. von Leutsch supposed a *lacuna* before ἠσέβησαν κ.τ.λ.; but this is unnecessary. The same source was utilised by Souid. *s.v.* Μυίας δάκρυον· διὰ τὴν Θηβαίων παρανομίαν εἰς τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ μαντεῖον· ἀφ' οὗ εἴρηται καὶ τὸ παρὰ (περὶ B.) Βοιωτοῖς μαντεύσαιο (μαντεύσαις V.). ἠσέβησαν γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι εἰς τὴν ἱέρειαν, ἐμβαλόντες αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν ἐν Δωδώνῃ λέβητα, ἐρωτικῶς διατεθεῖσαν εἰς ἕνα τῶν θεωρῶν. Here two points call for comment: (*a*) The saying Μυίας δάκρυον is not really explained by the story related; (*b*) The name Μυῖα attached to a priestess at Dodona suggests comparison with the μέλισσα of Delphoi (*supra* i. 443 f.). It forms a good pendant to Βόμβος (*supra* p. 214 n. 3), can be readily connected with Zeus (*supra* i. 532), and may well have been altered into Μυρτίλα.

story was told at greater length and with other variations by Ephoros the historian (*c.* 350 B.C.), whose account is preserved to us *in primis* by Strabon[1]:

'Ephoros states that the Thracians after making a treaty with the Boeotians attacked them one night, when their camp was off its guard in the enjoyment of peace. The Boeotians flung them back, and at once reproached them for breaking the treaty. "No," said the Thracians, "we agreed to a truce by day; we attacked you by night." Hence the common proverb—"a Thracian shuffle[2]." While the war was still being waged, the Pelasgians and the Boeotians too went to consult the oracle. He cannot tell, he says, what answer was given to the Pelasgians; but the prophetess replied to the Boeotians that they would prosper, if they committed impiety. The sacred envoys, suspecting the prophetess of showing favour to the Pelasgians in her reply on account of their kinship (for the sanctuary had originally been Pelasgian), caught up the woman and cast her on to a pyre. They thought that, whether she had done amiss or not, in either case their action was justified: if she had uttered a lying oracle, she was duly punished; if she had done no wrong, they had but carried out her bidding. Those in charge of the sanctuary did not like to put the perpetrators to death, in a sanctuary too, without a formal judgment, so brought them to trial and summoned them before the priestesses, that is the prophetesses, three in number to begin with and now reduced to two. The Boeotians protested that nowhere was it customary for women to act as judges. An equal number of men was therefore chosen. The men acquitted; the women condemned. As the votes were equal, those for acquittal prevailed. Ever since then at Dodona oracles have been delivered to the Boeotians, and to the Boeotians only, by men[3]. The prophetesses, however, put a different interpretation upon the oracle, to wit, that the god enjoined upon the Boeotians to steal the tripods in Boiotia and send one year by year to Dodona. And this in point of fact they do. They always take down by night one of their dedicated tripods, wrap it in cloaks, and have a clandestine tripod-carrying to Dodona[4].'

[1] Ephoros *frag.* 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 241 f. Müller) *ap.* Strab. 401 f.

[2] Θρᾳκία παρεύρεσις, cp. Zenob. 4. 37, *append. prov.* 3. 21, Souid. *s.v.* Θρᾳκία παρεύρεσις, Polyain. 7. 43.

[3] Quoted by Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1760, 4 f.

[4] Cp. Prokl. *chrestom.* (after Ephoros?) *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 321 b 32 ff. Bekker τὸ δὲ τριποδηφορικὸν μέλος (Poll. 4. 53 τριποδηφορικά) τρίποδος προηγουμένου παρὰ τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς ᾄδετο. ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο αἰτίαν τοιαύτην. Πελασγῶν τινὲς Πάνακτον τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐπόρθουν, Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἥμυνον καὶ πέμψαντες εἰς Δωδώνην περὶ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου νίκης ἐχρῶντο. χρησμὸς δὲ τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐξέπεσεν ὡς, εἰ μέγιστον ἀσέβημα ἀσεβήσουσι, νικήσουσιν. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀσεβημάτων εἶναι μέγιστον τὸ τὴν χρησμῳδήσασαν αὐτοῖς τὸν χρησμὸν ἀνελεῖν· καὶ ἀνεῖλον. αἱ δὲ περὶ τὸ τέμενος συνιέρειαι δίκην λαβεῖν ἀπῄτουν τοῦ φόνου τοὺς Θηβαίους. Θηβαῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπουσι γυναιξὶ μόναις τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν δίκην· κοινῆς δὲ κρίσεως ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν γεγενημένης, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν λευκὰς αὐτοῖς ἐπενεγκόντων ψήφους, ἀπέφυγον οἱ Θηβαῖοι. ὕστερον δὲ ἐπιγνόντες αὐτοῖς τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρησμοῦ προστασσόμενον, βαστάσαντες τῶν κατὰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἱερῶν τριπόδων ἕνα, καὶ κατακαλύψαντες ὡς ἱερόσυλοι, ἀνέπεμψαν εἰς Δωδώνην. εὐπραγήσαντες δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἑορτὴν ἐποίουν. This tripod-carrying did not, like that of the Thebans to their *Isménion* (Pind. *Pyth.* 11. 7 f. χρυσέων ἐς ἄδυτον τριπόδων | θησαυρόν with schol. vet. *ad loc.* οἱ γὰρ Θηβαγενεῖς ἐτριποδοφόρουν ἐκεῖσε), merely aim at increasing the property and *prestige* of the god; nor did it, like that of the Athenians from Delphoi (L. Couve in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 87 ff. no. 9, 90 ff. no. 10, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 665 and no. 718, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.*

Ephoros, in the interests of probability, eliminates the *bizarre* 'caldron of hot water' and tacitly substitutes a commonplace 'pyre,' thereby spoiling the end of his story, which suggests rather that the sacred tripods made amends for a sacred caldron. I surmise that the impiety of boiling the priestess at Dodona in a caldron of hot water, an impiety authorised or at least instigated by the oracle itself, implies a long-standing ritual, to which recourse might be had in dark and desperate times.

At Delphoi, it is true, the priestess was not boiled in a caldron. But we have to ask ourselves: What form would be taken by a simulated boiling? The Orphic votary in like circumstances pronounced the words

'I have fallen as a kid into milk,'

and in all probability stepped into an actual caldron for a make-believe seething[1]. At Delphoi a she-goat, over which cold water had first been poured, was sacrificed[2], and the *Pythía* then took her

no. 1285 and no. 266, *Fouilles de Delphes* iii. 2 nos. 32 f.), serve as a means of transporting sacred fire; still less was it, like that of Ptolemy ii Philadelphos (Athen. 198 C, D, 199 D, F, 202 B, C), a case of exaggerated pomp. Rather we may suppose that this was an expiation in kind. A sacred *lébes* (? tripod) had been defiled by an impious act: sacred tripods must be sent year by year to replace it. Why they had to be stolen, and wrapped in cloaks, we are not told. In Scotland at Hallowe'en divination was practised by means of stolen kail: 'It was necessary that the plants should be stolen without the knowledge or consent of their owner; otherwise they were quite useless for the purpose of divination' (Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful i. 234 f.). Possibly the same notion played some part in Herakles' theft of the Delphic tripod. The wrapping in cloaks was probably prophylactic (cp. *e.g. supra* i. 58, 107 n. 4, 523, *alib.*).

[1] *Supra* i. 676 f.

[2] Diod. 16. 26 λέγεται...τὸ παλαιὸν αἶγας εὑρεῖν τὸ μαντεῖον· οὗ χάριν αἰξὶ μάλιστα χρηστηριάζονται μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οἱ Δελφοί, Plout. *de def. or.* 49 τὴν δ' αἶγα διελέγχειν τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ψυχῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐχούσης τὸ πρὸς τὴν κατάσπεισιν ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀκίνητον. A decree of the Delphians, passed in honour of Nikomedes iii of Bithynia and Laodike (92—91 B.C.), mentions goats among the flocks and herds of the god (L. Couve in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 254 ff. no. 1409, 15 f., H. Pomtow in *Philologus* 1895 liv. 356 ff., J. Baunack in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* ii. 880 ff. no. 2738, 16 f. καὶ ποτὶ τὰς αἶγας τὰς ἱερ[ὰς Ἀρχελάωι or Ξένωνι Πει]σιθέου Μένωνα, Δῶρον, Ῥόδωνα, Ἱππίαν, Λυκέαν. And the rule of the Labyadai speaks of a she-goat offered to Bouzyge daughter of Phanotos (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 438 *d* 200, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 995 *D* 35, J. von Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 74 D 35 χίμαιραν). Goats played a considerable part at Delphoi. The oracle was first discovered by a goat-herd (cp. Paus. 10. 5. 7 and *supra* p. 189 n. 8), who noticed that his goats on approaching a certain chasm and looking into it skipped about and bleated in an unusual manner: following their example, he too was similarly affected and began to foretell future events (Diod. 16. 26). When, according to one account, Python had been wounded and was trying to escape along the Sacred Way, Apollon pursued after him and κατέλαβε...αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἄρτι τεθνηκότα, κεκηδευμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Αἴξ, ὡς λέγουσι (Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 12: see further *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 402 ff.). Hesych. ὀμφαλὸς Αἰγός· ζητεῖται πῶς τὴν Πυθὼ ὀμφαλὸν Αἰγαῖον. τινὲς δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῆς Αἰγαίων γῆς was emended by Salmasius to ὀμφαλὸς Αἰγαῖος· ζητεῖται πῶς τὴν Πυθὼ εἴρηκεν ὀμφαλὸν Αἰγαῖον. τινὲς

seat in or on the caldron. I infer that the *Pythía*, like the Orphist, pretended to be boiled.

(σ) Dionysos and the Caldron of Apotheosis.

The inference here drawn with regard to the *Pythía* may seem rash, or even grotesque; but the Orphic ritual cannot be separated from the Orphic myth, which—if I am not mistaken—came to locate the caldron of apotheosis at Delphoi and to identify it with the mantic tripod.

Clement of Alexandreia, an excellent authority in such matters, after quoting Orpheus for the attack of the Titans upon the infant Dionysos, continues:

'The Titans, who had torn him in pieces, set a certain caldron upon a tripod, and dropping the limbs of Dionysos into it began by boiling them. After that, they pierced them with spits and "held them over Hephaistos." Zeus then made his appearance (being a god, he presumably had soon got a whiff of the roast flesh—your gods admit that they get that "as their guerdon"), struck the Titans with a thunderbolt, and entrusted the limbs of Dionysos to his son Apollon for burial. Apollon, obedient to the commands of Zeus, took the body in pieces to Parnassos and there deposited the same[1].'

δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῆς Αἰγαίων γῆς μέσον εἶναι. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 102 n. 12 reads ὀμφαλὸς Αἰγαῖος, but would connect the epithet with Αἴξ; and O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3379 ff. apparently reverts to ὀμφαλὸς Αἰγός in the same connexion. But Αἰγαῖος, which implies an α-stem, cannot be legitimately derived from Αἴξ; and the existence of a stream called Αἰγᾶς and a plain called Αἰγαῖον close to Delphoi (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος citing Hes. *frag.* 193 Flach 42 Rzach, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 132) strongly supports the reading ὀμφαλὸς Αἰγαῖος. The people of Elyros in Crete dedicated at Delphoi a bronze she-goat suckling Phylakides and Philandros, children of Apollon by the nymph Akakallis (Paus. 10. 16. 5). Small silver coins of Delphoi struck *c.* 520—500 B.C. have as their reverse type the head of a goat to right in an incuse square (J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 19 f. pl. 25, 7 f.), or the heads of two goats facing each other, sometimes with a dolphin to right above them, in an incuse


Fig. 150.


Fig. 151.


Fig. 152.


Fig. 153.


Fig. 154.

square (*id. ib.* p. 21 pl. 25, 20—22 and 23 f.); others, struck *c.* 500—480, have rev. a goat's head facing in an incuse square, with or without Δ Δ (*id. ib.* p. 21 f. pl. 25, 25—28, 32 f. and 29 f.); others, *c.* 480—460, a goat's head facing, between two dolphins, in an incuse square (*id. ib.* p. 24 pl. 25, 36—43 and p. 25 f. pl. 26, 1—6, 7, 8—13, 14); others, *c.* 460—448, the same type with ΔΑΛ above it (*id. ib.* p. 26 pl. 26, 15—20); others, *c.* 421—355, the same type with ΔΑΛ above it, but in a circular incuse (*id. ib.* p. 27 f. pl. 26, 22—24, 25); others, *c.* 355, a goat's head facing, between two dolphins and two ivy-leaves, with ΔΕΛ above it (*id. ib.* p. 28 pl. 26, 22—31): see also *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Central Greece p. 24 ff. pl. 4, 1—3, 6—12 (my figs. 150—154 are from casts of nos. 1, 2, 10, 11, 12), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 340 f.

[1] Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 18. 1 f. p. 14, 17 ff. Stählin (quoted by Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 3.

Other writers confirm this account and enable us to trace it back for more than four hundred years. Thus Tzetzes, the learned commentator on Lykophron's *Alexandra*, says:

'Dionysos too was honoured at Delphoi along with Apollon in the following way. The Titans, having rent the limbs of Dionysos, gave them to Apollon his brother, after dropping them into a caldron; and Apollon put them away beside the tripod, as is stated by Kallimachos and by Euphorion in the words—

They dropped Bakchos the divine above the bowl on the fire[1].'

These passages prove, to my thinking, that the Thraco-Phrygian myth of Dionysos had taken root at Delphoi at least as early as the third century B.C., and that the caldron of apotheosis, an essential feature of the myth, was then identified with the tripod of Apollon himself. If Aischylos two centuries earlier can make his *Pythia* say 'Bromios too possesses the place[2],' it will hardly be maintained that we have here to do with a late and valueless tradition. The burden of proof rests with those who contend that the Thraco-Phrygian myth reached Delphoi later than the Thraco-Phrygian god. Be that as it may, the tomb of Dionysos at Delphoi, like the tomb of Zeus in Crete[3], continued to be an object of interest till Byzantine times[4]. Tatian indeed (*c.* 152 A.D.) confuses it with the

25 f.) οἱ δὲ Τιτᾶνες, οἱ καὶ διασπάσαντες αὐτόν, λέβητά τινα τρίποδι ἐπιθέντες καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου ἐμβαλόντες τὰ μέλη, καθήψουν πρότερον· ἔπειτα ὀβελίσκοις περιπείραντες (ἀμπείραντες Euseb. H. after *Il.* 2. 426) "ὑπείρεχον Ἡφαίστοιο." Ζεὺς δὲ ὕστερον ἐπιφανείς—εἰ θεὸς ἦν, τάχα που τῆς κνίσης τῶν ὀπτωμένων κρεῶν μεταλαβών, ἧς δὴ τὸ "γέρας λαχεῖν" ὁμολογοῦσιν ὑμῶν οἱ θεοί—κεραυνῷ τοὺς Τιτᾶνας αἰκίζεται καὶ τὰ μέλη τοῦ Διονύσου Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ παιδὶ παρακατατίθεται καταθάψαι. ὁ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἠπείθησε Διί, εἰς τὸν Παρνασσὸν φέρων κατατίθεται διεσπασμένον τὸν νεκρόν.

[1] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 208 ἐτιμᾶτο δὲ καὶ Διόνυσος ἐν Δελφοῖς σὺν Ἀπόλλωνι οὑτωσί· οἱ Τιτᾶνες τὰ Διονύσου μέλη σπαράξαντες Ἀπόλλωνι ἀδελφῷ ὄντι αὐτοῦ παρέθεντο ἐμβαλόντες λέβητι, ὁ δὲ παρὰ τῷ τρίποδι ἀπέθετο ὥς φησι Καλλίμαχος (*frag.* 374 Schneider) καὶ Εὐφορίων (*frag.* 15 Meineke) λέγων "ἐν πυρὶ Βάκχον δῖον ὑπὲρ φιάλην ἐβάλοντο" (ἐν γ 2. ἐμ *b.* βάκχοις or βάκχας *b.* βάκ γ 2. δῖαν γ 2. δῖον *b.* ἐβάλλοντο *b.* γ 1. ἐμβάλλοντες γ 2. C. A. Lobeck cj. ἔμ πυρὶ Βακχέα δῖον ὑπὲρ φιάλης ἐβάλοντο. A. Meineke *Analecta Alexandrina* Berolini 1843 p. 49 f. would read ἐν πυρὶ Βάκχον δῖον ὑπὲρ φιάλης ἐβάλοντο. E. Scheer prints ἀν πυρὶ Βάκχαν δίαν ὑπὲρ φιάλην ἐβάλοντο *sic*). Cp. *et. mag.* p. 255, 13 ff. Δελφοί·...ὅτι τὰ Διονύσου μέλη σπαράξαντες οἱ Τιτᾶνες τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι παρέθεντο ἐμβαλόντες λέβητι· ὁ δὲ παρὰ τῷ τρίποδι ἀπέθετο παρὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ (οἱ δὲ παρὰ τῷ τρίποδι cod. V. omitting the last four words, which appear to be a note on τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι containing a would-be etymology of Δελφοί).

[2] Aisch. *Eum.* 24 Βρόμιος ἔχει (sic cod. M. δ' ἔχει codd. G. V. Fl. F.) τὸν χῶρον, κ.τ.λ.

[3] *Supra* i. 157 ff., 645 f., 663.

[4] Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 35 καὶ Δελφοὶ τὰ τοῦ Διονύσου λείψανα παρ' αὐτοῖς (leg. αὐτοῦς) παρὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἀποκεῖσθαι νομίζουσι· κ.τ.λ., Tatian. *or. adv. Graec.* 8 p. 9, 15 ff. Schwartz ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ληϊσίδου καλεῖταί τις ὀμφαλός· ὁ δ' ὀμφαλὸς τάφος ἐστὶν Διονύσου (E. Schwartz cj. Διονύσου τάφος ἐστίν), Euseb. *chron. ann. Abr.* 712 versio Armenia (ii. 42 and 44 Schoene) secundum quosdam Dionisii gesta, et eiusdem apud Indos res; atque Licurgi, et Actaei et Penthei, necnon quomodo (et) a quo stans in

omphalós[1]. But Ioannes Malalas[2] (*c.* 600 A.D.) and Georgios Synkellos[3] (*c.* 800 A.D.) quote, probably from Kephalion[4] (*c.* 125 A.D.), the statement of Philochoros[5] (*c.* 275 B.C.) that in his day the tomb of Dionysos was still to be seen at Delphoi beside the golden statue of Apollon, that it resembled a simple step, and that it was inscribed—

Here lies in death Dionysos the son of Semele.

The inscription reads like a copy (if not, indeed, the original) of that placed upon the tomb of Zeus[6]. But there is no reason to

praelio moritur. dicit autem (de his) Dinarchus poeta, non rhetor (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 391 Müller), *id. ib. ann. Abr.* 718 (ii. 44 Schoene) qui autem voluerit, cominus est inspicere Dionisii sepulcrum in Delphis iuxta aurum Apollinis (sic N. G. E. *ad aureum Apollinem* Z. *iuxta aureum Apollinem* A.). namque repraesentatus est feminae forma Dionisius, qui dux erat exercitus, eo quod mixtae fuerint feminae in copiis, quae sub eo erant: nam viros et feminas (sic N. *cum viris feminas quoque* cett.) ducebat in praelium: ut Philochorus in secundo (libro) narrat (*frag.* 23 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 388 Müller)), Kyrill. Al. *c. Iulian.* 1. 11 (lxxvi. 520 Migne) διακοσιοστῷ ἐνενηκοστῷ ἔτει (*sc.* μετὰ Μωσέα), Περσεὺς Διόνυσον ἀναιρεῖ, οὗ καὶ τὴν ταφὴν εἶναί φασιν ἐν Δελφοῖς παρὰ τὸν χρυσοῦν Ἀπόλλωνα, *id. ib.* 10. 341 f. (lxxvi. 1025 Migne) ὁ γάρ τοι Δείναρχος, ποιητὴς οὐκ ἄσημος ὤν, τὰς Διονύσου πράξεις ἀφηγούμενος ὅσα τε αὐτῷ πεπόνηται περὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἀκταίωνα καὶ Λυκοῦργον ὅπως εἴη πεφονευκώς, εὖ μάλα διειρηκώς, ἀνηρῆσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Περσέως διατείνεται, καὶ κηδεῦσθαί (leg. κεκηδεῦσθαί) γε μὴν ἐν Δελφοῖς παρὰ τὸν χρυσοῦν καλούμενον Ἀπόλλωνα, Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 45 Dindorf καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπελθὼν ἐκεῖ τελευτᾷ. καὶ ἐτέθη τὸ λείψανον τοῦ αὐτοῦ Διονύσου ἐκεῖ ἐν σορῷ· καὶ τὰ ὅπλα δὲ αὐτοῦ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκρέμασε, καθὼς Δείναρχος (so R. Bentley for Δήμαρχος) ὁ σοφώτατος συνεγράψατο περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Διονύσου. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὁ σοφώτατος Φιλόχορος τὰ αὐτὰ συνεγράψατο, ἐν ᾗ ἐκθέσει εἶπε περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Διονύσου (*frag.* 22 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 387 Müller))· "ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τὴν ταφὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν χρυσοῦν. βάθρον δέ τι εἶναι ὑπονοεῖται ἡ σορός, ἐν ᾧ γράφεται (so Siebelis for βόθρον—γράφει)· Ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν Διόνυσος ἐκ Σεμέλης." ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ σοφώτατος Κεφαλίων τὰ αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ συγγράμματι (*frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 628 Müller)) ἐξέθετο, Synkell. *chron.* 162 C—D (i. 307 Dindorf) Διονύσου πράξεις καὶ τὰ περὶ Ἰνδούς, Λυκοῦργόν τε καὶ Ἀκταίωνα καὶ Πενθέα, ὅπως τε Περσεῖ συστὰς εἰς μάχην ἀναιρεῖται, ὥς φησι Δείναρχος (δίναρχος B. Δήχαρνος G.) ὁ ποιητής, οὐχ ὁ ῥήτωρ. τῷ δὲ βουλομένῳ πάρεστιν ἰδεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν ταφὴν ἐν Δελφοῖς παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν χρυσοῦν, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ὅπλον ἀνάκειται Αὐγούστου Καίσαρος καὶ Νέρωνος ἡ κιθάρα. βάθρον δέ τι νομίζεται τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν ὁ Διονύσου τάφος. στρατηγὸς δὲ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι, καὶ οὕτω γράφεται θηλύμορφος διά τε ἄλλας αἰσχρὰς αἰτίας καὶ διὰ τὸ μιξόθηλυν στρατὸν (so J. J. Scaliger for μιξοθηλύστρατον) ὁπλίζειν· ὥπλιζε γὰρ σὺν τοῖς ἄρρεσι τὰς θηλείας, ὥς φησιν ὁ Φιλόχορος ἐν δευτέρῳ, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 24 C (i. 43 Bekker) τῶν δὲ Βοιωτῶν αὐτὸν βασιλέα μὴ παραδεχομένων εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπέρχεται καὶ θανὼν θάπτεται. Cp. also Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 12 his temporibus Dionysum, qui etiam Liber pater dictus est et post mortem deus habitus, vitem ferunt ostendisse in Attica terra hospiti suo. etc.

[1] Tatian. *or. adv. Graec.* 8 p. 9, 15 ff. Schwartz (*supra* p. 219 n. 4).

[2] Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 45 Dindorf (*supra* p. 219 n. 4).

[3] Synkell. *chron.* 162 C—D (i. 307 Dindorf) (*supra* p. 219 n. 4).

[4] *Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 628 Müller.

[5] *Id. ib.* iv. 391 suggests that Philochoros in his turn was copying Deinarchos the poet. But see E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2388 f.

[6] Cp. ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν Διόνυσος ἐκ Σεμέλης (*supra* p. 219 n. 4) with ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν Ἵκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς (*supra* i. 158 n. 2). In view of Porph. *v. Pyth.* 17 ὧδε θανὼν κεῖται Ζᾶν ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν we may conjecture that the original epitaph was a hexameter

doubt the accuracy of Philochoros' account. It may even be that in the fifth-century type of Apollon seated on the tripod (fig. 142)[1] we should regard the stepped base beneath his feet as a representation of Dionysos' tomb[2].

Other legends of death and resurrection clung about the Delphic tripod. Writers of the Roman age maintained that the bones and the teeth of Python were kept in its caldron, and even tried to derive the word *cortina*, 'caldron,' from *corium*, 'skin,' on the ground that the tripod was covered or surrounded with Python's skin[3]. Perhaps the pebbles, which for purposes of divination were really kept in the bowl of the tripod[4], had been explained as the relics of Python, and the metallic sides of the *lébes* as plates from his coppery skin. The local *cicerone* would be equal to both inventions.

(τ) Pythagoras as Apollon reborn.

But the strangest of the stories attaching to the tripod remains to be told. Porphyrios (233—*c.* 304 A.D.) in his *Life of Pythagoras* writes:

'Later, when Polykrates became tyrant of Samos, Pythagoras thought it unseemly for a philosopher to live under a tyranny, and resolved to sail for Italy. In the course of his voyage he put in at Delphoi and inscribed on the tomb of Apollon an elegiac couplet, stating therein that Apollon was the son of Silenos, that he had been slain by Python, and that he had been buried in the so-called tripod, which had got this name from the fact that three maidens, the daughters of Triopas, had here made lamentation for Apollon[5].'

line. If Dionysos had the priority, his tomb might have borne some such inscription as *ὧδε θανὼν κεῖται Σεμεληγενέτης Διόνυσος*. But?

[1] *Supra* p. 202.

[2] This conclusion hardly squares with F. Courby's tentative reconstruction of the Pythian chapel (*infra* p. 239). But it is by no means certain that the block of limestone (*Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 67 fig. 59), believed by Courby to have supported the tomb of Dionysos and an adjoining altar, really served that purpose, or even came from the chapel at all.

[3] Hyg. *fab.* 140, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 92, 6. 347, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 360, schol. Lucan. 5. 152, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 1. 509, Myth. Vat. 3. 8. 5, cp. Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 441.

[4] Eudok. *viol.* 265, Souid. *s.v.* Πυθώ, Nonnos *in* Greg. Naz. *in Iulian. imp. invect.* 2. 13 p. 165 (printed in A. Westermann ΜΥΘΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ *Scriptores poeticae historiae Graeci* Brunsvigae 1843 p. 384 Append. narr. no. 67).

[5] Porph. *v. Pyth.* 16 (quoted by Kyrill. Al. *c. Iulian.* 10. 342 (lxxvi. 1025 f. Migne)) *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς Πολυκράτους τυραννίδος Σαμίους καταλαβούσης, οὐ πρέπον ἡγούμενος ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐν τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ βιοῦν ἀνδρὶ φιλοσόφῳ, διενοήθη εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀπαίρειν. ὡς δὲ πλέων Δελφοῖς προσέσχετο, ἐλεγεῖον τῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τάφῳ ἐπέγραψε, δι' οὗ ἐδήλου ὡς Σιληνοῦ μὲν ἦν υἱὸς ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ἀνῃρέθη δὲ ὑπὸ Πύθωνος, ἐκηδεύθη δὲ ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ τρίποδι, ὃς ταύτης ἔτυχε τῆς ἐπωνυμίας διὰ τὸ τρεῖς κόρας τὰς Τριόπου θυγατέρας ἐνταῦθα θρηνῆσαι Ἀπόλλωνα.* F. Wieseler *Ueber den delphischen Dreifuss* (extr. from the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe xv) Göttingen 1871 p. 17 cj. *τρίοπι* for *τρίποδι* (cp. *supra* p. 178 n. 1). One could imagine—if a moment's play be allowed to fancy—

What are we to think of this peculiar narrative? It is always unsafe to disregard Pythagorean vagaries; they are so often found to contain elements of primitive lore[1]. We must not, therefore, hastily assume that Python killing Apollon was a wilful perversion of Apollon killing Python[2]. That was not Pythagoras' attitude towards the gods, least of all towards Apollon, with whom he stood in relations of exceptional intimacy. Apollonios (of Tyana?[3]) states that, according to certain authorities, Pythagoras was nominally the son of Mnesarchos, but really the son of Apollon by Pythaïs. Had not a Samian poet penned the couplet?—

> Pythaïs fairest of the Samian fair
> Zeus-loved Pythagoras to Apollon bare[4].

The authorities in question included Epimenides, Eudoxos, and Xenokrates[5]. And even those who denied that Pythagoras was actually the son of Apollon admitted that there was some mys-

the Pythagorean couplet conceived somewhat as follows: Σιληνοῦ γόνος ὧδε δαμεὶς Πύθωνι τέθαπται | Φοῖβος, ὃν αἱ τρισσαὶ θρήνεον αἱ Τρίοπος.

[1] *Supra* i. 66, 135, 282 n. 7, 303, 558 n. 5, 646, ii. 40 ff., *alib.*

[2] The notion, no doubt, is unique in ancient literature; but so in ancient art is the vase-painting of Iason swallowed by the Colchian snake and disgorged at the bidding of Athena (E. Gerhard in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1836 viii. 289—295, *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pl. 35, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iii. 378—384 pl. 24, 1 f., Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 123 f. fig. 129, K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 83 f. fig., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 101, 102, 1, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 344 f. no. 578, J. E. Harrison *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 435 f. fig. 135 from a photograph), to which however H. Schmidt *Jona* Göttingen 1907 p. 22 n. 1 with fig. 5 finds a partial parallel in a mirror-design of Iason grasping sword and fleece but already bitten, not to say half-eaten, by the snake (Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 221 f. pl. 238).

[3] So J. Miller in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 148 after E. Rohde in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1871 xxvi. 554 ff., *ib.* 1872 xxvii. 23 ff.

[4] Porph. *v. Pyth.* 2 Ἀπολλώνιος δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ μητέρα ἀναγράφει Πυθαΐδα, ἀπόγονον Ἀγκαίου, τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ τῆς Σάμου. τινὰς δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτὸν ἱστορεῖν καὶ Πυθαΐδος τῷ γόνῳ, λόγῳ δὲ Μνησάρχου φησὶν Ἀπολλώνιος. τῶν γοῦν ποιητῶν τῶν Σαμίων εἰπεῖν τινα· "Πυθαγόραν θ', ὃν ἔτικτε Διὶ φίλον Ἀπόλλωνι | Πυθαΐς, ἣ κάλλος πλεῖστον ἔχεν Σαμίων" (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 3. 15). Cp. Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 4 ff., who expands the above account, *e.g.* mentioning that Pythais' former name was Parthenis, but does not cite his source. In the epigram Iamblichos, followed by E. Cougny, reads Διὶ φίλῳ for Διὶ φίλον: but the reference is to the eagle which Pythagoras drew down and stroked at Olympia (Plout. *v. Num.* 8, Porph. *v. Pyth.* 25, Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 62) or to the white eagle which he patted at Kroton (Ail. *var. hist.* 4. 17, Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 142).

[5] Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 7 παραιτητέοι γὰρ Ἐπιμενίδης (identified by E. Rohde in the *Rhein Mus.* 1872 xxvii. 23 and by H. Demoulin *Épiménide de Crète* Bruxelles 1901 p. 85 with Epimenides ὁ γενεαλόγος of Diog. Laert. 1. 115: but see O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 178) καὶ Εὔδοξος (of Rhodes, according to F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 930) καὶ Ξενοκράτης (the famous philosopher of Kalchedon, on whom E. Rohde *loc. cit.* p. 23 f. supposes the fragment to be fathered) ὑπονοοῦντες τῇ Παρθενίδι τότε μιγῆναι τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ κύουσαν αὐτὴν ἐκ μὴ οὕτως ἐχούσης καταστῆσαί τε καὶ προαγγεῖλαι διὰ τῆς προφήτιδος. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐδαμῶς δεῖ προσίεσθαι.

terious bond of union between the philosopher and the god[1]. Many persons went further and frankly spoke of Pythagoras as Apollon *Pýthios* or *Hyperbóreos* or *Paión*, declaring that he had appeared as a god in human shape[2] and emphasising the resemblance of his oracular sayings to those of the Pythian Apollon[3]. I shall of course be told by our critical purists that all this is neo-Pythagorean nonsense, to be dismissed without further enquiry. But there is more in it than that. It is precisely when we confine ourselves to the earliest *stratum* of the Pythagorean tradition[4] that we come upon the most remarkable evidence of Pythagoras' claim to be Apollon *redivivus*. We have it on the word of Aristotle that the Pythagoreans held among their most cherished convictions the tripartite subdivision of 'rational animal' into 'god, man, and such as Pythagoras[5].' Moreover, Aristotle states that the Crotoniates called Pythagoras Apollon *Hyperbóreios*, and is aware of the story that at Kroton Pythagoras exhibited his golden thigh in proof of this identification[6]. Now the golden thigh of Pythagoras must, it

[1] Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 8 continues τὸ μέντοι τὴν Πυθαγόρου ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀπόλλωνος ἡγεμονίας οὖσαν εἴτε συνοπαδὸν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως οἰκειότερον ἔτι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον· συντεταγμένην καταπεπέμφθαι εἰς ἀνθρώπους, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀμφισβητήσειε κ.τ.λ. Cp. Loukian. *somn. s. gall.* 16 (the cock that had once been Pythagoras speaks) ὡς μὲν ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ πρῶτον ἡ ψυχή μοι καταπταμένη ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐνέδυ εἰς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα, ἤντινα τὴν καταδίκην ἐκτελοῦσα, μακρὸν ἂν εἴη λέγειν.

[2] Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 30 καὶ μετὰ τῶν θεῶν τὸν Πυθαγόραν λοιπὸν κατηρίθμουν ὡς ἀγαθόν τινα δαίμονα καὶ φιλανθρωπότατον. οἱ μὲν τὸν Πύθιον, οἱ δὲ τὸν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων Ἀπόλλωνα, οἱ δὲ τὸν Παιῶνα, οἱ δὲ τῶν τὴν σελήνην κατοικούντων δαιμόνων ἕνα, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλον τῶν Ὀλυμπίων θεῶν ἐφήμιζον, εἰς ὠφέλειαν καὶ ἐπανόρθωσιν τοῦ θνητοῦ βίου λέγοντες ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῃ μορφῇ φανῆναι τοῖς τότε, κ.τ.λ., cp. *ib.* 10, 91 f., 133, 135, 140, Loukian. *dial. mort.* 20. 3 (Menippos to Pythagoras) χαῖρε, ὦ Εὔφορβε ἢ Ἄπολλον ἢ ὅ τι ἂν ἐθέλῃς. See now A. Delatte *Études sur la littérature pythagoricienne* Paris 1915 p. 279 f.

[3] Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 161. Presumably the name Πυθαγόρας helped out the comparison, though it was also explained as meaning ὅτι ἄρα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πυθίου προηγορεύθη (*ib.* 7).

The cult of Apollon naturally appealed to the circle of Pythagoras. Mnesarchos built a sanctuary for Apollon *Pýthios* in Samos (Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 9). Pythagoras in Delos would worship only at the altar of Apollon *Genétor*, where wheat, barley, and cakes were offered, but no burnt sacrifice (Aristot. *frag.* 447 Rose *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 13, Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 25, 35). The Pythagoreans in general followed suit (Mnesimachos *Alcmaeo frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 567 Meineke) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 37 ὡς Πυθαγοριστῇ (Menagius cj. Πυθαγορισταί. C. G. Cobet restored Πυθαγοριστί) θύομεν τῷ Λοξίᾳ).

[4] As determined by E. Rohde 'Die Quellen des Jamblichus in seiner Biographie des Pythagoras' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1871 xxvi. 554 ff., *ib.* 1872 xxvii. 23 ff.: see J. Burnet *Early Greek Philosophy* London and Edinburgh 1892 p. 89 ff.

[5] Aristot. *frag.* 187 Rose *ap.* Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 31 ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς φιλοσοφίας διαίρεσίν τινα τοιάνδε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν τοῖς πάνυ ἀπορρήτοις διαφυλάττεσθαι· τοῦ λογικοῦ ζῴου τὸ μέν ἐστι θεός, τὸ δ' ἄνθρωπος, τὸ δὲ οἷον Πυθαγόρας, cp. *ib.* 144 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀπορούμενον τοῦτο σημαίνειν· ἔστι γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγόμενον ὅτι "ἄνθρωπος δίπος ἐστὶ καὶ ὄρνις καὶ τρίτον ἄλλο." τὸ γὰρ τρίτον Πυθαγόρας ἐστί.

[6] Aristot. *frag.* 186 Rose *ap.* Apollon. *hist. mir.* 6 and *ap.* Ail. *var. hist.* 2. 26 (on

seems to me[1], be interpreted as strictly analogous to the ivory shoulder of Pelops. Indeed, Origenes speaks of 'Pythagoras, who performed many miracles and to a whole congregation of Hellenes showed that his thigh was made of ivory[2].' But the ivory shoulder of Pelops, as was pointed out by my far-sighted friend Mr F. M. Cornford[3], presupposes the rite of regeneration. Similarly we may

which see E. Zeller *A History of Greek Philosophy* trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 i. 338 n. 4). The same story is told by Plout. *v. Num.* 8, Loukian. *vit. auct.* 6, *somn. s. gall.* 18, Orig. *c. Cels.* 6. 8, Diog. Laert. 8. 11, Ail. *var. hist.* 4. 17, Porph. *v. Pyth.* 28, Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 91 f., 135, 140, of whom Plout. *loc. cit.* and Ail. *loc. cit.* state that the incident happened at Olympia.

[1] And to others before me. W. Mannhardt *Germanische Mythen* Berlin 1858 p. 74: 'so weicht der Grieche auch darin von den nördlichen Ueberlieferungen (mit Ausnahme des Märchens von Eisenlaci) ab, dass er die Mythe vom fehlenden Knochen, die der Germane von wiederbelebten Tieren erzählt, von aus dem Tode erweckten Menschen oder Heroen bewahrte. Ich mache ausser der Pelopssage, ohne die Mythe vom hölzernen Gliede des Osiris [Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 18, cp. Hippolyt. *ref. haeres.* 5. 7 p. 101 Miller] in Betracht zu ziehn, nur Jamblichs Nachricht vom hyperboreischen Apollónpriester Abaris, dem Luftwandelnden (*αἰθροβάτης*) namhaft, dem sich Pythagorâs durch eine goldene Hüfte als Wiedergeborener zu erkennen gab.' Cp. *id. Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1904 i. 116 n. 3. Frazer *Golden Bough*[2] ii. 418 f., *ib.*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 263 f. quotes Mannhardt to the same effect and views Pythagoras' golden thigh as his certificate of resurrection. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 680 likewise approves of Mannhardt's comparison, and (*ib.* n. 6) cites from N. J. Majláth *Magyarische Sagen, Mährchen und Erzählungen*[2] Stuttgart und Tübingen 1837 ii. 195 and J. Erdélyi *Ungarische Sagen und Märchen*, aus dem Erdélyischen Sammlung [*Népdalok és mondák*] übersetzt von G. Stier Berlin 1850 p. 105 ff. the Hungarian tale of a twelve-headed dragon, who vanquished the Magyar Eisenlaci, chopped him into a hundred pieces, and put them as promised in a cloth on his horse. This fled with them to the serpent-king, who laid the bones in order and washed them with water in which healing herbs had been cooked. Hereupon Eisenlaci woke up and was seven times as handsome as before. His right shoulder blade had fallen out of the bundle on his horse's back; but the serpent-king made him a new one out of gold and ivory. The Old Irish myth of Nuada *Argat-lám*, 'of the Silver Hand' (*Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 29), and the English tale of a woman with a golden arm (a variant gives it as a golden leg) take us in a different direction (J. Jacobs *English Fairy Tales* London 1898 pp. 138 f., 252 f.). So does an Epirote tale of a boy with a golden finger (J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 197 ff., L. Laistner *Das Rätsel der Sphinx* Berlin 1889 ii. 147). More to the point is a tale told by 'Old Macdonald, travelling tinker' to J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* Edinburgh 1860 i. xcv f. (The daughter of a wise woman fell in love with an enchanted prince. 'And the old woman agreed to help her to her will. A caldron was prepared and filled with plants; and the king's son was put into it stripped to the magic shirt, and the girl was stripped to the waist. And the mother stood by with a great knife, which she gave to her daughter. Then the king's son was put down in the caldron, and the great serpent, which appeared to be a shirt about his neck, changed into its own form, and sprang on the girl and fastened on her; and she cut away the hold, and the king's son was freed from the spells. Then they were married, and a golden breast was made for the lady').

[2] Orig. *c. Cels.* 6. 8 *περὶ δὲ Πυθαγόρου, πλεῖστα ὅσα τερατευσαμένου καὶ δείξαντος μὲν ἐν πανηγύρει Ἑλλήνων ἐλεφάντινον τὸν μηρόν,...τί χρὴ καὶ λέγειν;*

[3] F. M. Cornford in J. E. Harrison *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 243 ff., *id. The Origin of Attic Comedy* London 1914 p. 89, *supra* i. 419 n. 10, 679, ii. 210 ff.

with some assurance conclude that the Crotoniates knew of a myth in which Apollon *Hyperbóreos* was slain, boiled in a caldron, and pieced together again—the missing portion being replaced in gilded ivory. Pythagoras, who claimed to be the god come to life once more, must needs make good his claim by displaying a golden thigh.

Seven centuries later Alexandros the impostor of Abonou Teichos[1] aped the pretensions of Pythagoras and provided a butt for the satire of Lucian[2]:

'The torch ceremony with its ritual skippings often enabled him to bestow a glimpse of his thigh, which was thus discovered to be of gold; it was presumably enveloped in cloth of gold, which glittered in the lamp-light. This gave rise to a debate between two wiseacres, whether the golden thigh meant that he had inherited Pythagoras's soul, or merely that their two souls were alike; the question was referred to Alexander himself, and King Glycon[3] relieved their perplexity with an oracle[4]:

> Waxes and wanes Pythagoras' soul: the seer's
> Is from the mind of Zeus an emanation.
> His Father sent him, virtuous men to aid,
> And with his bolt one day shall call him home.'

But, if Pythagoras posed as Apollon resurgent, resurrection implies a previous death and burial. When did Apollon die? Where was he buried? The great crisis of his life had been his contest with Python. Pythagoras not unnaturally asserted that Apollon had been slain by Python[5] and buried in the Delphic tripod. His followers probably felt it to be significant that the principal coin-type of Kroton was, from first to last, a tripod-*lébes* (figs. 155—157)[6].

[1] *Infra* Append. L.

[2] Loukian. *Alex.* 40 trans. H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler.

[3] *Infra* Append. L.

[4] Πυθαγόρου ψυχὴ ποτὲ μὲν φθίνει, ἄλλοτε δ' αὔξει· | ἡ δὲ προφητείη Δίης φρενός ἐστιν ἀπορρώξ. | καί μιν ἔπεμψε πατὴρ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπαρωγόν· | καὶ πάλιν ἐς Διὸς εἶσι Διὸς βληθεῖσα κεραυνῷ (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 310).

[5] Yet Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 52 states that Pythagoras told the boys assembled in the *Pýthion* at Kroton τὸν...Πυθικὸν (*sc.* ἀγῶνα τεθῆναι) κρατηθέντος τοῦ Πύθωνος ὑπὸ παιδός. This tells against my view, or would do so were Iamblichos a more reliable author.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 342 ff. figs., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 128 ff. pl. 9, 11—19, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 147 ff. pl. 108, 26—37, pl. 109, 1—33, 35, pl. 110, 11, 13 f., 16—18, 20, 29, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 94 ff. figs. 52—54, Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 100 ff. nos. 963—1008, 122 no. 1210, 129 nos. 1274—1280, 130 nos. 1282—1287 pls. 17 f., 23 f. I figure three specimens in the McClean collection. B. V. Head *op. cit.* p. 99 f. rightly rejects the view advanced by Honoré d'Albert, duc de Luynes in the *Nouv. Ann.* 1836 i. 372 ff. (cp. J. de Witte in the *Rev. Num.* 1844 p. 149 ff.) and F. Lenormant *La Grande-Grèce paysages et histoire* Paris 1881 ii. 96—101 (cp. G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 12 ff., G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 23 ff., A. W. Hands *Coins of Magna Græcia* London 1909 p. 158 ff.) that the coin-types of Kroton were throughout inspired by the religious ideas of the Pythagoreans, the tripod symbolising Apollon *Pýthios*, the eagle Zeus, etc. The eagle, which occurs first as a reverse type incuse, was very possibly (*supra* i. 602 n. 5) suggested by the reverse type incuse of the

On this showing it would appear that the Pythagorean Apollon, living again in the person of Pythagoras, was near akin to the Thraco-Phrygian or Cretan form of the reborn Zeus. Further confirmation of the fact is to be found in Pythagorean legends both early and late. Herodotos was told by Greeks inhabiting the Hellespont and Pontos that Salmoxis was a slave of Pythagoras in Samos, that when freed he made his fortune and introduced

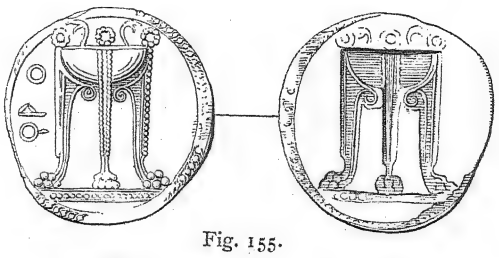


Fig. 155.

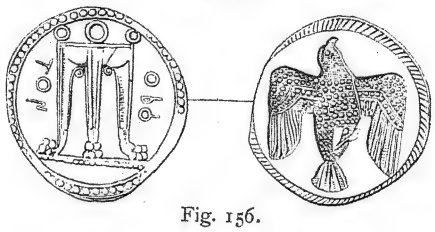


Fig. 156.

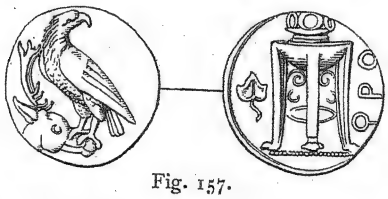


Fig. 157.

Ionic culture into his native land of Thrace: here he built a hall, feasted the foremost of the citizens, and taught them that he together with his fellow-feasters and their descendants instead of dying would come to a land of perpetual life and felicity; meantime he made an underground chamber and vanished from their sight, being mourned by them as dead, but after living for three years in his retreat reappeared in the fourth year and induced them to believe his words[1]. This tale, which was accepted without demur by later authors[2], Herodotos hesitates to believe, adding that in his opinion

tripod (cp. fig. 156 with fig. 155). It remains, however, likely enough that the Pythagoreans read their own meaning into the Crotoniate types, types which were fixed on other and more mundane grounds.

[1] Hdt. 4. 95.

[2] Strab. 297 f., 762, Porph. *v. Pyth.* 14 f. (quoted by Kyrill. Al. *c. Iulian.* 6. 208 (lxxvi.

Salmoxis lived long before Pythagoras and was perhaps a local *daímon* of the Getai[1]. The Getai, he says, practise deification[2]; they think that they themselves live for ever and that so-called death means merely going to the *daímon* Salmoxis[3], whom some of them call Gebeleizis[4]. Once in four years they send a messenger to Salmoxis by tossing him up in the air and catching him on the points of three javelins[5]. The Hellespontine account is no doubt a 'rationalizing story[6]'; but it contains indications of value. The feasting of the Thracians, the simulated death, the promise of immortal bliss—what are these but the *débris* of the very doctrine that we are investigating? Salmoxis, like Pythagoras, stands for the caldron of apotheosis. Later writers spell his name Zalmoxis, sometimes Zamolxis[7]; and Porphyrios does us a good turn by explaining it:

'Pythagoras had yet another lad, whom he had got from Thrace, named *Zálmoxis* because at birth a bear-skin had been thrown over him; for the Thracians call the skin *zalmós*[8].'

Now at Kyzikos near the Hellespont it was said that the nurses of

820 A—B Migne)), Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 104, 173, Diog. Laert. *prooem.* 1 and 8. 2, Hesych. *s.v.* Ζάλμοξις, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Ζάμολξις=*et. mag.* p. 407, 45 ff.=Souid. *s.v.* Ζάμολξις citing *inter alia* pseudo-Hellanikos *βαρβαρικὰ νόμιμα* (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. xxx Müller). Cp. Plat. *Charm.* 158 B, Mnaseas *frag.* 23 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 153 Müller) *ap.* Phot., *et. mag.*, Souid. *locc. citt.*, Diod. 1. 94, Clem. Al. *strom.* 4. 8 p. 274, 21 ff. Stählin, Orig. *c. Cels.* 3. 34, Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Ζάλμοξις.

[1] Hdt. 4. 96.

[2] Ἀθανατίζουσι. On the precise meaning of this term see I. M. Linforth 'Οἱ Ἀθανατίζοντες' in *Class. Philol.* 1918 xiii. 23—33.

[3] Plat. *Charm.* 156 D, Arrian. 1. 3. 2, Loukian. *Scyth.* 1, *concil. deor.* 9. Cp. Phot. *lex. s.v.* Ζάμολξις=*et. mag.* p. 407, 45 ff.=Souid. *s.v.* Ζάμολξις· ...ἀθανατίζουσι δὲ καὶ Τέριζοι (Τερέτιζοι Phot.) καὶ Κρόβυζοι, καὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ὡς Ζάμολξίν φασιν οἰχεσθαι, ἥξειν δὲ αὖθις with Rohde *Psyche*[3] ii. 29 n. 1.

[4] Various attempts have been made to elucidate the word Γεβελέϊζιν (see Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 894). I should surmise that it is related to Latin *gabalus*, Old Irish *gabul*, Welsh *gebel*, Old High German *gabala*, Middle High German *gabel*, etc. (F. Kluge *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*[6] Strassburg 1899 p. 130, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 330 f.), and signifies 'the god with a Fork.' The fork in question would be either a weapon (Schrader *Reallex.* p. 261) like the fork of Hades (*infra* § 3 (c) iv (δ)) or a divining rod comparable with the Pythagorean Y (*supra* i. 282 n. 7). All this, however, is the merest speculation.

[5] Hdt. 4. 94.

[6] W. W. How and J. Wells *A Commentary on Herodotus* Oxford 1912 i. 335.

[7] H. Stein on Hdt. 4. 94 notes: 'Die Namensform schwankt überall zwischen Σάλμοξις (so die Hss. des Her.), Ζάλμοξις und Ζάμολξις, Ζάλμολξις, doch scheinen die ersten, die nur orthographisch verchieden sind, glaubwürdiger.' This disposes of Bartholomae's derivation (*supra* i. 781).

[8] Porph. *v. Pyth.* 14 ἦν δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕτερον μειράκιον, ὃ ἐκ Θρᾴκης ἐκτήσατο, ᾧ Ζάλμοξις ἦν ὄνομα, ἐπεὶ γεννηθέντι αὐτῷ δορὰ ἄρκτου ἐπεβλήθη· τὴν γὰρ δορὰν οἱ Θρᾷκες ζαλμὸν καλοῦσιν. Cp. Zonar. *lex. s.v.* ζαλμώδης· ὁ σθλάβος (leg. σλάβος) and gloss. Aurivillii p. 11 (cited by Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 6 c).

the infant Zeus had been turned into bears[1], as was the case also with his nurses in Crete[2]. Moreover, an interesting myth told how the sinews of Zeus had on one occasion been cut out and wrapped in a bear-skin by Typhon[3]. Another made him consort with the Arcadian Kallisto[4], whom Artemis[5] or Hera[6] or he[7] transformed

[1] *Supra* i. 112 n. 5. [2] *Supra* i. 112 n. 3.

[3] *Infra* § 3 (a) vi (κ).

[4] R. Franz *De Callistus fabula* (*Leipziger Studien für classischen Philologie* xii) Leipzig 1890, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 931—935, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 438, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 415. It is commonly assumed that Kallisto, whose grave—a lofty mound of earth covered with trees—was topped by a sanctuary of Artemis *Kallíste* (Paus. 8. 35. 8), is a hypostasis or by-form of Artemis (so first K. O. Müller *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie* Göttingen 1825 p. 73 ff., C. O. Müller *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* trans. H. Tufnell and G. C. Lewis Oxford 1830 i. 390 f.). My contention is that in such cases we should rather suppose a priestess regarded as the goddess incarnate and bearing the name of the animal specially connected with her divinity (*supra* i. 453). The grave of Kallisto suggests a human embodiment. The complimentary name suits a 'bear' (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 667 f., E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 103 f., *Class. Rev.* 1894 viii. 383 f.). The metamorphosis at the hands of Artemis recalls the ἄρκτοι of Artemis *Brauronia* (*supra* i. 421 f., 442).

[5] So in the oldest accessible form of the myth: Hes. *frag.* 137 Flach 181 Rzach *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 1. 1 (=E. Maass *Commentariorum in Aratum reliquiae* Berlin 1898 p. 181 b 1 ff., cp. schol. Arat. 27) *ταύτην Ἡσίοδός φησι Λυκάονος θυγατέρα ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ οἰκεῖν, ἐλέσθαι δὲ μετὰ Ἀρτέμιδος τὴν περὶ τὰς θήρας ἀγωγὴν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι ποιεῖσθαι· φθαρεῖσαν δὲ* (so C. Robert for MSS. *τε*) *ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐμμεῖναι λανθάνουσαν τὴν θεόν· φωραθῆναι δὲ ὕστερον ἐπίτοκον* (so Koppiers for MSS. *ἐπὶ τόκου* edd.plerique *ἐπὶ τόκου*) *ἤδη οὖσαν ὀφθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτῆς λουομένην· ἐφ' ᾧ ὀργισθεῖσαν τὴν θεὸν ἀποθηριῶσαι αὐτήν· καὶ οὕτως τεκεῖν ἄρκτον γενομένην τὸν κληθέντα Ἀρκάδα· οὖσαν δ' ἐν τῷ ὄρει θηρευθῆναι ὑπὸ αἰπόλων τινῶν καὶ παραδοθῆναι μετὰ τοῦ βρέφους τῷ Λυκάονι· μετὰ χρόνον δέ τινα δόξαι εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄβατον ἱερὸν* (Koppiers and A. Olivieri delete *ἱερόν*: perhaps we should rather read *ἄβατον <ὂν> ἱερὸν*) *ἀγνοήσασαν τὸν νόμον· ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ διωκομένην καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, καὶ ἀναιρεῖσθαι μέλλουσαν διὰ τὸν εἰρημένον νόμον, ὁ Ζεὺς διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτὴν ἐξείλετο καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄστροις αὐτὴν ἔθηκεν· Ἄρκτον δὲ αὐτὴν ὠνόμασε διὰ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς αὐτῇ σύμπτωμα, id. ib.* 1. 8 cod. R. (=E. Maass *op. cit.* p. 574, 8 ff., cp. *ib.* p. 181 a 1 ff.) *<π>ερὶ τούτου λέγεται ὅτι Ἀρκὰς ἐστιν ὁ Καλλιστοῦς καὶ Διὸς γεγονώς, ᾧκησε δὲ περὶ τὸ Λύκαιον* (cod. Λυκαῖον) *φθείραντος αὐτὴν Διός· οὗ προσποιησάμενος ὁ Λυκάων τὸν Δία ἐξένιζεν, ὡς φησιν Ἡσίοδος, καὶ τὸ βρέφος κατακόψας παρέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν· ὅθεν ἐκείνην μὲν ἀνατρέπει, ἀφ'* (so A. Olivieri for cod. *ἐφ'*) *οὗ ἡ Τραπεζοῦς καλεῖται πόλις, τὴν δὲ οἰκίαν ἐκεραύνωσε, τὸν δὲ Λυκάονα ἀπεθηρίωσε καὶ αὐτὸν λύκον ἐποίησε· τὸν δὲ Ἀρκάδα πάλιν ἀναπλάσας ἔθηκεν ἄρτιον* (*supra* p. 393)*· καὶ ἐτράφη παρ' αἰπόλῳ· νεανίσκος δ' ὢν ἤδη δοκεῖ καταδραμεῖν εἰς τὸ Λύκαιον καὶ ἀγνοήσας τὴν μητέρα γῆμαι· οἱ δὲ κατοικοῦντες τὸν τόπον ἀμφοτέρους κατὰ νόμον θύειν ἔμελλον· ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐξελόμενος αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν εἰς τὰ ἄστρα ἀνήγαγεν*, Apollod. 3. 8. 2 Εὔμηλος (*frag.* 14 Kinkel, but R. Franz cj. Ἡσίοδος) *δὲ καί τινες ἕτεροι λέγουσι Λυκάονι καὶ θυγατέρα Καλλιστὼ γενέσθαι· Ἡσίοδος* (R. Franz cj. Εὔμηλος) *μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν μίαν εἶναι τῶν νυμφῶν λέγει, Ἄσιος* (*frag.* 9 Kinkel) *δὲ Νυκτέως, Φερεκύδης* (*frag.* 86 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 92 Müller)) *δὲ Κητέως*. Cp. Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 1 p. 30, 4 ff. Bunte, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 381, 8 ff. Eyssenhardt.

The religious art of the fourth century B.C. with its dislike of theriomorphism represented Artemis as shooting a purely human Kallisto. Thus coppers of Orchomenos in Arkadia, struck shortly after 370 B.C., have for obverse type Artemis kneeling with bow



into a she-bear. Yet another spoke of Zeus himself as metamorphosed into a bear, when he mated with Amaltheia[1]. In view of

just discharged and sometimes a hound seated behind her; for reverse, Kallisto falling back pierced by the arrow and the infant Arkas on the ground, the whole inscribed ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝ ΙΩΝ or ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΙ ΩΝ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus

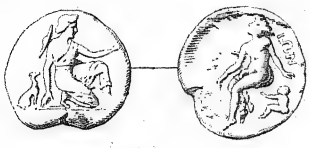


Fig. 158.

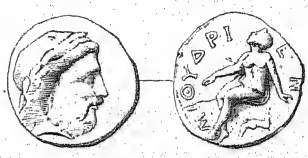


Fig. 159.

p. 190 pl. 35, 15 = my fig. 158, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 203 pl. E, 10, *id.* and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 96 pl. S, 22 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 451, cp. Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 200 pl. E, 9 = my fig. 159).

[6] This version, which goes back to Kallim. *frag.* 385 *ap.* schol. A.D. *Il.* 18. 487, was commonly accepted throughout the Roman age (Ov. *met.* 2. 409 ff., Paus. 8. 3. 6, Hyg. *fab.* 177, *poet. astr.* 2. 1 p. 31, 3 ff. Bunte, Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 67, 1. 138, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 3. 685, Isid. *orig.* 3. 70. 35, Myth. Vat. 1. 17, 2. 58, Tzetz. *in* Hes. *o.d.* 564, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1156, 9 ff.).

[7] So Apollod. 3. 8. 2, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 1 p. 31, 6 ff. Bunte, Liban. *narr.* 6 (iv. 1101 Reiske).

From *s.* iv B.C. onwards Zeus himself was said to have wooed Kallisto in one or other of several disguises. Either he took the form of Artemis (Amphis *inc. fab. frag.* 11 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 320 Meineke) *ap.* Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 1 p. 30, 15 ff. Bunte and *ap.* schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 381, 12 ff. Eyssenhardt, cp. Apollod. 3. 8. 2, Ov. *met.* 2. 425, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 744, Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 3. 685, Myth. Vat. 2. 58), or he became Apollon for the nonce (Apollod. 3. 8. 2 Ζεὺς δὲ ἐρασθεὶς ἀκούσῃ συνευνάζεται, εἰκασθείς, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, Ἀρτέμιδι, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι, Ἀπόλλωνι, cp. Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 480 Ἄρκας ὁ Διὸς ἢ Ἀπόλλωνος παῖς καὶ Καλλιστοῦς τῆς Λυκάονος θυγατρός), or else he appeared as a lion (Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) Καλλιστοῖ τῇ Λυκάονος ἠγριώθη λέων, καὶ ἄλλον τίκτει Ἀρκάδα). The first of these metamorphoses is illustrated by a silver *simpulum* plated here and there with gold, which was found *c.* 1861 A.D. at Cullera near Valencia and is now in the Dutuit collection at Paris (pl. xv = W. Froehner *Les Musées de France* Paris 1873 pp. 21—23 pl. 5, W. Helbig in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1865 pp. 120—122, R. Franz in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 934 fig., E. Pottier in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 707 fig. 4230, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 242 nos. 1—3). The vessel is shaped like a saucepan (0·11^{m} in diameter with handle 0·9^{m} in length) and inscribed on the bottom in lettering of the second half of *s.* iii A.D. [F]ATE ♀ PAVLINA D·V·S· = *Fat(a)e Paulina d(edit) v(otum) s(olvens)*? cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ii no. 3727. The handle has the usual swan-head supports. On it appears Zeus with thunderbolt and sceptre beside a flaming altar: above are two garlands; below, an eagle between a pair of torches. The relief-frieze, first cast in a mould and then tooled, shows four scenes: (*a*) Zeus as a swan with Leda; (*b*) Zeus as a man with Semele, while Eros carries off his thunderbolt, an ornamented box or case (?) being hung in the background; (*c*) Zeus as Artemis with Kallisto and Eros between two oak-trees, one of which has beside it a pillar supporting a lighted torch; (*d*) Zeus as an eagle, dropping his thunderbolt to woo Ganymedes, while Eros with his bow escapes towards a third oak-tree.

[1] Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) Ἀμαλθείᾳ δὲ τῇ Φώκου ὁμοιωθεὶς ἄρκτῳ συνευνάζεται, Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 22 Mantheam Phoci mutatus in ursum, ex qua nascitur Arctos. Whether Ἀμαλθείᾳ is a blunder, or *Mantheam*, or both, we cannot say, since the source of the legend is unknown.

these bear-stories[1] it is reasonable to infer that *Zálmoxis* was a Thracian appellative of the new-born Zeus.

Again, Antonius Diogenes in his *Marvels beyond Thoule* (*s.*i. A.D.[2]) had, *à propos* of Pythagoras, included a story, which—as Porphyrios says[3]—was by no means to be neglected:

'According to Diogenes, Mnesarchos was a Tyrrhenian by race, one of those that inhabited Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros. Starting from thence he visited many different states and districts. And once upon a time he found an infant laid beneath a white poplar-tree of great size and shapely growth. He stopped and saw that the child lying on its back was looking up at the sky, staring straight at the sun without ever winking its eyes. It had in its mouth a small slender reed like a pipe; and he saw to his surprise that it was nurtured by dew, which dropped from the poplar. So, thinking that the child must have been born of some divine parentage, he took it up from the ground. The boy grew to manhood in Samos and was taken up by the Samian Androkles, who put him in charge of his household. Mnesarchos, being quite well-to-do, brought up the child under the name of Astraios along with his own three boys Eunostos, Tyrrhenos, and Pythagoras the youngest, whom Androkles adopted as his son[4].'

The fine poplar in a far-off land with a divine infant lying beneath it at once recalls the remarkable poplar growing in the mouth of the Idaean Cave[5], where Zeus was born[6],—a spot to which Pythagoras made pilgrimage[7]. Ability to stare straight at the sun was characteristic of the eagle[8] and might well mark an infant Zeus. Finally, the name *Astraîos* reminds us that the Cretan Zeus bore the title *Astérios*[9]. It is clear therefore that Diogenes wove into his romance a neo-Pythagorean account of the Cretan Zeus.

If so, it would seem that Zalmoxis and Astraios, the two familiars of Pythagoras, stand respectively for Thrace and Crete, and that the sage in representing himself as an *avatar* of Apollon was acting under the influence of the Thracian and Cretan cult of the reborn Zeus. Such an influence was not out of place at Delphoi, where the earliest priests of Apollon *Delphínios* had been Cretans

[1] See further J. J. Bachofen *Der Bär in den Religionen des Altertums* Basel 1863, S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* ed. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1794 ii. 129—149, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 667 f., E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 103 f., M. Wellmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2759—2762, Schrader *Reallex.* p. 60, S. Reinach *Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1905 i. 21 f., 51, 55 ff., O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 175—181.

[2] W. Schmid in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2616, W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[3] München 1898 p. 816, Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 77.

[3] Porph. *v. Pyth.* 10.

[4] Porph. *v. Pyth.* 10. *Id. ib.* 13 adds that Mnesarchos presented Astraios to Pythagoras, who saw to his training.

[5] *Supra* i. 529.

[6] *Supra* i. 150 f., Append. B Crete.

[7] *Supra* i. 135, 646, 669.

[8] *Supra* i. 104 n. 1.

[9] *Supra* i. 545 ff., 664 n. 3, 733 f., 740.

from Knossos[1] and his most doughty defenders in the middle of the fourth century B.C. were the Thrakidai[2].

(*v*) Zeus at Delphoi.

The arguments hitherto adduced point towards a conclusion of some importance, *viz.* that at Delphoi the worship of the sky-father (Zeus), the earth-mother (Ge, Themis), and their offspring (Dionysos) was anterior to the worship of Apollon, who inherited, so to speak, the eagles of Zeus[3], the *omphalós* of Ge[4], the tripod[5] and tomb of Dionysos[6].

A stranger visiting the site might indeed from first impressions suppose that here Apollon was all in all. But closer scrutiny would soon detect many a trace of the earlier occupants. At the very entrance of the town Zeus *Polieús* had a precinct adjoining that of Athena *Pronaía*[7]. Within the temple of Apollon the statues of the two Moirai were flanked by Zeus *Moiragétes* as well as by Apollon *Moiragétes*; and it is likely that the latter was named after the former god[8]. Again, the Delphians had a cult of Zeus *Eúhypnos*,

[1] *Supra* p. 189 n. 8. [2] Diod. 16. 24. [3] *Supra* p. 179 ff.
[4] *Supra* p. 169 ff. [5] *Supra* p. 193 ff. [6] *Supra* p. 218 ff.

[7] A. D. Keramopoullos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1909 p. 269 published a limestone boundary-block (?) inscribed ΔΙΟΣ | ΠΟΛΙΕΩΣ, which he had found in 1907 S. or S.E. of the large altar at *Marmaria* just below the southern wall of Athena's precinct. A. Frickenhaus in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1910 xxxv. 243 n. 1 agrees that this inscription must be a boundary-stone, infers (*ib.* p. 239 n. 3) that there was an adjoining precinct of Zeus *Polieús*, and assigns to it the trophy which the Delphians set up παρὰ τὸ τῆς Προναίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν (Diod. 11. 14). H. Pomtow, who in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1884 xxx. 238 ff. had corrected the punctuation of the epigram on this trophy by reading μνᾶμά τ' ἀλεξάνδρου πολέμου καὶ μάρτυρα νίκας | Δελφοί με στᾶσαν Ζανὶ χαριζόμενοι· | σὺν Φοίβῳ πτολίπορθον ἀπωσάμενοι στίχα Μήδων | καὶ χαλκοστέφανον ῥυσάμενοι τέμενος, in *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 73—75 improves it still further by accepting F. W. Schneidewin's comma at the end of the first distich, reads the boundary-stone as ΔΙΟΣ | ΠΟΛΙΕΟΣ, and states that (in 1909?) he had arrived independently at the results obtained by Frickenhaus. For plans see *Ath. Mitth.* 1910 xxxv. 243 fig. 4 and col. pl. 13.

[8] Paus. 10. 24. 4 ἐν δὲ τῷ ναῷ... ἕστηκε δὲ καὶ ἀγάλματα Μοιρῶν δύο· ἀντὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς τρίτης Ζεύς τε Μοιραγέτης καὶ Ἀπόλλων σφίσι παρέστηκε Μοιραγέτης. The title, which is used here only of Apollon (see D. Bassi *Apollo 'Moiragetes'* Torino—Roma 1895), occurs elsewhere of Zeus: (*a*) inscription from the *akrópolis* at Athens (*Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 93, 10 ff. = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 14, 10 ff. [τά]δε ho Ἀπόλλων ἔχρεσεν [? νόμμα Πραχσιεργίδαις] | [ἀμ]φιεννύοσιν τὸν πέπλον [τὲν θεὸν καὶ προθύοσιν] | [Μοί]ραις Διὶ Μοιραγέτει γ – – –); (*b*) altar in the hippodrome at Olympia (Paus. 5. 15. 5 ἰόντι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἵππων ἔστι βωμός, ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Μοιραγέτα· δῆλα οὖν ἐστιν ἐπίκλησιν εἶναι Διὸς ὃς τὰ ἀνθρώπων οἶδεν, ὅσα διδόασιν αἱ Μοῖραι καὶ ὅσα μὴ πέπρωταί σφισι. πλησίον δὲ καὶ Μοιρῶν βωμός ἐστιν ἐπιμήκης, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἑρμοῦ καὶ δύο ἐφεξῆς Διὸς Ὑψίστου (K. Wernicke cj. δύο ἐφεξῆς Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Διὸς Ὑψίστου)); (*c*) relief in the precinct of Despoina near Akakesion in Arkadia (Paus. 8. 37. 1 ἰόντων δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν στοά τέ ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ λίθου λευκοῦ τύποι πεποιημένοι, καὶ τῷ μέν εἰσιν ἐπειργασμέναι Μοῖραι καὶ Ζεὺς ἐπίκλησιν Μοιραγέτης,

'Giver of Good Sleep[1]': the title presupposes the custom of incubation[2], as practised *e.g.* in the cult of Zeus *Amphiáraos* near Oropos[3], and is doubtless of ancient date[4]. The Aetolian League



Fig. 160.

δευτέρῳ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τρίποδα Ἀπόλλωνα ἀφαιρούμενος). It seems probable therefore that Apollon took the title from Zeus, who in turn may have derived it from the Idaean Daktyloi (Ap. Rhod. 1. 1126 ff. Τιτίην θ' ἅμα Κύλληνόν τε, | οἱ μοῦνοι πολέων μοιρηγέται ἠδὲ πάρεδροι | μητέρος Ἰδαίης κεκλήαται ὅσσοι ἔασιν | Δάκτυλοι Ἰδαῖοι Κρηταιέες with schol. *ad loc.* and K. Tümpel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3103 f.). Later the term was generalised (Alkiphr. 1. 20 ὦ μοιραῖοι θεοὶ καὶ μοιραγέται δαίμονες, Iambl. *de fato* p. 179, 1 ff. τί οὖν; οἷόν τε ἐστι διὰ τῶν πολευόντων θεῶν λύειν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι μοιρηγέτας καὶ δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις τοὺς βίους δεσμεύοντας; Hermeias *in* Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 96, 14 f. Couvreur τῆς προνοίας ἐξηρημένως καὶ τῆς θείας δὲ φύσεως καὶ τῶν μοιρηγετῶν (μοιρηγενετῶν codd.) θεῶν συνδιαπλεκόντων πάντα ἐν τάξει καὶ κατὰ δίκην, 23 οἱ μέντοι μοιρηγέται (μοιρηγενέται codd.) θεοὶ κ.τ.λ., Prokl. *in* Plat. *Alcib.* 24 p. 77 Creuzer τὰς τῆς εἱμαρμένης δόσεις καὶ τῶν μοιρηγετῶν (so F. Creuzer or codd. μοιρηγενετῶν, μοιρηνετῶν)).

L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1881 p. 118 f. Atlas pl. 5, 18 (reproduced to a scale of $\frac{2}{1}$ in my fig. 160) contends that an engraved chalcedony of Roman date, now in the Hermitage Museum at Petrograd, represents Zeus *Moiragétes* seated on a throne with an eagle at his feet, a sceptre in his raised left hand and the three Moirai on his outstretched right hand. Stephani admits that the little figures might be Horai (cp. F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig and Darmstadt 1841 iii. 97) or Charites, but rules out the former as being less significant in relation to Zeus than the Moirai, and the latter as being normally undraped in late art. The three small females are certainly draped, and one of them has 'ein kleines beutelartiges und nicht genauer zu bestimmendes Attribut in die Hand.' But I confess, I should not accept Stephani's identification. I regard them as Charites, draped just because they are *not* a product of late art, but have been transferred to Zeus from the famous statue of Apollon at Delos by the archaic sculptors Tektaios and Angelion (Plout. *de mus.* 14 quoted *infra* § 3 (a) iii (χ), Paus. 2. 32. 5, 9. 35. 3, Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 17 p. 19 Schwartz; Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 17 ff. fig. 4 Münztaf. 1, 17—20, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 144 pl. cc, 11—14, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 72 f. pl. 11, 8, p. 82 pl. 14, 9, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 73, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 383, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 81 f. pl. 15, 29. Fig. 161 is from a copper coin of Athens in my collection).



Fig. 161.

[1] Hesych. Εὔυπνος· ὁ Ζεὺς [ἢ καλὸς ὕπνος] παρὰ Δελφοῖς.

[2] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1109 n. 5 (cp. *id. ib.* p. 932 n. 3) refers the title to a 'Traumorakel.' Other evidence of incubation at Delphoi is considered by Rohde *Psyche*[3] ii. 58 n. 1 and L. Deubner *De incubatione* Lipsiae 1900 p. 52 n. 2: neither of these scholars has, however, seen the relevancy of Zeus *Eúhypnos*.

[3] *Supra* i. 407 n. 4. For Amphiaraos as Zeus see *infra* Append. J.

[4] It recalls the sound sleep of Trophonios and Agamedes at Delphoi (*supra* i. 450). Incubation was in all probability practised in the cult of Trophonios at Lebadeia (L. Deubner *De incubatione* Lipsiae 1900 p. 8 n. 2, Miss M. Hamilton *Incubation* London 1906 p. 88 ff.). J. Vürtheim 'De Eugammonis Cyrenaei Telegonia' in *Mnemosyne* N.S.

commemorated the defeat of the Gauls near Delphoi (279—278 B.C.) by establishing a festival to be called Soteria in honour of Zeus *Sotér* and Apollon *Pýthios*[1]. But A. Mommsen's notion that the ordinary Pythian rites were performed for the *Moiragétai*, Zeus as well as Apollon[2], is an unsupported conjecture[3]. On the other hand, importance must be attached to the fact that at the feast Boukatia[4] in the month Boukatios (=the Attic Metageitnion)[5] the Delphic phratry of the Labyadai sacrificed not only to Apollon but also to Zeus *Patrôios*[6], a god by whom they swore[7].

(φ) Dionysos at Delphoi.

But if Zeus left his mark on Delphoi, so did Dionysos. Plutarch in an interesting section of his treatise *On the Delphic* E[8] writes as follows:

'If, then, any one ask what all this has to do with Apollon, we shall declare that it concerns not him alone but also Dionysos, who is partner on equal terms with Apollon at Delphoi. The theologians, now in verse, now in prose, sing or

1901 xxix. 23 ff. argues that Klymenos, Trophonios, and Agamedes were all hypostases of a chthonian god, the Zeus (or Hermes) of Lebadeia. *Klýmenos*, like *Periklýmenos* (Hesych. *s.v.*), was an appellative of Plouton (R. Engelmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1228 f.). Zeus *Trophónios* or *Trephónios* was the full name of the Lebadean divinity (*infra* Append. K). *Agamédes* was a possible title for Zeus (cp. *supra* i. 14 n. 1).

[1] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 323=Michel *Recueil d' Inscr. gr.* no. 128=Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 205.

[2] A. Mommsen *Delphika* Leipzig 1878 pp. 170, 224.

[3] Rashly accepted by H. Pomtow in *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 45.

[4] Βουκάτια, derived by A. Boeckh *ἀπὸ τοῦ καλνεσθαι βοῦς* (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* i. 733), was tantamount in meaning to *βουφόνια*.

[5] J. W. Kubitschek in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 994, H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum*[2] Lugduni Batavorum 1910 i. 284.

[6] T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 5 ff. *D* 45 ff. =J. Baunack in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* ii. 718 ff. no. 2561 D 45 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 995 *D* 45 ff. =Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 438 *d* 210 ff. =J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii. 217 ff. no. 74 D 45 ff. =F. Solmsen *Inscriptiones Graecae ad inlustrandas dialectos selectae* Lipsiae 1905 no. 36 D 45 ff. Βουκατίοις | *τῶι Δὶ πατρώιωι καὶ τὼπ|όλλωνι τὰν ἀκρόθινα, κα|ὶ συμπρῆτσκεν* (B. Keil in *Hermes* 1896 xxxi. 509 f. treats this verb as an iterative form of *πίμπρημι* 'zusammen verbrennen,' and so Baunack and Dittenberger *ad loc.* But Fournier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 271 reads *συμπιπίσκεν*, which is accepted by Michel, Ziehen, and Solmsen) *ἁμεῖ το|ὺς Λαβυάδας*.

[7] Their oaths were: (*a*) A 14 f. *ποὶ τοῦ Δι|ὸς τοῦ πατρώιου*
(*b*) B 12 ff. *ποὶ τὸ 'Απόλλω[ν]|ος καὶ τοῦ Ποτειδᾶνος | τοῦ φρατρίου καὶ τοῦ Δ|ιὸς πατρώιου*
(*c*) C 1 ff. *[ποὶ τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος κ|αὶ Ποτειδᾶνος τοῦ φρ]ατ[ρ|ίου καὶ Διός]*
Dittenberger *loc. cit.* ii. 26 n. 3 justly infers that the Labyadai were a phratry (*φρατρία*), not a clan (*πατριά*), and notes that the cult of Zeus *Patrôios* was appropriate to any community bound together by ties of kindred and affinity.

[8] Plout. *de* E *apud Delphos* 9. I have followed throughout the text of W. R. Paton (Berolini 1893).

say to us that God, who by nature is imperishable and everlasting, yet owing to a certain necessity inherent in mind and reason undergoes transformation, and sometimes kindles his nature to a fire thereby reducing all things to a state of uniformity, sometimes becomes manifold in shapes and in diverse passions and powers thereby producing an orderly universe, as at present, and winning for himself the name that is famous above every name[1]. Our wiseacres keep this knowledge from the populace, and call his transformation into fire Apollon by reason of its unity[2] or Phoibos by reason of its pure and unpolluted character; but as to his turning into wind, water, earth, stars, births of plants and animals, and his ordering of the universe in general, they hint at his suffering and transformation by speaking of a certain rending-asunder and dismemberment: they call him Dionysos, Zagreus, *Nyktélios*, *Isodaítes*, and recount certain destructions and disappearances followed by rebirths and resurrections—mystifying and mythical phrases that suit the transformations I have mentioned[3]. Again, to the one god they sing dithyrambic songs full of passions and of a transformation that involves a certain wandering and scattering: as Aischylos puts it—

> 'Tis meet the dithyramb of mingled cry
> With Dionysos should go revelling by[4].

To the other god they sing a paean, an orderly and discreet form of composition. Painters and sculptors always represent him as free from old age and youthful, his partner as taking on a variety of forms and shapes. Generally speaking, they ascribe to the former similarity, order, pure seriousness, to the latter ups and downs of sport and violence, seriousness and madness, invoking him as—'Lord of the Loud Cry, Waker of Women, Dionysos flowering forth with frenzied rites[5].' In fact they have seized aright the true nature of both transformations. But inasmuch as the periods of time allowed for these transformations are unequal, the former period which they call "satiety" having the longer duration, the latter period of "need" the shorter[6], they are careful to observe

[1] *Sc. θεός*, as Paton points out, *ἀπὸ τῆς θέσεως=διακοσμήσεως*, cp. Cornut. *theol.* 1 p. 3, 1 f. Lang *τάχα δ' ἂν εἶεν θεοὶ θετῆρες καὶ ποιηταὶ τῶν γινομένων*. So Hdt. 2. 52, *et. mag.* p. 445, 48 ff.=Choirobosk. *in psal.* p. 99, 1 ff.

[2] *Ἀπόλλων* is here derived from *α+πολύς*—a favourite whimsy (Chrysippos *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 17. 7, Plout. *de* E *apud Delphos* 20, *de Is. et Os.* 10, 76, Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 24 p. 103, 3 f. Stählin, Plotin. *enn.* 5. 5. 6 p. 213, 20 ff. Volkmann, Hesych. *s.v.* *Ἀπόλλων*, Lyd. *de mens.* 2. 4 p. 21, 18 ff. Wünsch, Cramer *anecd. Paris.* i. 315, 34 ff., *v. Plat.* p. 8 ed. A. H. L. Heeren in the *Bibliothek der alten Litteratur und Kunst* Göttingen 1789 Stück v).

[3] *τῆς δ' εἰς πνεῦμά τε* (codd. *πνεύματα* corr. Meziriac) *καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἄστρα καὶ φυτῶν ζῴων τε γενέσεις τροπῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ διακοσμήσεως τὸ μὲν πάθημα καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν διασπασμόν τινα καὶ διαμελισμὸν αἰνίττονται· Διόνυσον δὲ καὶ Ζαγρέα καὶ Νυκτέλιον καὶ Ἰσοδαίτην αὐτὸν ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ φθοράς τινας καὶ ἀφανισμοὺς εἶτα δ'* (so Stegmann for *οἱ τὰς* V[1]. *οἱ τὰς* D. B. Pal. A. Pet. *οἳ τὰς* F. V[3]. E. Vat.) *ἀναβιώσεις* (so Stegmann with Amyot for codd. *ἀποβιώσεις*) *καὶ παλιγγενεσίας, οἰκεῖα ταῖς εἰρημέναις μεταβολαῖς αἰνίγματα καὶ μυθεύματα περαίνουσι.*

[4] Aisch. *frag.* 355 Nauck[2] *μιξοβόαν πρέπει | διθύραμβον ὁμαρτεῖν | σύγκωμον* (so T. Tyrwhitt for *συγκονον* Vat. Pet. *σύγγονον* E. *σύγκοινον* cett.) *Διονύσῳ.*

[5] *Frag. adesp.* 131 Bergk[4] *ap.* Plout. *symp.* 4. 6. 1 *ἆρα, ἔφη, σὺ τὸν πατριώτην θεόν, ὦ Λαμπρία, "εὔιον ὀρσιγύναικα, μαινομέναις ἀνθέοντα τιμαῖσι Διόνυσον" ἐγγράφεις καὶ ὑποποιεῖς τοῖς Ἑβραίων ἀπορρήτοις;* cp. *id. de exil.* 17 (*Διόνυσον μαινομέναις ἀνθέοντα τιμαῖς*), *de* E *apud Delphos* 9 (*μαινομέναις Διόνυσον ἀνθέοντα τιμαῖς*).

[6] Herakl. *frag.* 24 Bywater, 65 Diels.

the same proportion, and here employ the paean for their sacrifices throughout the greater part of the year; but, when winter begins, they stir up the dithyramb and stop the paean, calling for three months together upon the second god in place of the first[1]. They take it that, as three is to one in point of nature, so in point of time is the formation of the universe to its conflagration.'

The whole passage is obviously redolent of Greek philosophy. Herakleitos, Pythagoras, Platon, the Stoics have contributed their several quotas. But discounting all these philosophical elements

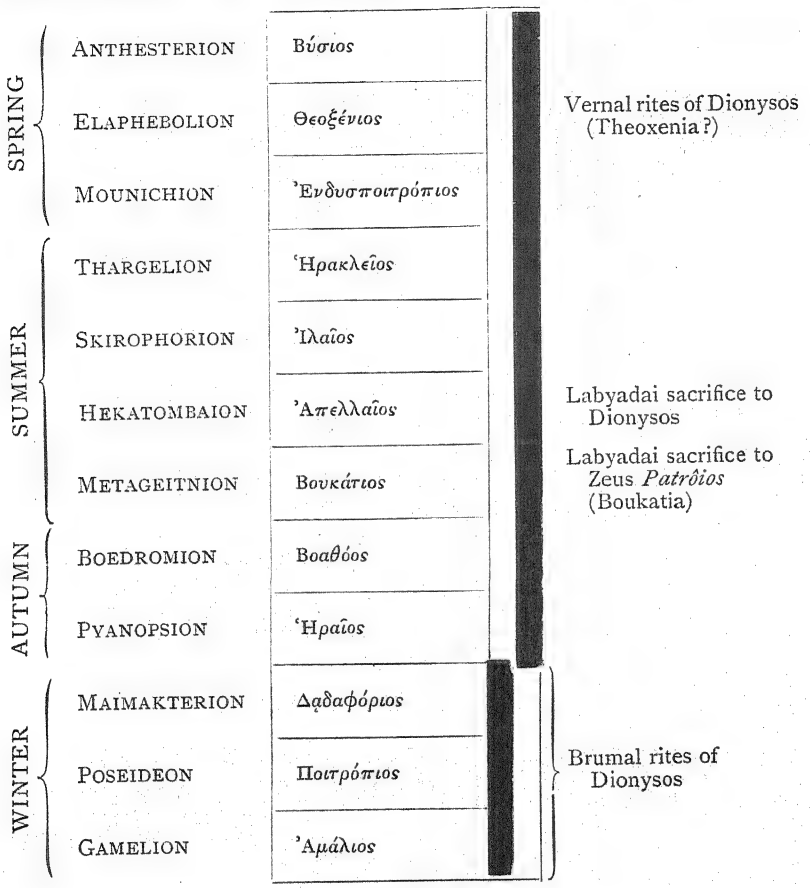


Fig. 162.

we have yet a residuum of popular religion that is well deserving of attention. It appears that at Delphoi Dionysos was admittedly no less essential than Apollon, whom he actually dispossessed for

[1] *τὸ κατὰ λόγον τηροῦντες ἐνταῦθα τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ἐνιαυτὸν παιᾶνι χρῶνται περὶ τὰς θυσίας, ἀρχομένου δὲ χειμῶνος ἐπεγείραντες τὸν διθύραμβον τὸν δὲ παιᾶνα καταπαύσαντες, τρεῖς μῆνας ἀντ' ἐκείνου τοῦτον κατακαλοῦνται* (ἀνακαλοῦνται B.V[3].) *τὸν θεόν.*

three months out of the twelve. Our recently-acquired knowledge of the Delphic calendar (fig. 162)[1] enables us to be more precise. The winter months Daidaphorios, Poitropios, and Amalios together constituted the season of Dionysos. The Locrians, near neighbours of the Delphians, called the second of these months not Poitropios but Dionysios[2], while the Dorian inhabitants of Chalkis, Byzantion, and Chersonnesos spoke of the following month as Dionysios instead of Amalios[3]. A comparison with the Attic calendar[4] will show that in Attike too the second and third winter months were marked by important Dionysiac festivals, the Rural Dionysia falling in Poseideon, the Lenaia in Gamelion. But if at Delphoi winter was reserved for Dionysos, the rest of the year belonged to Apollon. Spring came in with the month Bysios, the seventh day of which was kept as Apollon's birthday[5]. In early times—if Kallisthenes

[1] F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2532. *Id. ib.* 2531 cites earlier literature, but omits the monograph of C. Petersen *Der Delphische Festcyclus des Apollon und des Dionysos* Hamburg 1859. See also W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1907 i. 300 (bibliography), 302 (calendar), Lübker *Reallex.*[8] pp. 1135 (calendar), 1136 (bibliography).

[2] Larfeld *op. cit.* p. 302 Διονύσιος (Διωνύν ?). [3] *Id. ib.* p. 301. [4] *Supra* i. 691.

[5] Apollon was variously connected with the number seven, as has been shown in detail by W. H. Roscher 'Die Heiligkeit der Siebenzahl im Kultus und Mythus des Apollon' in *Philologus* 1901 lx. 360—368, *id. Die enneadischen und hebdomadischen Fristen und Wochen der ältesten Griechen* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1903 xxi. 4) Leipzig 1903 pp. 49 f., 67 n. 196, *id. Die Sieben- und Neunzahl im Kultus und Mythus der Griechen* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1904 xxiv. 1) Leipzig 1904 pp. 4—19, 23, 29 n. 65 b, 68 f., 107, *id. Die Hebdomadenlehren der griechischen Philosophen und Ärzte* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1906 xxiv. 6) Leipzig 1906 pp. 7, 21 ff., 178 f., 210—214, 219 n. 303, *id. Enneadische Studien* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1907 xxvi. 1) Leipzig 1907 pp. 1—170, *id. Über Alter, Ursprung und Bedeutung der hippokratischen Schrift von der Siebenzahl* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1911 xxviii. 5) Leipzig 1911 pp. 1—154. Roscher's investigations are valuable on account of the enormous mass of evidence that he has digested. But his main contentions ((*a*) The sidereal or lunar month of 27—28 days was in Boiotia, Euboia, etc. divided into 4 weeks of 7 days—a division which gave rise to periods of 7 months, 7 years, 7 generations, sevenfold offerings, rites, choruses, groups of 7 gods, heroes, etc. (*b*) The sidereal or lunar month of 27—28 days was later, in epic times, divided into 3 weeks of 9 days—a system which in myth and cult transformed many of the older hebdomads into enneads, besides producing a fresh crop of the latter. (*c*) But this second arrangement soon gave place to a third. The synodical month of 29—30 days was divided into 3 periods of 10 days. (*d*) The numerical speculation of Orphists and Pythagoreans is traced to early Ionic hylozoism of *s.* vi and *s.* vii B.C., and is found to rest upon beliefs of a primitive character. The same holds good with regard to the ancient medical teaching of critical days, months, and years) are open to dispute: see especially the objections raised by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 362—367. On the whole it must be admitted that as yet no single or simple explanation of the sanctity attaching to the number seven has been reached. Further discussion by H. Diels 'Ein orphischer Demeterhymnus' in the *Festschrift Theodor Gomperz dargebracht zum siebzigsten Geburtstage* Wien 1902 p. 8 ff., F. von Andrian 'Die Siebenzahl im Geistesleben der Völker' in the *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 1901 xxxi. 225 ff.,

J. Loth in the *Revue celtique* 1904 xxv. 113 ff., M. P. Nilsson 'Die älteste griechische Zeitrechnung, Apollo und der Orient' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 423 ff., *id. Primitive Time-reckoning* Lund 1920 p. 329 ff., F. Boll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2547—2578, S. Eitrem *ib.* vii. 2579. *Infra* § 3 (a) vi (λ).

The principal *data* concerning Apollon are as follows. Like Dionysos (Loukian. *dial. deor.* 9. 2, Cornut. *theol.* 2 cod. G p. xiv Lang, cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 10), he passed as being a seven-months' child (schol. Pind. *Pyth.* argum. 1, schol. Kallim. *h. Del.* 251, cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 10). At Sparta on the first and seventh days of every month the kings sacrificed to Apollon (Hdt. 6. 57, cp. Roscher *Die Hebdomadenlehren* etc. p. 211 f.). At Athens the first and seventh days of every month were sacred to Apollon (schol. Aristoph. *Plout.* 1126). At Miletos the guild of singers (*μολποί*), who worshipped Apollon *Δελφίνιος*, had a festival called *Ἑβδομαῖα* in the month Boedromion (?) or Pyanepsion (?) (A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 235, 277 ff. inscr. no. 133, 6, 21 ff., U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1904 pp. 622, 626, F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 627 ff. no. 5495, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 170 f., S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2579): Boedromion 7 would correspond with the date of the Apolline Boedromia (Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 176 f., E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 713 f., P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 594 f.), Pyanepsion 7 with that of the Apolline Pyanopsia or Pyanepsia at Athens (Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 278 ff., E. Cahen in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 781). It is probable too that sacrifices were offered to Apollon on the seventh day of the month at Kroton (Timaios *ap.* Athen. 522 C with Roscher *Die Hebdomadenlehren* etc. p. 24 n. 31). In Boiotia (?) the seventh day of the month was sacred, for on it Leto had borne Apollon (Hes. *o. d.* 770 f., cp. Aristoboulos *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 397, 20 ff. Stählin and *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 12. 13, Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* ii. 197, 28 ff. Diehl). At Delphoi Apollon's birthday was Bysios 7 (Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 9), in Delos Thargelion 7 (Diog. Laert. 3. 2). At Athens the Apolline festival of the Thargelia was held on Thargelion 7 (Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 469), and Platon, whose birthday fell on that day (Plout. *symp.* 8. 1. 1 f.), was regarded as the son of Apollon (Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 469 n. 3 even says 'einen inkarnierten Apoll'); at least it was said that Ariston, warned by a vision of Apollon, had abstained from his wife Periktione till on Thargelion 7 she gave birth to Platon (Plout. *symp.* 8. 1. 2; Speusippos, Klearchos *frag.* 43 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 316 Müller), and Anaxilaïdes (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2083 suggests Anaxilaos of Larissa) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 3. 2 and *ap.* Hieron. *c. Iovinian.* 1. 42 (xxiii. 273 A—B Migne)). Similarly at Kyrene Karneades was born during the Apolline Karneia on the seventh day of the month (Plout. *symp.* 8. 1. 2). Apollon himself was entitled *Ἑβδομαγενής* (Plout. *symp.* 8. 1. 2 *καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὡς ταύτῃ γενόμενον ὑμεῖς, εἶπεν, οἱ προφῆται καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς Ἑβδομαγένην* (J. J. Reiske ex edd. Ald. et Bas. *ἑβδομαγένη* corr. *ἑβδομαγενῆ*) *καλεῖτε*) and *Ἑβδομεῖος* (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1653 an inscription of *s.* iv (?) from *Keratia* in Attike [*ἱ*]*ερὸν* | [*Ἀ*]*πόλλωνος* | *Ἑβδομείο* | *φρατρίας* | *Ἀχναδῶν* = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 749 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 441). On the seventh day of some month he had at Athens a sacrifice called *ἑβδομαῖον* (E. Ziebarth in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1898 xxiii. 24 ff. no. 1 = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 16 a, 7 ff. [*ἑ*]*βδόμηι ἱσταμένο* | *ἐς ἑβδομαῖον* | *οἷς λειπο*|*γνώμων* | *Πυθαισ*[*α*]*ῖς θυ*|*ων. αις* – –). His name *ἑβδομαγέτης* (Aisch. *s. c. Th.* 800 f. with schol. *ad loc.*, Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* ii. 197, 30 f. Diehl) may be compared with his other appellatives *Ἀρχηγέτης*, *κυνηγέτης*, *Μοιραγέτης*, *Μουσηγέτης*, *Νυμφηγέτης*, *Προηγέτης* (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1703 f.): doubtless we have here, as A. W. Verrall *ad loc.* observed, 'an example of that curious verbal ingenuity which plays so marked a part in the religious and prophetic mysteries of Aeschylus'; but the poet is, I fancy, giving a new meaning to an old cult-title, for the Muses were sometimes conceived as being seven in number (Epicharm. *frag.* 41 Kaibel *ap.* Tzetz. *in* Hes. *o. d.* 6, Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* iv. 425, 3 ff., Myrsilos *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 457 f.) *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 31. 1—4 p. 23, 8 ff. Stählin and *ap.* Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 37 cp. 4. 24, Cornut. *theol.* 14 p. 15, 2, 8 f. Lang: see also Roscher *Die Sieben- und Neunzahl* etc. pp. 19, 35 f.) so that *ἑβδομαγέτης* may denote 'leader of the sevenfold

and Anaxandrides may be trusted—this was the one day in the year on which the Pythia gave responses[1]. Later, Apollon was more frequently 'at home[2]': indeed his period of residence extended from Bysios the first month of spring to Heraios the last month of autumn. Then with the advent of winter there recommenced the rule of Dionysos.

How is this Box-and-Cox arrangement of the Delphic year to be explained? We must *à priori* recognise two possibilities. Either Dionysos has intruded on Apollon, or Apollon has intruded on Dionysos. The former is the view held by the majority of modern critics[3]: the latter was the opinion of certain scholars in antiquity[4].

choir,' cp. Aisch. *s. c. Th.* 117 ff. *ἑπτὰ δ' ἀγήνορες πρέποντες στρατοῦ | δορυσσόοις σαγαῖς πύλαις ἑβδόμαις* (=*ἑπτά*) | *προσίσταντο*, *Anth. Pal.* 2. 380 (Christodoros) *ἑνάταις* (=*ἐννέα*) *ἀνεθήκατο Μούσαις*, *Il.* 8. 404 *ἐς δεκάτους* (=*δέκα*) *περιτελλομένους ἐνιαυτούς*, where the text need not be tinkered. Dionysos *Ἑβδομεύς* (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 123 on a round base of *s.* ii A.D. from Mytilene [*Δι*]*ωνύσῳ* | *Ἑβδομεῖ*. | *Ταὶς* (?*Ραὶς*) *ἀνέθει*|*κεν εὐχήν*) appears to be analogous to Apollon *Ἑβδομεῖος* (Roscher *Die Sieben- und Neunzahl* etc. pp. 22 ff., 69, *id. Die Hebdomadenlehren* etc. p. 215) rather than modelled upon him (W. Quandt *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* Halis Saxonum 1913 pp. 139, 141 n. 1).

Roscher *Die Sieben- und Neunzahl* etc. pp. 29, 116 thinks that the Apolline seven made its way into the cult of Zeus, citing the seven officials charged with the duty of setting up a tripod for the Boeotian Zeus *Ἐλευθέριος* (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 1672=Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 271 no. 865 Plataiai *Βοιωτοὶ Διὶ Ἐλευθερίοι τὸν* [*τρίποδα*] | *κατὰ τὰν μαντείαν τῶ Ἀπόλλω*[*νος*], | *κ.τ.λ.*, cp. i no. 1673=i. 271 no. 864, i no. 1674=i. 272 no. 866, and the similar dedications at Thespiai to the Muse (i no. 1795=i. 403 no. 807*a*), at Akraiphia to Apollon *Πτώϊος* (i no. 2723=i. 213 f. no. 570, i no. 2724=i. 214 no. 571, i nos. 2724a—e), at Orchomenos to the Charites (i no. 3207=i. 190 f. no. 494). These inscriptions all bore the names of seven *ἀφεδριατευόντων* (?=*ἀφιδρυόντων*), except one from Akraiphia (i no. 2724 b) which has eight), and comparing the seven cakes offered to Zeus *Πολιεύς* in Kos (J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 19 ff. no. 5, 28 ff.=Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 357 ff. no. 3636, 28 ff.=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 716, 28 ff.=Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 616, 28 ff. *τούτω δὲ* [*ἑλ*]*άντ*[*ω π*|*αρ*]*ὰ τὰν Ἰστίαν τὰν ταμίαν καὶ ὁ* [*τοῦ Ζηνὸς ἱ*]*ερεὺς* (W. R. Paton restores *ὁ* [*Πολιῆος ἱ*]*ερεύς*) *στέ*(*π*)*τει καὶ* | [*ἐκ*]*σπένδει κύλικα οἴνου κεκραμένου* [*π*]*ρὸ τοῦ* [*βοός*]*ς· ἔπειτα ἄγοντι τὸ*[*μ* | *βο*]*ῦν καὶ τὸγ καυτὸν καὶ* [*φ*]*θόϊας ἑπτὰ καὶ μέλι καὶ στέμμα· κ.τ.λ.* in a ritual calendar for the Coan month Batromios (=the Attic Poseideon) dating from *c.* 300 B.C.). He might have added the seven stars surrounding Zeus *Κρηταγενής* (*supra* i. 51 f. figs. 27 f., 149 n. 1 fig. 115, 547 f. figs. 415—418, cp. 276 n. 5, 754 n. 2). But in none of these cases have we any real reason to suspect the influence of Apollon.

[1] Kallisthenes *frag.* 4 (*Script. hist. Alex. Mag.* p. 12 Müller) and Alexandrides *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 107 Müller) *ap.* Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 9. The name of the second author, a Delphian by birth, should be Anaxandridas (L. Weniger *De Anaxandrida Polemone Hegesandro rerum Delphicarum scriptoribus* Berolini 1865 p. 7 ff.) or Anaxandrides (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2079 f.).

[2] On the *ἀποδημίαι* and the *ἐπιδημίαι* of the Delphic Apollon see W. H. Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 426.

[3] *E.g.* O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1017 f. (after Rohde *Psyche*[2] ii. 52 ff.), Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 112 f. See, however, F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 593, F. A. Voigt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1032 ff., G. E. Marindin in Smith—Marindin *Class. Dict.* p. 295, who all support the priority of Dionysos.

[4] Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* argum. 1 *εἶτα ἔρχεται* (*sc.* *Ἀπόλλων*) *ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον, ἐν ᾧ πρώτη*

I have, however, already[1] given reasons for thinking that at Delphoi Apollon was preceded, not only by the sky-father (Zeus) and the earth-mother (Ge, Themis), but also by their Thraco-Phrygian offspring (Dionysos). The little chapel in the Pythian temple (fig. 163)[2], the holiest spot in all Hellas, contained the tokens of these three deities—the eagles of Zeus, the *omphalós* of Ge, and the tomb of Dionysos[3]. Will it be seriously maintained that the tomb with its crude myth of rent limbs and boiling caldron[4] was a foreign element which had thrust itself into this august company at a comparatively recent date? Rather it had been there—I will not say, from the beginning, but at least from time immemorial. The real usurper was Apollon, though even he had made good his footing before the epic age[5].

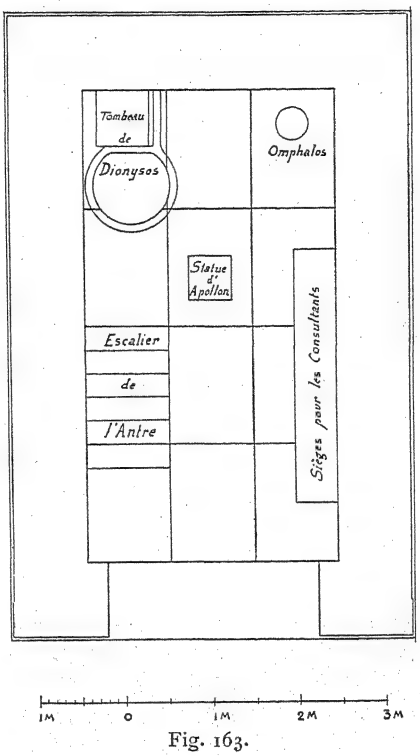


Fig. 163.

There are certain calendrical considerations which tend to confirm the foregoing sequence of cults. At intervals of eight years

Νὺξ ἐχρησμῴδησεν, εἶτα Θέμις. Πύθωνος δὲ τότε κυριεύσαντος τοῦ προφητικοῦ τρίποδος, ἐν ᾧ πρῶτος Διόνυσος ἐθεμίστευσε, <? καὶ κωλύοντος αὐτὸν παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ χάσμα, τοξεύει> καὶ ἀποκτείνας τὸν ὄφιν τὸν Πύθωνα ἀγωνίζεται τὸν Πυθικὸν ἀγῶνα κατὰ ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν (A. B. Drachmann cj. ἑπτὰ μέρη)· πεῖρον (sic codd. πεῖραν ed. Rom. 1515) μέν, ὅτι ἀπεπειράθη τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς τὸ θηρίον· ἴαμβον δὲ διὰ τὴν λοιδορίαν τὴν γενομένην αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς μάχης, λέγεται γὰρ ἰαμβίζειν τὸ λοιδορεῖν· δάκτυλον δὲ ἀπὸ <? τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων ..... · ?Βακχεῖον δὲ ἀπὸ > Διονύσου, ὅτι πρῶτος οὗτος δοκεῖ ἀπὸ τρίποδος θεμιστεῦσαι· Κρητικὸν δὲ ἀπὸ Διός· μητρῷον δέ, ὅτι Γῆς τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστι· σύριγμα δὲ διὰ τὸν τοῦ ὄφεως συριγμόν. οὕτω μὲν οὖν κατέστη πρῶτον ὁ τῶν Πυθίων ἀγών. The scholiast is distinguishing seven parts of the νόμος Πυθικός, *viz.* πεῖρα, ἴαμβοι, δάκτυλοι, <? Βακχεῖοι>, Κρητικοί, μητρῷον, σύριγμα. Other writers enumerate five: thus Strab. 421 πέντε δ' αὐτοῦ μέρη ἐστίν, ἄγκρουσις, ἄμπειρα (cp. Hesych. *s.v.* ἀνάπειρα), κατακελευσμός, ἴαμβοι καὶ δάκτυλοι, σύριγγες, and Poll. 4. 84 τοῦ δὲ Πυθικοῦ νόμου τοῦ αὐλητικοῦ μέρη πέντε, πεῖρα, κατακελευσμός, ἰαμβικόν, σπονδεῖον, καταχόρευσις. κ.τ.λ.

[1] *Supra* p. 231.

[2] Reduced from the diagram given by F. Courby in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 69 fig. 61. *Supra* p. 221 n. 2.

[3] *Supra* p. 231 nn. 3, 4, 6. [4] *Supra* p. 218 f. [5] *Supra* pp. 180 n. 1, 189 n. 8.

the Delphians held a series of three solemnities called the Stepterion, the Heroïs, and the Charila[1]. Again, the Pythian games were originally celebrated once in eight years[2]. And at the close of the second century B.C. Delian priests and Attic magistrates were sending first-fruits to Apollon *Pýthios* in accordance with an eight-year period[3]. The same space of time is doubtless presupposed by the myth which told how Apollon served Admetos[4] for one year[5] or nine[6] or ten[7]. Indeed, an epic poet cited by Plutarch[8] and

[1] I have discussed these festivals in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 402 ff. See also Nilsson *Gr. Feste* pp. 150 ff., 286 ff., 466 f., J. E. Harrison *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 415 ff., H. Usener 'Heilige Handlung' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 317 ff. (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 450 ff.) (Stepterion), *id.* 'Italische Mythen' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1875 xxx. 203 f. (=*id. Kleine Schriften* iv. 116 f.) (Charila), Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 293 ff. (Stepterion), Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 53 ff. (Stepterion), *id. Golden Bough*[2]: The Dying God p. 78 ff. (Stepterion), P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 992 (Heroïs), O. Kern *ib.* iii. 2141 (Charila).

[2] Demetrios of Phaleron *ap.* schol. *Od.* 3. 267 and *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1466, 56 ff., schol. Pind. *Pyth.* argum. 3, Censorin. *de die nat.* 18. 6. See further A. Mommsen *Delphika* Leipzig 1878 p. 153 f.

[3] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 985 *A*, 1 ff. = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 421 ff. no. 167, 1 ff. [ὁ ἀρχιθέωρος τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ δ]ήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὁ κεχειροτον[ημένο]ς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξαποστο|[λὴν τῶν θεωρῶν ἀπαγόντων τὰς ἀπα]ρχὰς τῆς πρώτης ἐννεετη[ρίδος Ἐπικρά]της Ἐπιστράτου Πε[-- ἀνέγραψεν τῶν ἱερέων καὶ] ἀρχόντων τὰς ἀπαρχὰς [τ]ῷ Ἀπό[λλωνι τῷ] Πυθίῳ κα[τὰ | τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου, ὃ - - - ἐγ Μυ]ρρινού]ττης εἶπεν. κ.τ.λ. E. S. Roberts and E. A. Gardner *ad loc.* remark: 'If we may accept Koehler's restoration of the first line, it will appear that the architheorus, elected as head of the *θεωροί* by the Attic cleruchs in Delos, published lists of the *ἀπαρχαί* paid by Delian priests and certain Attic magistrates to the Pythian Apollo during an *ἐννεετηρίς*, or period of eight years. This period perhaps was designed to recall the time when the Pythian festival was celebrated once in every eight years. It is called *πρώτη* possibly because the Athenians had given up the practice of sending a *theoria* to Delos and did not reintroduce it till the end of the second century B.C.' So also W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. i. 182, cp. G. Busolt *Griechische Geschichte* Gotha 1893 i[2]. 676 n. 2.

[4] R. Engelmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 68, W. H. Roscher *ib.* i. 433, G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 378 f., K. Wernicke *ib.* ii. 25 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 270, 287 n. 1, 439 n. 3, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 107, 1243 n. 2, 1254 n. 3, 1327 n. 2, 1454, cp. 1493 n. 3. The earliest allusion to the myth is in *Il.* 2. 766 (cp. also *Il.* 21. 441 ff.).

[5] Pherekydes of Leros *frag.* 76 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 90 Müller) *ap.* schol. Eur. *Alc.* 1 *εἰς ἐνιαυτόν*, Apollod. 3. 10. 4 *ἐνιαυτόν*. Cp. Panyassis *frag.* 16 Kinkel *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 35. 3 p. 26, 22 ff. Stählin.

[6] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 761 = Myth. Vat. 1. 46, 2. 128 *novem annis*—by confusion with inclusive reckoning.

[7] Prob. *in* Verg. *georg.* 3. 1 *decem annis*—the nearest round number: so stories grow. In Myth. Vat. 1. 204 Admetus de Alcesta genuit Nisam et Stenoboeam. pro Nisa servivit ei Apollo *septem annis* the Greek myth has been modified by the Biblical tale of Jacob serving Laban seven years for Rachel (Gen. 29. 15 ff.).

[8] Plout. *amat.* 17 *καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα μυθολογοῦσιν ἐραστὴν γενόμενον "Ἀδμήτῳ παραθητεῦσαι μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν."* The poet was very possibly Rhianos the Cretan (cp. schol. Eur. *Alc.* 1 *Ῥιανὸς δέ φησιν ὅτι ἑκὼν ἐδούλευσεν αὐτῷ ἐρῶν τοῦ Ἀδμήτου*), who may have told the tale in his *Thessalika* (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1911 p. 109); but see *infra* p. 241 n. 1.

Clement of Alexandreia[1] describes Apollon's servitude as lasting 'for a great year[2].' And this myth was connected more[3] or less closely[4] with Delphoi. Thus usage and belief alike attest the recognition of the old lunisolar *oktaeterís* for the purposes of Delphic religion. Now A. Schmidt has argued that the *oktaeterís* was essentially Apolline[5], and in support of his thesis is able to cite, not only the bulk of the evidence given above, but also the Boeotian

[1] Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 21 p. 69, 3 ff. Stählin καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, ὅπου γε καὶ Ἀδμήτῳ θητεύων εὑρίσκεται (*sc.* Ἀπόλλων) σὺν καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ "μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν." The association of Apollon with Herakles (cp. Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 13, Myth. Vat. 1. 92, 3. 13. 3) makes it possible that Rhianos dealt with the theme in his *Herakleias* (W. Christ *loc. cit.*).

[2] This ἐνιαυτός was ὀκτὼ ἔτη (Apollod. 3. 4. 2 quoted *supra* i. 540 n. 1).

[3] Alexandrides *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 107 Müller; but see *supra* p. 238 n. 1) *ap.* schol. Eur. *Alc.* 1 Ἀναξανδρίδης (G. J. Voss cj. Ἀλεξανδρίδης) δὲ ὁ Δελφός φησι θητεῦσαι αὐτὸν διότι τὸν ἐν Πυθοῖ δράκοντα ἀνεῖλεν. To the same effect C. O. Müller *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* Oxford 1830 i. 232, 338 f., observing that the boy who represented Apollon at the Stepterion imitated the servitude of the god (Plout. *de def. or.* 15 καὶ τελευταῖον αἵ τε πλάναι καὶ ἡ λατρεία τοῦ παιδὸς οἵ τε γιγνόμενοι περὶ τὰ Τέμπη καθαρμοὶ μεγάλου τινὸς ἄγους καὶ τολμήματος ὑποψίαν ἔχουσι). When Python came to be regarded, not as a holy snake whose murder demanded expiation, but as an unholy dragon whose slaughter was a meritorious act, the tale of Apollon's bondage had to be furnished with a fresh motive (K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 25 f.).

[4] Asklepios brought to life again those that died at Delphoi (Pherekydes of Leros *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 71 f. Müller) *ap.* schol. Eur. *Alc.* 1 Φερεκύδης ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν (τῇ η τῶν ἱστοριῶν A. τῇ ῆ ἱστορίᾳ B. τῇ ἱστορίᾳ Fl. 6. 15) τοὺς ἐν Δελφοῖς φησι θνήσκοντας αὐτὸν ἀναβιώσκειν and *ap.* schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 96 Φερεκύδης δὲ ὅτι τοὺς ἐν Δελφοῖς θνήσκοντας ἀναβιοῦν ἐποίησεν (ἐποίει B.))—a strange statement, which may have reference to those that underwent the Delphic rite of regeneration (*supra* p. 210 ff.). For this reason Asklepios was slain by Zeus with a thunderbolt at Delphoi (Pherekydes of Leros *ap.* schol. Eur. *Alc.* 1 κτείνει Ζεὺς Ἀσκληπιὸν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ κεραυνῷ (κεραυνῷ om. A.) ἐν Πυθῶνι. ἀνίστη γὰρ ἰώμενος τοὺς τεθνεῶτας). Mnaseas of Patrai or Patara, a pupil of Eratosthenes (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1911 ii. 1. 187, 196), apparently identified Asklepios with Apollon and treated the myth in Euhemeristic fashion (Mnaseas Patrensis *frag.* 16 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 152 Müller) *ap.* Fulgent. *exp. serm. ant.* 2 p. 112, 2 ff. Helm Mnaseas scribit in Europae libro Apollinem (E. Mehler cj. *Apopidem*, cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 36), posteaquam a Iove victus atque interfectus est, a vispillonibus ad sepulturam delatus est (*delatum esse* codd. B. E. ℜ), unless indeed the passage of Mnaseas cited by Fabius Planciades Fulgentius is an impudent forgery, which is very possible (F. Skutsch in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 219 f.). Others spoke of Asklepios' fate as his apotheosis and introduced him into Olympos along with Herakles (Apollod. *frag.* 72 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 442 f. Müller) *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 21 p. 68, 1 ff. Stählin = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 10. 12. 19, Loukian. *dial. deor.* 13. 1 f.), or identified him, like Herakles (Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 14, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 74, cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 497 n. 3), with the constellation Ophiouchos (pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 6, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 14, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 384, 22 ff. Eyssenhardt, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* ii. 259, Myth. Vat. 3. 10. 6). Be that as it may, Apollon killed the Kyklopes (Hes. *frag.* 47 Flach, 88 Rzach), who had made the fatal bolt for Zeus, or killed their sons (Pherekyde of Leros *ap.* schol. Eur. *Alc.* 1), and for this impiety was bidden by Zeus to serve Admetos (Eur. *Alc.* 1 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Apollod. 3. 10. 4, Diod. 6. 8, Prob. *in* Verg. *georg.* 3. 1, Stat. *Theb.* 6. 375 f., Loukian. *de sacrif.* 4, Hyg. *fab.* 49, Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 3. 2, *id. in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 761, Myth. Vat. 1. 46, 2. 43, schol. Lucan. 6. 368, Orph. *Arg.* 175 ff.).

[5] A. Schmidt *Hanabuch der griechischen Chronologie* Jena 1888 p. 61 ff.

Daphnephoria[1], a festival likewise held every eighth year. Yet, if Apollon settled at Delphoi in days when the octennial cycle was in vogue, we must not therefore jump to the conclusion that he had staked out his claim before the arrival of Dionysos. For, though the Stepterion included a mimetic representation of Apollon's fight with Python, the Heroïs and the Charila were distinctly Dionysiac: the former resembled the ascent of Semele and was explained by a mystic tale known to the Thyiads; the latter assigned important duties to the principal Thyiad[2]. The fact is that the *oktaeterís* was an ancient rectification of the calendar, which left its mark on a variety of customs and myths[3]. It was never the exclusive property of any one god or goddess, and at Delphoi it was common to the rites of Apollon and Dionysos. Fortunately for our solution of the problem we can appeal from the early *oktaeterís* to the still earlier *trieterís*[4]. Delphoi was in classical times the centre of certain far-famed trieteric rites[5]; and these were notoriously the rites, not of Apollon, but of Dionysos[6]. Unless, therefore, we hold—in defiance of the Greek and Roman chronologists[7]—that the *trieterís* was no

[1] I have dealt in detail with the Daphnephoria in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 409 ff. See also Boetticher *Baumkultus* p. 385 ff., P. Paris in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 24 ff., P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2140, O. Jessen *ib.* iv. 2140 f., Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 164 f., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 284 ff., Frazer *Pausanias* v. 41 ff., *id. Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 63 n. 2, The Dying God pp. 78 f., 88 f., Adonis Attis Osiris[3] ii. 241. Sir J. G. Frazer (The Dying God p. 79) contends that at Thebes 'in historical times Apollo appears to have ousted Cadmus from the festival,' and thinks it 'not impossible that at Delphi also...Apollo may have displaced an old local hero in the honourable office of dragon-slayer.'

[2] Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 12. Cp. L. Weniger *Über das Collegium der Thyiaden v. Delphi* Eisenach 1876.

[3] *Supra* i. 692. See further A. Schmidt *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie* Jena 1888 p. 56 ff. (with the *caveat* of W. H. Roscher *Die enneadischen und hebdomadischen Fristen und Wochen der ältesten Griechen* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1903 xxi. 4) Leipzig 1903 p. 73 n. 204[b]), F. K. Ginzel *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* Leipzig 1911 ii. 365 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 957 n. 1.

[4] *Supra* i. 690. The historical priority of the *trieterís* is accepted also by A. Schmidt *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie* Jena 1888 p. 31 ff., G. F. Unger *Zeitrechnung der Griechen und Römer*[2] (in I. von Müller *Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-wissenschaft* i[2]) München 1892 p. 731 f., G. F. Schoemann *Griechische Alterthümer*[4] Berlin 1902 ii. 460 n. 2, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 955 f. It is too summarily rejected by M. P. Nilsson *Primitive Time-reckoning* Lund 1920 p. 1.

[5] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 956 n. 2.

[6] The myth and the rites in question are well put together by L. Weniger in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 231 ff. Cp. M. Ross *De Baccho Delphico* Bonnae 1865 p. 2 ff.

[7] Gemin. *elem. astr.* 8. 25 f. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες τὴν ἐναντίαν γνώμην ἔχοντες τοὺς μὲν ἐνιαυτοὺς καθ' ἥλιον ἄγουσι, τοὺς δὲ μῆνας καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας κατὰ σελήνην. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖοι τοὺς μῆνας τριακονθημέρους ἦγον, τοὺς δὲ ἐμβολίμους παρ' ἐνιαυτόν. ταχέως δ' ἐπὶ (sic V[1]. δ' ὑπὸ V[2]. V. δὲ ὑπὸ edd.) τοῦ φαινομένου ἐλεγχομένης τῆς ἀληθείας διὰ τὸ τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ τοὺς μῆνας μὴ συμφωνεῖν τῇ σελήνῃ, τοὺς δὲ (δ' V[1]. edd.) ἐνιαυτοὺς μὴ στοιχεῖν (στιχεῖν V[1].) τῷ ἡλίῳ,

true precursor of the *oktaeterís*[1], we are bound to admit that at Delphoi the cult of Dionysos was regulated by a more primitive calendar than the cult of Apollon; and it becomes at least reasonable[2] to suppose that Dionysos was first in the field.

(χ) Dionysos displaced by Apollon at Delphoi.

With the advent of Apollon Dionysos suffered a partial, but never a total, eclipse. In addition to his winter season he was invoked by Philodamos, the Locrian author of a Delphic *paián* (335—334 B.C.), to come 'in the holy time of spring[3],' and even in the summer month Apellaios he received (*c.* 400 B.C.) a sacrifice

[ὅθεν] (del. C. Manitius. Petavius cj. *ἐντεῦθεν. et quia inveniebant illud diversum veritati..., quaesiverunt aliquid, quo* versio Latina ex Arabico sermone conversa *s.* xii) *ἐζήτουν περίοδον, ἥτις κατὰ μὲν τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς τῷ ἡλίῳ συμφωνήσει, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς μῆνας καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας τῇ σελήνῃ, κ.τ.λ.*, Censorin. *de die nat.* 18. 2 veteres in Graecia civitates cum animadverterent, dum sol annuo cursu orbem suum circumit, lunam novam interdum tridecies (*terdecies* vulg.) exoriri idque saepe alternis fieri, arbitrati sunt lunares duodecim menses et dimidiatum ad annum naturalem convenire. itaque annos civiles sic statuerunt, ut intercalando facerent alternos duodecim mensium, alternos tredecim, utrumque annum separatim vertentem, iunctos ambo annum magnum vocantes. idque tempus trieterida appellabant, quod tertio quoque anno intercalabatur, quamvis biennii circuitus et re vera dieteris esset; unde mysteria, quae Libero (*Libero patri* vulg.) alternis fiunt annis, trieterica a poetis dicuntur. See further Hdt. 1. 32, 2. 4.

[1] So F. K. Ginzel *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* Das Zeitrechnungswesen der Völker Leipzig 1911 ii. 370 ff. He points out that, since the solar year contains 365·2422 days and the lunar year 354·3671 days, a cycle of two years containing 360 and 390 days would give no sort of approximation to natural fact. He rightly infers that we must understand Geminos' *μῆνας τριακονθημέρους* as a popular expression denoting the ordinary Greek month. But, if so, twelve months of alternately 30 and 29 days followed by thirteen months of alternately 30 and 29 days produce a cycle of 354 + 384 = 738 days. This exceeds two solar years by about 7½ days—an excess which in the course of four such cyles would amount to another month. The *trieterís*, in fact, would naturally and inevitably lead on to the *oktaeterís*.

[2] Not, of course, necessary. It remains possible to argue that the more primitive cult was introduced at a later date from a less civilised region.

[3] H. Weil in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 393 ff., cp. W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1911 ii. 1. 114. The *paián* was inscribed in the archonship of Etymondas, the date of which I give after H. Pomtow in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2589 f., 2697. Weil reconstructs the opening lines thus: [Δεῦρ', ἄνα Δ]ιθύραμβε Βάκχ' | ε[ὔιε, θυρσῆ]ρες, βραϊ-|τά, βρόμι(ε), ἠρινα[ῖς ἰκοῦ | ταῖσδ(ε)] ἱεραῖς ἐν ὥραις: | Εὐοῖ ὦ ἰὸ [Βάκχ' ὦ ἰὲ Παιά]ν· | *κ.τ.λ.*, supposing an allusion to the spring festival Theoxenia, and suggesting that *βραϊτράς = ϝραϊτράς = ῥαϊτής* (*ῥαίω*, 'I strike'), cp. *supra* i. 469 n. 4, 659 f., 711 Dionysos 'Ανθρωπορραίστης. Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 332 and in her *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 416 f. argued that the epithet is connected with the late Latin *braisum* (Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. s.vv.* brace, braesium, braisum), 'grain prepared for making beer.' But in the *Class. Rev.* 1910 xxiv. 245 she follows W. Vollgraff, who in *Mnemosyne* N. S. 1905 xxxiii. 379 proposed *κισσο]χαΐ|τα*. H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum*[2] Lugduni Batavorum i. 289 observes: 'e Guil. Vollgraffio, qui lapidem vidit, audivi se pro certo tantum agnovisse AITA, sed antecedentem litteram sibi videri fuisse X, itaque latere compositum, velut *κισσόχαιτα*.' Thus two ingenious guesses lose their *raison d'être*.

from the Labyadai[1]. These commemorations are of interest. The first implies that at Delphoi, as at Athens, Dionysos had spring-rites as well as winter-rites[2]. The second implies that in Apellaios, the opening month of the Delphic year, he was not forgotten by an ancient Delphic phratry, a phratry which in the following month paid a like compliment to Zeus *Patrôios*[3].

This process of mutual accommodation tended to produce a certain similarity in the parties concerned. Dionysos became to some extent Apolline, Apollon to some extent Dionysiac. On the one hand Dionysos was equipped with bay-wreath[4] and lyre[5]; on

[1] T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 5 ff *D* 43 ff. = J. Baunack in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* ii. 718 ff. no. 2561 D 43 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 995 *D* 43 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 438 *d* 208 ff. = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii. 217 ff. no. 74 D 43 ff. = F. Solmsen *Inscriptiones Graecae ad inlustrandas dialectos selectae* Lipsiae 1905 no. 36 D 43 ff. *τâι δὲ θυσίαι Λαβυαδ|âν τὼπελλαίου μηνὸς τῶ|ι Διονύσωι.*

[2] The vernal rites of Dionysos at Delphoi (? the Theoxenia in Theoxenios = Elaphebolion) corresponded with the City Dionysia at Athens; the brumal rites of Dionysos at Delphoi (culminating in Amalios = Gamelion) corresponded with the Lenaia at Athens. See *supra* i. 691 fig. 511 and ii. 235 fig. 162.

[3] *Supra* p. 233.

[4] An epic hymn, perhaps of *s.* v B.C. (L. Malten in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 307 n. 3, R. Wünsch in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 156), describes Dionysos as *κισσῷ καὶ δάφνῃ πεπυκασμένος* (*h. Dion.* 26. 9). At Phigaleia the lower part of the cult-statue of Dionysos *Ἀκρατοφόρος* was covered with leaves of bay and ivy (Paus. 8. 39. 6), possibly to conceal an erect *phallós* (G. Kaibel in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1901 p. 510, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1422 n. 8); if so, we may conjecture that a late moralistic intention had been read into an early fertility-charm (cp. Paus. 1. 27. 1). Tert. *de cor. mil.* 7 Liberum, eundem apud Aegyptios Osirin, Harpocration industria hederatum argumentatur, quod hederae natura sit cerebrum ab eluco defensare. sed et alias Liberum principem coronae plane laureae, in qua ex Indis triumphavit, etiam vulgus agnoscit, cum dies in illum sollemnes Magnam appellat Coronam, *ib.* 12 sed et de corona prius dicam. laurea ista Apollini vel Libero sacra est, illi ut deo telorum, huic ut deo triumphorum. sic docet Claudius, etc. Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 8. 12 alii ideo lauri et hederae simul mentionem factam accipiunt, quoniam Apollo carminum deus, idem Liber pater putatur. See also F. Lenormant in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1876 ii. 103 f. and in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 618, 623. On an Attic *kratér* at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 292 ff. no. 2419, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iv. 23 ff. pl. 317 f., T. Panofka *Dionysos und die Thyaden* Berlin 1853 pp. 2 ff., 49 pl. 1, 1 and 1[a] (extr. from the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1852* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 341 ff.), A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2266 ff. fig. 6 after the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1839 xii pl. 22, and above all Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 193 ff. pl. 36 f.) a post dressed up as Dionysos is decked with ivy-sprays, but has sprigs of bay starting from its base and a bay-wreath apparently slung from its girdle: the wreath is probably meant for an embroidered pattern and as such occurs on a variety of late Attic vases mostly connected with the style of the potter Meidias (A. Milchhöfer 'Zur jüngeren attischen Vasenmalerei' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix. 63 f., G. Nicole *Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique* Geneva 1908 p. 109 f.), *e.g. supra* i pl. xi; it seems likely, however, that such 'Gürtelkränze' were credited with a magical influence over the generative organs beneath them. The horned Dionysos of Libye (?) holds a bay-branch on an Apulian *kratér* discussed *supra* i. 374 ff. fig. 287. A red-figured vase

in the second Hamilton collection shows Dionysos seated with Ariadne, while a young Satyr stands before them: all three are wreathed with bay; Dionysos has a bay-garland slung round his body, Ariadne a bay-branch behind her chair; both sit beneath festoons of bay (Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* ii. 78 f. pl. 45, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 302, 4). Dionysos appears elsewhere wreathed with bay, *e.g.* on a red-figured vase in the first Hamilton collection ([P. F. Hugues, dit d'Hancarville] *Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines* Naples 1766 i pl. 104), in a wall-painting (*Monumenti amaranziani* illustrati del marchese Luigi Biondi Roma 1849 pl. 29), and on coins of Pantikapaion, Phanagoreia, and Gorgippeia struck under Mithradates vi Eupator, who himself took the title of Dionysos (E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 629 pl. 6, 8 f., pl. 9, 16 f., 23 f.; T. Reinach *Mithridate Eupator* Paris 1890 pp. 49, 262, 277). Another red-figured vase in the first Hamilton collection represents the infant Dionysos held by a Nymph seated on a rock: before her stands Hermes, behind her a second Nymph, who carries a sprig of bay for the child's brows (Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* ii. 133 pl. 194); cp. the Nymph (?) seated on a rock, who wreathes the infant Dionysos in a wall-painting from the Villa Farnesina (W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1913 ii. 207 f. no. 1477, A. Mau in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1885 lvii. 310 f., *Mon. d. Inst.* xii pls. 18 (coloured) and 20, G. Rodenwaldt *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde* Berlin 1909 p. 38). An ivory relief at Milan makes a Maenad hold a bay-wreath towards young Dionysos riding in a car drawn by two panthers (E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1846 iv. 219 pl. 38, *supra* i. 153 n. 5). See further L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 59 n. 2.

[5] The evidence cited by F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 618 n. 931 f. is illusive. But better grounds are given by Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 253—256. A red-figured *kylix* attributed to Brygos, now in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris (no. 697, published by P. Hartwig *Die griechischen Meisterschalen* Stuttgart und Berlin 1893 p. 309 ff. pls. 32, 33, 1, J. E. Harrison—D. S. MacColl *Greek Vase Paintings* London 1894 p. 25 pl. 38, Farnell *op. cit.* v. 264 pl. 44), has for its inner design an ivy-wreathed Dionysos playing the lyre and singing an orgiastic song as he stands between two Satyrs, who with a flourish of vine-shoots and castanets share in the ecstasy of his performance. A red-figured *kratér* from Ruvo, now at Naples (no. 3240, *supra* i. 701 n. 4), shows Dionysos and Ariadne advancing in the midst of their *thíasos*, all wreathed with ivy; he carries a tortoise-shell lyre. Another famous vase from Ruvo, the Apulian *kratér* representing the obsequies of Archemoros (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 584 ff. no. 3255, E. Gerhard 'Archemoros und die Hesperiden' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1836* Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 251 ff., 359 ff. pls. 1—4 (=*id. Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen* Berlin 1866 i. 1—98 pls. 1—4) and also in the *Nouv. Ann.* 1836 i. 352—356 with pls. 5 f., *id. Il vaso dall' Archemoro* Roma 1837 pp. 1—4 pls. 1—3, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iv. 98 ff. pls. 371—373, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 114 ff. Atlas pl. 4, 3, *supra* i. 456 n. 5), includes in the top left-hand corner of its principal face the figure of Dionysos reclining on cushions and a skin spread over vine-leaves beneath a vine-branch: he holds in his left hand a lyre, in his right a *phiále*, which a young Satyr is about to fill; below him stands Euneos, eponym of the Euneidai, an Athenian clan of κιθαρῳδοί or κιθαρισταί (Harpokr. *s.v.* Εὐνεῖδαι, Hesych. *s.v.* Εὐνεῖδαι, cp. Phot. *lex.* s.v. Εὐνεῖδαι, *et. mag.* p. 393, 35 ff., Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1327, 41 f.), who appear to have been hereditary priests of Dionysos Μελπόμενος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 274 an inscription of the Hadrianic age on a seat in the theatre at Athens ἱερέως | Μελπομένου | Διονύσου | ἐξ Εὐνειδῶν). It is therefore a reasonable suggestion (Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 240) that Dionysos Μελπόμενος (on whom see Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 611, iii. 153, *id. Alt. Denkm.* iii. 130 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 675 n. 4, 710 f., O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2649 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 36, 829 n. 3, 1421 n. 2, 1428 n. 10, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 143, 254 f., 307) was conceived as a lyre-player. The marble statue of a seated Dionysos from the choragic monument dedicated by Thrasyllos in 320 B.C. and reconstructed by his son Thrasykles in 270 B.C. probably represented the god with a lyre, the base of which rested on his left thigh (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 257 ff. no. 432,

the other, Apollon had ivy-leaves[1], flutes[2], and pan-pipes[3]. Appel-

Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 119, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] ii. 124 f., 138, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 459 f. fig. 240). A red-figured *kratér* from Campania, now at Petrograd, has a lyre-playing Dionysos grouped with two Maenads and a Satyr (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 293 f. no. 1774). And an Apulian *kántharos* at Boston shows him seated beneath a grape-vine, *thýrsos* in hand; on the ground at his left is a lyre, at his right a pair of pipes (Robinson *Cat. Vases Boston* p. 186 f. no. 515). Less conclusive is a red-figured *kratér* in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris (no. 4778), which shows an ivy-crowned Dionysos seated on a rock, playing a lyre, with Maenads and Satyrs grouped about him (Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 73 pl. 53; but Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 213 ff. pl. 71 interpret the scene as '*Apollon* à Nysa' cp. Diod. 3. 59, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 325, 330 no. 28). The *motif* of Dionysos with the lyre, which is not found in art before the beginning of *s.* v B.C., seems not to occur at all in literature; for in Kallistr. 8. 4 *εἱστήκει δὲ* (*sc.* ὁ Διόνυσος) *τὴν λύραν ἐπερείδων τῷ θύρσῳ* Jacobs, followed by K. Schenkl and E. Reisch, cj. *λαιάν* and Pierson cj. *πλευράν*.

[1] Aristoteles *theologumena* (=Aristot. *frag.* 284 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 190 Müller)) *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 2 apud Lacedaemonios etiam in sacris quae Apollini celebrant (celebrabant B. G.), Hyacinthia vocantes, hedera coronantur Bacchico ritu. On this festival see Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 129 ff., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 125 ff., 264 ff., P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 1 f., E. Bischoff *ib.* ix. 3 f., S. Eitrem *ib.* ix. 7 ff. Mart. Cap. 10 item eum (*sc.* Apollinem) in Helicona Delon Lyciamque sectantur. sed alibi lauros primores (primos D.) arentesque ederas alibi cariantem (carientem D.) tripodem crepidasque situ murcidas (marcidas D.) praesagiorumque interlitam memoriam repperierunt. *H. mag.* 2. 27 (Abel *Orphica* p. 288) *δεῦρο, τάχος δ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν, ἰήιε, κισσεοχαῖτα* (so E. Abel for *κισσεοχαίτα* pap.): with this description of Apollon cp. that of Dionysos in Pratinas *frag.* 1. 17 Bergk[4] *ap.* Athen. 617 F *κισσοχαίτ'* (leg. *κισσοχαῖτ'* T. Bergk and E. Hiller print *κισσόχαιτ'* after J. Schweighaeuser) *ἄναξ, ἄκουε τὰν ἐμὰν Δώριον χορείαν*, in Ekphantides *fab. inc. frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 13 Meineke) quoted by Kratinos *fab. inc. frag.* 52 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 194 f. Meineke) and thence by Hephaistion *ench.* 15. 21 *εὔιε κισσοχαῖτ' ἄναξ, χαῖρ'*, and perhaps in the *paián* of Philodamos (*supra* p. 243 n. 3), also *h. Dion.* 26. 1 *κισσοκόμην Διόνυσον*, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* vii no. 80 (Arkesine) *Ἀγαθῖνος Ἀγαθίνου τοῦ Κλεοφά[ντου] | Διονύσῳ κισσοκόμαι καὶ τῶι* [*Δήμωι*], where *κισσοκόμας* with its non-Ionic termination is, as Wilamowitz *ad loc.* saw, a tag from some lyrical poet, *Anth. Pal.* 6. 56. 1 (Makedonios of Thessalonike) *κισσοκόμαν Βρομίῳ Σάτυρον κ.τ.λ.*, where O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1207 needlessly supposes a Satyr-name *Κισσοκόμης* and it is at least a question whether we should not read *κισσοκόμᾳ* with the *ed. princeps* (*Florentina a.* 1494) of Planoudes. At Voni, N.E. of Nikosia in Kypros, is the sanctuary of a god, who is called Apollon by inscriptions (M. Ohnefalsch-Richter in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1884 ix. 135 ff. nos. 1—6, J. L. Myres and M. Ohnefalsch-Richter *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* Oxford 1899 p. 148 nos. 5143—5145) but has the attributes of Zeus, *viz.* eagle (*ib.* p. 145 no. 5048 f.) or Nike (*ib.* p. 146 no. 5050): I figure nos. 5048 and 5050 after Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* pp. 266, 330, 376 pl. 40, 1 f. and 4 f., cp. *id.* in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1884 ix. 133 f. no. 10 f. pl. 5, 6 f.; fig. 164 is a limestone statue (height 1·16^{m}) of Apollon wreathed with bay, resting his left arm on a round column with a debased Doric capital and holding a cylindrical object (scroll?) in his left hand, while an eagle perched on his wrist looks up at him; fig. 165 is a similar statue (height 1·95^{m}), of which the left arm rests on a Doric column, the left hand holds a Nike, the right hand a palm-branch—the pose being reproduced in fig. 166 (after *Kypros locc. citt.* pl. 40, 3, cp. *Ath. Mitth.* 1884 ix. 134 f. pl. 5, 8, *Catalogue* p. 145 no. 5037)=a similar statue (height 2·0^{m}) of a votary holding the same lustral branch. An irregular block of limestone found in this precinct records in lettering of *s.* ii (?) B.C. a series of sacrifices (to Apollon?) performed by certain *thíasoi* including *ὁ θίασος τῶ[ν] | Κισά[ν]*, which has been taken to mean 'the ivy-men' (M. Ohnefalsch-Richter in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1884 ix. 137 f. no. 8, *id. Kypros* pp. 5 no. 9,

124, 254 n.*, J. L. Myres and M. Ohnefalsch-Richter *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* Oxford 1899 p. 148 no. 5147, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1246 n. 6). The interpretation is precarious, though no doubt ivy-wreaths played their part in Cypriote cult—witness *e.g.* a bearded head of *c.* 450 B.C., at New York, wearing a wreath of bay-leaves above and ivy-leaves with their berries below (J. L. Myres *The Metropolitan Museum af Art: Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* New York 1914 p. 204 no. 1291 fig., L. P. di Cesnola *A descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York* Boston [Mass.] 1885 i pl. 82 no. 539). Should the Cypriote κίτταρις (Hesych. κίτταρις· διάδημα ὃ φοροῦσι Κύπριοι. οἱ δὲ τὰ διαδήματα φοροῦντες κίτταροι λέγονται) be referred to κίσσαρος, which Hippokrates



Fig. 164.



Fig. 166.



Fig. 165.

used in the sense of κισσός (Erotian. τῶν παρ' Ἱπποκράτει λέξεων συναγωγή p. 83, 15 Klein κίσσαρον· τὸν κισσόν (so all the MSS. A. Foes cj. κύσσαρον· τὸν κυσόν)), and so be rendered 'ivy-crown'? Another Zeus-like Apollon, more certainly connected with ivy, is found on a *quasi*-autonomous copper of Alabanda in Karia (J. Friedlaender in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1881 viii. 9 pl. 2, 5=my fig. 167, J. Rendel Harris *The Origin of the Cult of Apollo* (reprinted from *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* January—March 1916) p. 15 f. fig. 1): obv. ΑΛΑΒΑΝ ΔΕΩΝ youthful head of Dionysos to right, wreathed with ivy; rev. KICCIOC Apollon standing, nude, with wreathed head, quiver on back, bow in lowered left hand, looking towards eagle on outstretched right hand, and a small ram at his feet. A similar reverse occurs on coppers of the same town struck

under Britannicus (Mionnet *Desc. de méd. ant.* Suppl. vi. 439 no. 24 after A. Visconti *Medaglie antiche inedite* Roma 1810 pl. 3, 5, J. Friedlaender *loc. cit.* pl. 2, 4=my fig. 168) and Maximus (Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* iii. 310 no. 41 after J. Eckhel *Catalogus Musei Caesarei Vindobonensis numorum veterum* Vindobonae 1779 i. 177): obv. ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟCΒΡΕΤΑΝΝ[ΙΚΟ]C[ΚΑΙCΑΡ] head of Britannicus to right, or Γ·ΙΟΥ·ΟΥΗ·ΜΑΖΙΜΟC·Κ· head of Maximus to right; rev. ΑΛΑΒΑΝΔΕΩΝ Apollon standing, nude, quiver on back, bow in outstretched left hand, looking towards eagle on outstretched right hand, and a small ram at his feet. With regard to these types, Dr Rendel Harris *loc. cit.* notes that the head on the obverse of the first coin might be, not Dionysos, but 'a variant of Apollo'; others, reading ΚΙCCΕΟC on the reverse of the same coin, have taken the god there figured to be, not Apollon, but Dionysos (D. Sestini *Lettere e Dissertazioni numismatiche...Le quali servir possono di continuazione ai nove tomi già editi* Firenze 1819 vi. 30 f. no. 8, Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. vi. 436 no. 11, A. Fabretti *Regio Museo di Torino. Monete Greche* Torino 1883 p. 292 no. 4199, H. Heydemann *Satyr- und Bakchennamen* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1880) p. 37; D. Sestini *loc. cit.* p. 31 suggests that the bird may be a jay (κίσσα), J. Friedlaender *loc. cit.* makes it a raven, as does Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 607, but unbiased inspection shows that it is almost certainly an eagle—a fact which led J. Eckhel *loc. cit.*, Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 267 f., and Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* iii. 310 no. 41 to describe



Figs. 167—168.

the type as Iupiter holding an eagle. A red-figured *kýlix* from the Laborde collection shows a long-haired youth, with an ivy-wreath on his head and a *himátion* about his legs, holding a lyre in his left hand and a *phiále* in his right, as he sits before a flaming altar: he is commonly, and perhaps rightly (cp. the *kýlix* in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 106 f. no. E 80 pl. 5, better published by Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 331 f. pl. 23), called Apollon (Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 17 f. pl. 4, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 325 no. 27, p. 330 Atlas pl. 21, 20). But a somewhat similar figure on a red-figured *kratḗr* in the Cabinet des Médailles is more probably to be identified with Dionysos on account of his *entourage* (*supra* p. 246 n. 0). Lastly, a wall-painting from Herculaneum, now at Naples, has Apollon wreathed with ivy and half-draped in a *himátion*, with lyre beneath left hand, *plḗktron* in right, sitting on a stool beside a female figure (Muse?), who is similarly wreathed and holds a garland of bay; the group forms part of a scene depicting the punishment of Marsyas (Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 64 no. 231[b], *Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1760 ii (Pitture ii) p. 121 ff. pl. 19, *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1832 viii pl. 19 ivy not clear, W. Ternite *Wandgemälde aus Pompeji und Herculanum*...mit einem erläuternden Text von C. O. Müller Berlin s.a. i. 5 f. pl. 7 ivy quite clear and noted as 'eine seltne Bekränzung des Gottes' in the commentary, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 34 pl. 43, 204 ivy clear, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 344 no. 32, p. 348 Atlas pl. 25, 13 rightly assuming a seated statue of Apollon as prototype).

[2] Plout. *de mus.* 14 οὐ μόνη δὲ κιθάρα Ἀπόλλωνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐλητικῆς καὶ κιθαριστικῆς εὑρετὴς ὁ θεός. δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τῶν χορῶν καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἃς προσῆγον μετὰ αὐλῶν τῷ θεῷ, καθάπερ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ἔν τινι τῶν ὕμνων (Alkaios *frag.* 3 Bergk[4]) ἱστορεῖ. καὶ ἡ ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος αὐτοῦ ἀφίδρυσις ἔχει ἐν μὲν τῇ δεξιᾷ τόξον ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ Χάριτας, τῶν τῆς μουσικῆς ὀργάνων ἑκάστην τι ἔχουσαν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ λύραν κρατεῖ, ἡ δὲ αὐλούς, ἡ δ' ἐν μέσῳ προκειμένην ἔχει τῷ στόματι σύριγγα (*supra* p. 232 n. 0). ὅτι δ' οὗτος οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος Ἀντικλῆς (H. Valesius restored Ἀντικλείδης (*frag.* 5 in *Script. hist. Alex. Mag.* p. 147 Müller)) καὶ Ἴστρος ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιφανείαις (Istr. *frag.* 35 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 423 Müller)) περὶ τούτων ἀφηγήσαντο· οὕτω δὲ παλαιόν ἐστι τὸ ἀφίδρυμα τοῦτο ὥστε τοὺς ἐργασαμένους αὐτὸ τῶν καθ' Ἡρακλέα Μερόπων φασὶν εἶναι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῷ κατακομίζοντι παιδὶ τὴν Τεμπικὴν δάφνην εἰς Δελφοὺς παρομαρτεῖ αὐλητής· καὶ τὰ ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων δὲ ἱερὰ μετὰ αὐλῶν καὶ συρίγγων καὶ κιθάρας εἰς τὴν Δῆλόν φασι τὸ παλαιὸν στέλλεσθαι. ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν θεόν φασιν αὐλῆσαι, καθάπερ ἱστορεῖ ὁ ἄριστος μελῶν ποιητὴς Ἀλκμάν (Alkm. *frag.* 102 Bergk[4]). ἡ δὲ Κόρινna καὶ διδαχθῆναί φησι τὸν Ἀπόλλω ὑπ' Ἀθηνᾶς αὐλεῖν (Korinn. *frag.* 29 Bergk[4]), Paus. 5. 7. 10 τούτου δὲ ἕνεκα καὶ τὸ αὔλημα τὸ Πυθικὸν φασι τῷ πηδήματι ἐπεισαχθῆναι τῶν πεντάθλων, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ αὔλημα ὄν, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ ἀνῃρημένον Ὀλυμπικὰς νίκας. On Apollon's match with the flautist Marsyas see O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2441 ff., *supra* i. 128 f. pl. xii. *Quasi*-autonomous and imperial coppers of Magnesia ad Maeandrum give the title Αὐλαείτης or Αὐλαΐτης or Αὐλίτης or Αὐλητής to the lyre-playing Apollon (Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. vi. 235 f. nos. 1024 ΑΥΛΗΤΟΥ, 1025 ΑΥΛΑΙΤΗϹ, 1026 ΑΥΛΑΙΤΟΥ, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 164 nos. 49 ΑΥΛΑΙΤΗ[Ϲ ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ], 50 f. ΑΥΛΑΙΤΗϹ, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 348 nos. 11 f. ΑΥΛΑΙΤΗΣ – – –; Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 79 no. 25 pl. 3, 3 ΑVΛΑЄΙΤΗϹ ΜΑΓΝΗ, cp. Mionnet *op. cit.* Suppl. vi. 238 no. 1039 ΑΥΛΑЄΡΤΗ·ΜΑΓΝΗ·: O. Kern *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* Berlin 1900 p. xxv queries Αὐλητής and Αὐλαέρτης). Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] ii. 526 remarks: 'Vocabulum ΑΥΛΑΙΤΗΣ esse nomen magistratus, etsi insolens, dubium non videtur. Apollinis cognomen esse nequit; nam etsi quis opinari vellet, scriptum esse ΑΥΛΑΙΤΗΣ pro ΑΥΛΗΤΗΣ, quoniam vocabulum istud *tibicinem* notat, Latonae filio competere nequit, qui tibicen nunquam, citharoedus semper fuit, et citharoedus in hoc ipso numo proponitur. Forte *Aulaetes* magistratus propter nominis cum *Aulete* adfinitatem deum aliquem musicum sibi in typum legit, eumque Apollinem Colophonium.' L. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* i. 2. 2456 c comments: 'αὐλαΐτης necessario esse ad αὐλαία referendum, nihil vero commune habere cum αὐλοῖς ostendere α interpositum ante terminationem.' U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1900 clxii. 572 n. 3 derives the appellation from αὐλή, 'a cave,' citing Paus. 10. 32. 6 ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ληθαίῳ Μάγνησιν Ὕλαι καλούμενον χωρίον· ἐνταῦθα Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνεῖται σπήλαιον (cp. *ib.* 5), κ.τ.λ., where he emends ὕλαι into Αὐλαί—an emendation printed in the text by F. Spiro (1903) and supported by the fact that Pan had a cave-sanctuary (?) in Arkadia (Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 6 ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ δὲ χώρᾳ ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Πανός· Αὐλὴ τῷ χώρῳ τὸ ὄνομα) and Zeus at *Inönü* in Phrygia (A. Koerte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 419 ff. no. 32 a limestone altar inscribed Διὶ ἐξ αὐλῆς ἐ|πηκόῳ θεῷ | οἱ Παπᾶ καὶ Γαΐου | κληρονόμοι ὑπὲρ Ἀσ|κληπιάδου τοῦ Δα|μᾶ υἱοῦ εὐχὴν | τήνδε ἀνέστησαν | δόντες καὶ τεμένους | ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ | καὶ τῇ κώμῃ ἀττικὰς | ,β καὶ ι | εἵνεκα εἵλωα ἔχιν τὸν | θεόν). Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1249 n. 2 refers Αὐλαίτης to the 'anscheinend barbarische Epikleseis' borne by Apollon in various parts of Asia Minor. To me it seems probable that Αὐλαΐτης, Αὐλίτης, Αὐλητής are progressive attempts to read a Greek meaning into a non-Greek title (cp. *supra* i. 18 f., 25, 25 n. 2, 651).

[3] For the pan-pipes as an attribute of one of the Charites held by the Delian Apollon see *supra* pp. 232 n. 0, 249 n. 2, as an instrument used in the rites of the Hyperborean Apollon see *supra* p. 249 n. 2. Theopomp. *frag.* 320 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 330 Müller) *ap.* Hesych. Δοναστάν· τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα. Θεόπομπος has been variously emended. J. Barnes cj. Δονητήν; but Salmasius restored Δονάκταν, which is accepted by M. Schmidt as 'God of the Reed-Pipes,' cp. schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 12. 44.

latives as well as attributes were common to the two: Dionysos was *Mousagétes* in Naxos[1], *Sminthios* (?) in Rhodes[2], *Iatrós*[3] and *Paián*[4] at Delphoi; Apollon was *Thýïos* at Miletos[5], *Mýstes* at

[1] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 46 (after C. Tissot in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1878 ii. 587 no. 3, U. Köhler in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1878 iii. 161 no. 1, E. Szanto in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1890 xiii. 179 no. 4) ἀγωνοθετήσας | τῶν μεγάλων Διονυ|σίων Διονύσω Μουσ|αγέτη ἐπὶ ἱερέος τοῦ | Διονύσου Περγάμο[υ] | (β′) μετὰ πάσης ε[ὐ]|χαριστίας ἀν[έ]|θηκα (the name of the dedicator is missing). See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3234, *supra* i. 111 n. 5.

[2] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 762, 5 ff. = Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 537 f. no. 4155, 5 ff. = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii. 359 ff. no. 146, 5 ff. a decree of the Lindians ἐπειδὴ πλείσ|ταν πρόνοιαν ὁ σύμπας δᾶμος (π)[οιεῖται] εἰς τὸ | τὰς τοῦ Διονύσου τειμὰς συν[τηρεῖν καλῶς καὶ] | ἀγῶνας τελεῖν καὶ πονπὰς καὶ θυσίας [εἰς ἀ]|εὶ Σμ(ινθ)[ίοις] χοραγῶν ποιούμενοι αἴρ[εσιν] | καὶ πολειτᾶν καὶ ξένων, ὁμοίως δὲ κα[ὶ Λίνδι]|οι εἰς τὰν ποτὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν [φιλοτιμοῦν]|ται, δεδόχθαι Λινδίοις, κυρωθέντος τοῦ|δε τοῦ ψαφίσματος, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα γεί|νεσθαι περὶ τ(ῶ)ν Σμινθί(ω)ν κατὰ τὰρ[χαῖον] | (ἔθ)ισμα Λινδί(ω)[ν· ποτ]αιρείσθων [δὲ τοὶ ἐπιστάται] | τοὶ ἀεὶ ἐν ἀρχᾷ (ἐ)όντες ποτ[ὶ τοῖς ἐκ πολειτᾶν] | αἱρουμένοις χοραγοῖς καὶ ἄλλο(υ)ς χοραγο(ὺ)ς | ἐκ τῶν κατοικεύντων καὶ γεωργεύντων ἐν | Λινδίᾳ πόλει ξένους ἕξ, κ.τ.λ. I follow the text as printed by L. Ziehen, except that in line 8 f., where C. Schumacher cj. [ἄγειν ἀ]|εὶ ἐν or [ἑκάστῳ ἔτ]|ει and L. Ziehen [πανδημ]|εί, I prefer W. Dittenberger's [εἰς ἀ]|εί. With the Lindian celebration of Sminthia for Dionysos cp. Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 143, 9 ff. Bekker Σμινθεύ· ἐπίθετον Ἀπόλλωνος κατὰ τὸν Ἀρίσταρχον ἀπὸ πόλεως Τρωϊκῆς Σμίνθης καλουμένης, ὁ δὲ Ἀπίων ἀπὸ τῶν μυῶν οἱ σμίνθοι καλοῦνται. καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ Σμίνθια ἑορτή, ὅτι τῶν μυῶν ποτε λυμαινομένων τὸν καρπὸν τῶν ἀμπελώνων Ἀπόλλων καὶ Διόνυσος διέφθειραν τοὺς μύας. κ.τ.λ. and Athen. 445 A—B Ἀνθέας δὲ ὁ Λίνδιος,...ὥς φησι Φιλόδημος (G. Dindorf restored Φιλόμνηστος from Athen. 74 F) ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥόδῳ Σμινθίων (Philomnestos *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 477 f. Müller)), ...πάντα τὸν βίον ἐδιονυσίαζεν, ἐσθῆτά τε Διονυσιακὴν φορῶν καὶ πολλοὺς τρέφων συμβάκχους. ἐξῆγέ τε κῶμον ἀεὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ. κ.τ.λ. See further Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 307 f.

[3] Plout. *symp.* 3. 1. 3 ὁ δὲ Διόνυσος οὐ μόνον τῷ τὸν οἶνον εὑρεῖν ἰσχυρότατον φάρμακον καὶ ἥδιστον Ἰατρὸς ἐνομίσθη μέτριος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τὸν κιττὸν ἀντιταττόμενον μάλιστα τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς τὸν οἶνον εἰς τιμὴν προαγαγεῖν καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι διδάξαι τοὺς βακχεύοντας, ὡς ἧττον ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου ἀνιῶντο, τοῦ κιττοῦ κατασβεννύντος τὴν μέθην τῇ ψυχρότητι, Athen. 22 E ἐπιλελῆσθαί μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ τοῦ Πυθικοῦ χρησμοῦ, ὃν ἀναγράφει Χαμαιλέων (on whom see Wendling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2103 f.)· Εἴκοσι τὰς πρὸ κυνὸς καὶ εἴκοσι τὰς μετέπειτα | οἴκῳ ἐνὶ σκιερῷ Διονύσῳ χρῆσθαι Ἰητρῷ (quoted also by Euseb. *praep. ev.* 5. 30. 1). καὶ Μνησίθεος δὲ Ἀθηναῖος (on whom see W. A. Greenhill in Smith *Dict. Biogr. Myth.* ii. 1107) Διόνυσον Ἰατρὸν φησι τὴν Πυθίαν χρῆσαι τιμᾶν Ἀθηναίοις, 36 B (Μνησίθεος δὲ ἔφη) διὸ καὶ καλεῖσθαι τὸν Διόνυσον πανταχοῦ | Ἰατρόν. ἡ δὲ Πυθία <ποτὲ χρωμένοις ?> | εἴρηκέ τισι Διόνυσον Ὑγιάτην καλεῖν (paraphrased by Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1624, 37 ff. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μὴ βλαπτομένου τοῦ πίνοντος καλῶς ἂν ὁ Διόνυσος καλοῖτο Ἰατρός, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὑγείας αἴτιος, καθότι καὶ ἡ Πυθία εἴρηκέ τισι Διόνυσον Ὑγιάτην καλεῖν, ὅπερ ἐστιν αἴνιγμα τοῦ τὸν οἶνον ὑγιαστικὸν εἶναι).

[4] With the refrains of Philodamos' *paián* (*supra* p. 243 n. 3) εὐοῖ ὦ ἰὸ Βάκχ' ὦ ἰὲ Παιάν and ἰὲ Παιάν, ἴθι σωτήρ, κ.τ.λ. cp. the lines (*ib.* 58 ff.) Μοῦσαι [δ'] αὐτίκα παρθένοι | κ[ισσῶι] στε[ψ]άμεναι κύκλωι σε πᾶσαι | μ[έλψαν] ἀθάνα[τον] ἐς ἀεὶ | Παιᾶν' εὐκλέα τ' ὀ[πὶ κλέο]υ|σαι· [κα]τᾶρξε δ' Ἀπόλλων, Orph. *h. triet.* 52. 11 Παιὰν χρυσεγχής (E. Abel prints G. Hermann's cj. θυρσεγχής, cp. Orph. *h. Dion. Bass. triet.* 45. 5), ὑποκόλπιε, βοτρυόκοσμε, Colum. *de re rust.* 10. 217 ff. ista canat, maiore deo quem Delphica laurus | inpulit... et...extimulat vatem...Bacchea voce frementem | Delie te Paean, et te Euhie Euhie Paean. Note also Hesych. Παιώνιος· Διόνυσος, *id.* Δύαλος· ὁ Διόνυσος παρὰ Παίωσιν. Attempts to tinker Δύαλος (Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* p. 488 proposes *Dryalos*, cp. Hes. *sc. Her.* 187;

Daldeia in Lydia[1], and *Dionysodótes*(?) in the Attic deme of Phlyeis[2].

H. Lewy in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1893 xxxix. 768 suggests *Λύαλος=Λυαῖος) are unsuccessful. J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 39 f. connects the Attic phratry Δυαλῆς and *op. cit.* p. 40 n. 1 would alter Hesych. *ὑάλικος κώμη· Διονύσιος* into *Δυαλικὸς κώμη· κ.τ.λ.* W. Tomaschek in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 cxxx. 42 f. translates Δύαλος by 'der "Rasende, Tolle, Stürmische"' (*θύω*, cp. the Bacchic Θυιάδες and Hesych. Θυώνη· *ἡ Σεμέλη*). But we cannot, I think, dissociate Hesych. Δύαλος· *ὁ Διόνυσος παρὰ Παίωσιν* from Hesych. Αὐαλός· *ὁ Διόνυσος*. May we not conclude that Δύαλος means the 'Wet' (*δεύω*) and Αὐαλός the 'Dry' (*αὖω, αὖος, αὐαλέος*)? Cp. 'Ilya the Wet' and 'Ilya the Dry' (*supra* i. 184).

[5] Hesych. Θύϊος· *Ἀπόλλων ἐν Μιλήτῳ*.

[1] Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 70 <*τὸν*> Δαλδιαῖον (so cod. B for *ἐν Δαλδίᾳ* vulg.) *Ἀπόλλωνα, ὃν Μύστην καλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς πατρῴῳ ὀνόματι*. A copper of Septimius Severus shows the god in his temple (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 71 pl. 8, 5=my fig. 169).



Fig. 169.

[2] Paus. 1. 31. 4 *Φλυεῦσι δέ εἰσι...Ἀπόλλωνος Διονυσοδότου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Σελασφόρου βωμοὶ Διονύσου τε Ἀνθίου καὶ νυμφῶν Ἰσμηνίδων καὶ Γῆς, ἣν Μεγάλην θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι*. The supposed cult-title Διονυσόδοτος (in Paus. 9. 35. 3 *καὶ Ἀγγελίων τε καὶ Τεκταῖος †ὅσοι γε Διονύσου† τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐργασάμενοι Δηλίοις κ.τ.λ.* T. Bergk ingeniously cj. *οἱ τὸν Διονυσόδοτον*; but??) has been explained as 'le produit de quelque combinaison savante due aux travaux d'un collège de prêtres établis dans cet endroit' (R. de Tascher in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1891 iv. 8) or attributed to the importation of Apollon *Δαφνηφόρος* from Thebes by the 'Dionysiac' clan to which the Theban and Attic Aigeidai belonged (E. Maass in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1889 cli. 813 ff.), though, since Διονυσόδοτος is a theophoric name of regular formation (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 i p. xxviii, F. Bechtel—A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*[2] Göttingen 1894 pp. 102 f., 104 ff., E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 4 f., W. Fröhner 'Göttergaben' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 380 ff., and F. Bechtel *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* Halle a. d. S. 1917 pp. 140 f., 144 ff. give lists of names in -δοτο- and -δωρο-) actually found (Sosibios *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 626 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 678 c *τοὺς Διονυσοδότου τοῦ Λάκωνος παιᾶνας*, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 268, 95 f. *Στρόμβιχος| Διονυσοδότου Ἀπολλωνιάτας*), it might rather have been inferred that the altar in question was that of a man called Dionysodotos who in the mystic cult of Phlya (on which see especially J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 pp. 39 f., 208 ff.) played—like Pythagoras (*supra* p. 221 ff.)—the part of Apollon *redivivus*. However, it is far from certain that the title of Apollon was Διονυσόδοτος. It may have been, and probably was, Διονυσοδότης (cp. *e.g.* Zeus Πλουτοδότης *supra* i. 503). As such it is quoted and expounded by Olympiod. *in* Plat. *Phaed.* 67 c p. 111, 14 ff. Norvin *ὅτι τὰ ὅμοια μυθεύεται καὶ ἐν τῷ παραδείγματι. ὁ γὰρ Διόνυσος, ὅτε τὸ εἴδωλον ἐνέθηκε τῷ ἐσόπτρῳ, τούτῳ ἐφέσπετο, καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἐμερίσθη. ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων συναγείρει τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνάγει καθαρτικὸς ὢν θεὸς καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου σωτὴρ ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Διονυσοδότης ἀνυμνεῖται* (*ἀνυμνεῖται* ex *εὐφημεῖται* post ⁘ in ras. M.), cp. *id. ib.* p. 43, 14 ff. Norvin *πῶς δὲ ἄρα οὐ τὰ Ὀρφικὰ ἐκεῖνα παρῳδεῖ νῦν ὁ Πλάτων, ὅτι ὁ Διόνυσος σπαράττεται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων, ἐνοῦται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος; διὸ συναγείρεσθαι καὶ ἀθροίζεσθαι, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τῆς Τιτανικῆς ζωῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑνοειδῆ*, Prokl. *in* Plat. *Alcib.* p. 83=Orph. *frag.* 193 Abel *Ὀρφεὺς ἐφίστησι*

The fact is, they were gods of very much the same general character, both young male powers intimately related to Father Sky and Mother Earth, both closely connected with vegetation, both famous for their ecstatic and orgiastic rites[1]. Small wonder that fusion and confusion resulted, when one cult had been amalgamated with the other.

The gradual *rapprochement* and ultimate identification of Dionysos with Apollon can be well traced in extant literature. In the sixth century B.C. Pythagoras declared that Apollon was the son of Silenos[2]—a view perpetuated by the pedantic systematisers, who distinguished five Apollons, the fourth being Apollon *Nómios* the son of Silenos, born in Arkadia[3]. In the fifth century B.C. Herodotos learnt from the Egyptians that Apollon (Horos) and Artemis (Boubastis) were children of Dionysos (Osiris) and Demeter (Isis), nursed and preserved by Leto. Accordingly Herodotos charges Aischylos, who alone of the Greek poets had made Artemis a daughter of Demeter, with drawing from the same Egyptian source[4]. Having already detected one Egyptism in a play of Aischylos[5], we shall not straightaway scout the notion of a second. Still, we have not in this case, as we had in that, the support of a definitely Egyptian context. We shall therefore be slow to conclude that Aischylos was really Egyptising. More probably he was in Orphic

τῷ βασιλεῖ Διονύσῳ τὴν μονάδα τὴν Ἀπολλωνιακὴν ἀποτρέπουσαν αὐτὸν τῆς εἰς τὸ Τιτανικὸν πλῆθος προόδου καὶ τῆς ἐξαναστάσεως τοῦ βασιλείου θρόνου καὶ φρουροῦσαν αὐτὸν ἄχραντον ἐν τῇ ἑνώσει. The Orphists were fond of describing Apollon by titles comparable with *Διονυσοδότης*; in a hymn of but 26 lines they dub him *βιοδώτην*...*ἐλπιδοδώτην*...*Ζηνοδοτῆρα* (Brodaeus cj. *ζηλοδοτῆρα*)...*ξυνοδοτῆρα*...*πλουτοδοτῆρα*...*ψυχοδοτῆρα*...*ὠρεσιδώτην* (*h. Ap.* 3, 6, 7, 15, 17, 24, 25 (Abel *Orphica* p. 285))!

[1] L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 57: 'Vor allen anderen Elementen aber, welche im Wesen dieser beiden jugendlich-schönen Söhne des Zeus gleichmässig ausgeprägt sind, macht sich bekanntlich der ekstatische Charakter bemerklich, welcher an ihrem Gefolge nicht weniger, als an ihnen selbst hervortritt,' cp. Strab. 468 *οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἕλληνες οἱ πλεῖστοι τῷ Διονύσῳ προσέθεσαν καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῇ Ἑκάτῃ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις καὶ Δήμητρι, νὴ Δία (καὶ δι᾽ cod. x), τὸ ὀργιαστικὸν πᾶν καὶ τὸ βακχικὸν καὶ τὸ χορικὸν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς τελετὰς μυστικόν*, κ.τ.λ. E. Maass *Orpheus* München 1895 p. 185 notes that in Orph. *Arg.* 9 f. Orpheus was inspired to sing *Βάκχοιο καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἄνακτος | κέντρῳ ἐλαυνόμενος.*

[2] *Supra* p. 221.

[3] Aristoteles *theologumena*? (=Aristot. *frag.* 283 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 190 Müller)) *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 28. 3 p. 21, 7 f. *καὶ τέταρτον τὸν Ἀρκάδα τὸν Σιληνοῦ· Νόμιος οὗτος κέκληται παρὰ Ἀρκάσιν*, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 57 quartus in Arcadia, quem Arcades Nomion appellant, quod ab eo se leges ferunt accepisse, Ampel. 9. 6 quartus Sileni filius in Arcadia, cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 15 quadrigas Apollinarium nominum, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 71 p. 124, 4 f. Wünsch *πολλοὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὅλου Διὸς Δῖοι, ὥσπερ Ἀπόλλωνες ἢ Διόνυσοι.* See further W. Michaelis *De origine indicis deorum cognominum* Berlin 1898 p. 47 f. and Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 254 f.

[4] Hdt. 2. 156, cp. Paus. 8. 37. 6 (Aisch. *frag.* 333 Nauck[2]).

[5] *Supra* i. 341 f.

mood[1]. And like enough it was under Orphic influence that he ventured even to equate Apollon with Dionysos, when in an unknown play—perhaps the *Bassarai*—he wrote:

Apollon of the Ivy, he the Bacchant, he the Seer[2].

Similarly Euripides, another poet who had more than a bowing acquaintance with Orphism, in his *Likymnios* penned the following invocation:

Lord who lov'st the Baytree, Paian, Bakchos, Apollon of the Lyre[3].

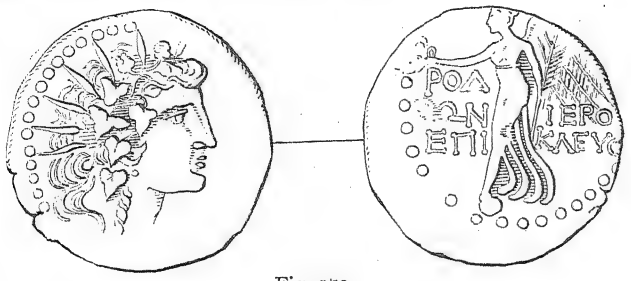


Fig. 170.

Later we get the identification more explicitly stated. In the first century of our era Dion Chrysostomos, addressing the Rhodians, says:

'Yet some maintain that Apollon, Helios, and Dionysos are all one and the same; and that is your own accepted view[4].'

The best commentary on this passage is a series of early imperial coppers, struck in Rhodes, which has for obverse type (fig. 170)[5]

[1] See Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 430 n. 2, 1168 n. 7, 1172, 1290 n. 3.

[2] Aisch. *frag.* 341 Nauck[2] *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 6 ὁ κισσεὺς Ἀπόλλων, ὁ βακχεύς, ὁ μάντις. The manuscript variants are ὁ Βακχεῖος M 1. M 2. M 3. S. ΟΒΛΚΕΙΟC P 2. ΟΒΑΚCΙΟC B. R. ὁ βάκχιος P 7. ΟΚΑΒΛΙΟC P 1. ὦ βάκχε P 6. ὦ μάντις P 6. Hence a prolific crop of conjectures: J. de Meurs ὁ καὶ βάκχος ὁ μάντις, Jakob Gronovius ὁ Κυλλεὺς Ἀπόλλων, ὁ Ἡρικαπαῖος, ὁ Μῆτις (an improvement on Μάσαρις), J. Barnes Σαβαῖος, H. Bothe and C. A. Lobeck Ἀβαῖος, F. G. Welcker Καβαῖος, J. G. J. Hermann Βακχεῖος, A. Nauck βακχεύς (adding 'versus videtur esse Βασσαρῶν'). An anonymous German scholar in the margin of my copy of L. Jan's Macrobius has hazarded the neologism βακχειόμαντις.

[3] Eur. *frag.* 477 Nauck[2] *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 6 δέσποτα φιλόδαφνε Βάκχε, παιὰν Ἄπολλον εὔλυρε. The variants are trifling: ΒΑΙΑΝ B. P 2. R. Ἀπόλλων R. J. de Meurs Ἄπολλον. A. Nauck cleverly suggests the transposition δέσποτα | φιλόδαφνε παιὰν Βάκχ' Ἄπολλον εὔλυρε. Perhaps we should go one step further and read the compound Βακχάπολλον, cp. Διονυσαλέξανδρος and the like (F. H. M. Blaydes' n. on Aristoph. *ran.* 499).

[4] Dion Chrys. *or.* 31 p. 570 Reiske καίτοι τὸν μὲν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἔνιοί φασιν εἶναι τὸν αὐτόν, καὶ ὑμεῖς οὕτω νομίζετε. Cp. the Orphic εἷς Ἥλιος, εἷς Διόνυσος (*supra* i. 187 n. 4, 292).

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. pp. cxvi, 263 ff. pl. 42, 3, 6, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 445 no. 85 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 642. I figure a specimen from my collection issued in the name of the *tamias* Hierokles (ΕΠΙ || ΙΕΡΟ|ΚΛΕΥC *sic*, cp. E. Boisacq *Les dialectes doriens* Paris 1891 p. 164 f.).

the head of a young male deity with the flowing hair of Apollon, the rays of Helios, and the ivy-wreath of Dionysos. W. Drexler calls him Helios[1], B. V. Head calls him Dionysos[2]: he is both rolled into one. And it is interesting to find that Nero, who certainly

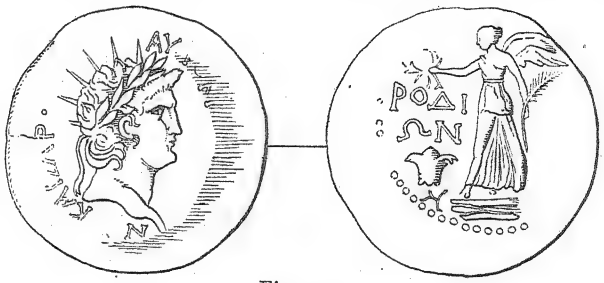


Fig. 171.

claimed to be Apollon and Helios and probably posed as Dionysos to boot[3], introduced his own head on similar large-sized coppers (fig. 171)[4] in place of the Rhodian god[5]. A treatise on epideictic

[1] W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1206.

[2] B. V. Head in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* and *Hist. num.*[2] *locc. citt.*

[3] *Supra* p. 96 n. 3, *infra* Append. M *med.*

[4] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 103 pl. 10, 1 f., Rasche *Lex. Num.* vii. 1047 f. I figure a specimen of this rare coin from my collection: obv. ΚΛΙΣΑΡ·ΑΥΤΟ-ΚΡ[ΑΤΩΡΝΕΡΩ]Ν Head of Nero, laureate and radiate, to right; rev. ΡΟΔΙ ΩΝ Nike on the prow of a ship, holding wreath in right hand, palm in left, with rose before her.

[5] Nero's interest in Rhodes (Suet. *Ner.* 7) and personation of the Rhodian Helios will account for some of his vagaries. Thus his vice-gerent in Italy, 66—68 A.D., was a freedman named Helius (De Vit *Onomasticon* iii. 325, C. Merivale *History of the Romans under the Empire* London 1881 vii. 35 f.). Again, his banqueting-hall was circular and revolved day and night like the sky (Suet. *Ner.* 31)—a suitable abode for a would-be sun-god. Lastly, it was no doubt the colossal Helios made for the Rhodians by Chares of Lindos (Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 291 ff. nos. 1539—1554) that prompted Nero to have a colossus of himself made by Zenodoros (Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 45) and set up in the vestibule of his Golden House (Suet. *Ner.* 31), cp. Mart. *ep.* 1. 70. 7 f. nec te detineat miri radiata colossi | quae Rhodium moles vincere gaudet opus. Vespasian had the big figure repaired (Suet. *Vesp.* 18) and re-erected in the same place (Dion Cass. 66. 15, Hieron. *chron. ann. Abr.* 2091 = 76 A.D.: Euseb. *chron. ann. Abr.* 2090 (ii. 158 Schoene) and Synkell. *chron.* 342 B (i. 647 Dindorf) say ὁ κολοσσὸς Ῥόδου!): but the usual statement that he substituted the head of Apollo for that of Nero is not sufficiently supported by Mart. *lib. spect.* 2. 1 sidereus...colossus; the statue may well have been radiate from the outset. Hadrian caused his architect Decrianus to move it, by means of two dozen elephants, to its later position near the northern entrance of the amphitheatre; he also re-dedicated it to Sol, and commissioned Apollodoros of Damaskos to make a pendant figure of Luna (Spart. *v. Hadr.* 19. 12 f., cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 45). Commodus cut the head off and replaced it by a portrait-head of himself; moreover, by adding a club and a lion he transformed the whole figure *more suo* into a Hercules (Dion Cass. 72. 22, Herodian. 1. 15. 9, Lamprid. *v. Commod.* 17. 10: according to the *Chron. Pasch.* 263 D (i. 492 Dindorf) and Synkell. *chron.* 354 B (i. 668 Dindorf) Commodus beheaded the colossus of Rhodes and substituted a likeness of himself; Kedren. *hist. comp.* 251 C

oratory traditionally ascribed to Menandros the rhetorician of Laodikeia on the Lykos (*c.* 270 A.D.)[1], but more probably composed by an anonymous rhetorician of Alexandreia in the Troad[2], concludes with an appeal to Apollon *Sminthios*:

'But, Sminthian and Pythian god,—for with thee my discourse began, and with thee shall it end—by what titles shall I address thee? Some name thee *Lýkeios*, some *Délios*, others *Askraîos*, others again *Áktios*. At Sparta men call thee *Amyklaîos*, at Athens *Patrôios*, at Miletos *Branchiátes*. Every town and country and nation thou dost traverse. Yea, even as thou dost dance round the sky with the choruses of the stars about thee, so dost thou traverse the whole world of men. The Persians name thee Mithras, the Egyptians Horos—for thou bringest round the seasons (*hôrai*) in their circuit—, the Thebans Dionysos; and the Delphians honour thee with a twofold title, calling thee at once Apollon and Dionysos. About thee are the Muses (?), about thee the Maenads. From thee the moon too gets her radiance, and the Chaldaeans name thee leader of the stars. Whether, then, thou carest for these titles, or for others better than these, grant that our city may ever enjoy full prosperity, and that this festival may for ever be held on thy behalf. Give grace, moreover, to the words that are spoken; for of thee come speech and city alike[3].'

(i. 441 Bekker) carries the confusion further by asserting that Commodus decapitated the colossus of Rhodes and placed its head on his own statue!). But these accessories were afterwards removed (Lamprid. *v. Commod.* 17. 9), and in the fourth century A.D. the Neronian image once more had a rayed crown (*Curiosum urbis regionum xiv* reg. iv = *Notitia regionum urbis xiv* reg. iv (H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1871 ii. 546)). Its base of brickwork is still *in situ* (H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *op. cit.* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 320 ff.). The probability is that from first to last the colossus was recognised as the sun-god. If it bore the features of a Nero or a Commodus, we must remember that the former had posed as the Rhodian Helios and the latter at least as Hercules (R. Peter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2987 ff., *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 418).

[1] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[3] München 1898 p. 755 f.

[2] C. Bursian 'Der Rhetor Menandros und seine Schriften' in the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad. 1882* Philos.-philol. Classe xvi. 3. 17 ff.

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 151 prints the passage (=C. Walz *Rhetores Graeci* Stuttgartiae et Tubingae 1836 ix. 329 f., L. Spengel *Rhetores Graeci* Lipsiae 1856 iii. 445 f.) thus: ἀλλ' ὦ Σμίνθιε καὶ Πύθιε, ἀπὸ σοῦ γὰρ ἀρξάμενος ὁ λόγος εἰς σὲ καὶ καταντήσει (τελευτήσει M. m.), ποίαις σὲ προσηγορίαις προσφθέγξομαι; οἱ μὲν σὲ Λύκειον (λύκιον p.) λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ Δήλιον, ἄλλοι (οἱ M. m.) δὲ Ἀσκραῖον, ἄλλοι δὲ Ἄκτιον, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Ἀμυκλαῖον (ἄλλοι δὲ Ἄκτιον—Ἀμυκλαῖον om. M.), Ἀθηναῖοι πατρῷον, Βραγχιάτην Μιλήσιοι· πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ πᾶσαν χώραν καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος διέπεις καὶ καθάπερ τὸν οὐρανὸν περιχορεύεις ἔχων περὶ σεαυτὸν τοὺς χοροὺς τῶν ἀστέρων (ἄστρων M. m.), οὕτω καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν οἰκουμένην (οἰκουμένην πᾶσαν M. m.) διέπεις· Μίθραν σε Πέρσαι λέγουσιν, Ὧρον Αἰγύπτιοι—σὺ γὰρ τὰς ὥρας εἰς κύκλον (εἰς κύκλον τὰς ὥρας M. m.) ἄγεις—Διόνυσον Θηβαῖοι, Δελφοὶ δὲ διπλῇ προσηγορίᾳ τιμῶσι τὸν [αὐτὸν] Ἀπόλλωνα (*τιμῶσι· τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα p. τιμῶσιν Ἀπόλλωνα M. m.) καὶ Διόνυσον λέγοντες· περὶ σὲ †θοῦραι (θούραι p. ('die Buchstaben sind mit neuerer Tinte nachgezogen, über dem αι erkennt man noch über der Zeile ein α von erster Hand'). θυραῖα M. m. C. Walz cj. θηρία, L. Spengel μοῦσαι, C. Bursian Ὧραι. But cp. Hesych. θούριδες· νύμφαι. μοῦσαι. Μακεδόνες, *supra* i. 111 n. 2 f.), περὶ σὲ θυάδες· παρὰ σοῦ καὶ σελήνη τὴν ἀκτῖνα λαμβάνει: Χαλδαῖοι δὲ (δὲ om. p. C. Bursian cj. σὲ Χαλδαῖοι) ἄστρων ἡγεμόνα λέγουσιν· εἴτ' οὖν ταύταις χαίρεις (χαίροις m.) ταῖς προσηγορίαις (εἴτ'—προσηγορίαις om. M.), εἴτε τούτων ἀμείνοσι, σὺ (σοί M. σέ m.) μὲν ἀκμάζειν ἀεὶ ταῖς εὐδαιμονίαις τὴν πόλιν δίδου, ἐσαεὶ δὲ τήνδε συγκροτεῖσθαί σοι (ἀκμάζειν ταῖς εὐδαιμονίαις τὴν πόλιν ἀεὶ τήνδε δίδου καί σοι

Towards the close of the fourth century Servius *à propos* of Aeneas and his comrades, whom Virgil had described as worshipping the Delian Apollo with bent heads[1], remarks:

'We should realise that, in accordance with the character of the deity addressed, the worshippers look sometimes down, sometimes up; for some powers are heavenly, others earthly, others a blend of both. Hence now, when beseeching Apollo, they turn towards the ground, since he is at once himself and Sol and Father Liber, who descended to the dead—as Horace puts it: "Cerberus saw thee and harmed thee not[2]." So they do well to turn towards the ground: it is from the ground that oracular responses come to them, and Apollo is known even to the dead below[3].'

Elsewhere, commenting on Virgil's apparent equation of the sun and moon with Liber and Ceres[4], Servius attributes the same unitarian doctrine to the Stoics:

'The Stoics hold that there is but one god and one goddess, and that it is the self-same power which is called by various names according to its functions and activities. Hence, on the one hand, they identify Sol, Liber, and Apollo; on the other, Luna, Diana, Ceres, Iuno, and Proserpina. Virgil—so they maintain—has here invoked Liber and Ceres in place of Sol and Luna[5].'

Again, Servius cites a similar view from a neo-Platonic source:

'But, according to Porphyrios' book entitled *The Sun*, it is clear that the power of Apollo is threefold, and that we should identify Sol in heaven, Father Liber on earth, Apollo under the earth. And this is why we see three attributes grouped about his effigy—the lyre which represents to us heavenly harmony,

συγκροτεῖσθαι M. m.) τὴν πανήγυριν· νεῦσον δὲ καὶ χάριν τοῖς λόγοις, παρὰ σοῦ (παρά σοι p.) γὰρ οἱ (γὰρ καὶ οἱ M. m.) λόγοι καὶ ἡ πόλις.

[1] Verg. *Aen.* 3. 90 ff.

[2] Hor. *od.* 2. 19. 29.

[3] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 93 et sciendum pro qualitate numinum orantes interdum ima, interdum summa respicere; nam potestates aliae caelestes sunt, aliae terrenae, aliae permixtae: unde nunc Apollinem deprecantes terram petunt. ipse est enim et Sol et Liber Pater, qui inferos petiit, ut Horatius *te vidit insons* (sic F. m. *insomnis* L. H. M. *in somnis* E.) *Cerberus*. bene ergo terram petunt, unde ad eos responsa perveniunt, et quia Apollo etiam inferis notus (motus F.) est.

[4] Verg. *georg.* 1. 5 ff. vos, o clarissima mundi | lumina, labentem caelo quae ducitis annum, | Liber et alma Ceres.

[5] Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 5 Stoici dicunt non esse nisi unum deum et unam <deam>, eandemque (esse) potestatem, quae pro ratione officiorum nostrorum (*pro* nostrorum *leg.* et actuum) variis nominibus appellatur. unde eundem Solem, eundem Liberum, eundem Apollinem vocant. item Lunam, eandem Dianam, eandem Cererem, eandem Iunonem, eandem Proserpinam dicunt: secundum quos, pro Sole et Luna, Liberum et Cererem invocavit. The passage is cited by Myth. Vat. 2 *prooem.* Stoici dicunt non esse nisi unum deum et unam deam, eademque esse potestate; qui pro ratione officiorum et actuum variis nominibus appellantur (eandemque esse potestatem, quae pro ratione officiorum variis nominibus appellatur C. D.). deum (unde C. D.) eundem Solem, eundem Liberum, eundem Apollinem vocant. item deam eandem (deam eandem *om.* C. D.) Lunam, eandem Dianam, eandem (*om.* C. D.) Cererem (*om.* D.), eandem Junonem, eandem Proserpinam dicunt. numina autem utriusque sexus esse videntur, ideo quia incorporea sunt. Cp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 638 (=J. von Arnim *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta* Lipsiae 1903 ii. 313 no. 1070).

the griffin which shows him as an earthly deity too, the arrows which mark him as a destructive god of the underworld[1].' Etc.

Finally, Macrobius (*c.* 400 A.D.), after adducing the Aeschylean and Euripidean evidence already quoted[2] by way of proof that Mount Parnassos was not sacred to two diverse deities, puts his case thus[3]:

'We began with the statement that Apollo is the sun. We next showed that Father Liber is none other than Apollo. Consequently there can be no doubt that Sol and Father Liber refer to the same god. Nevertheless this shall be established by yet clearer arguments. Mystic religion in its rites observes the following rule: when the sun is in the upper or diurnal hemisphere, it is called Apollo; when in the lower or nocturnal, it is held to be Dionysos[4], that is Father Liber.' Etc.

In short, it appears that a variety of influences—Pythagorean, Egyptian, Orphic—tended towards the assimilation of Dionysos

[1] Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 5. 66 sed constat secundum Porphyrii librum, quem *Solem* appellavit, triplicem esse Apollinis potestatem, et eundem esse Solem apud superos, Liberum Patrem in terris, Apollinem apud inferos. unde etiam tria insignia circa eius simulacrum videmus—lyram quae nobis caelestis harmoniae imaginem monstrat, gryphen quae eum (see H. A. Lion *ad loc.* n. 66: Myth. Vat. 3. 8. 16 has more correctly *gryphen qui eum*) etiam terrenum numen ostendit, sagittas quibus infernalis deus et noxius indicatur. The passage is quoted by Myth. Vat. 3. 8. 16 and, in a shortened form, by Myth. Vat. 2. 18 (where G. H. Bode would rightly restore *gryphem* as against A. Mai's *quadrigam*).

[2] *Supra* p. 253.

[3] Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 7 f. sed licet, illo prius [*Sat.* 1. 17. 7 ff.] adserto eundem esse Apollinem ac solem, edoctoque postea [*Sat.* 1. 18. 1 ff.] ipsum esse Liberum patrem qui Apollo est, nulla ex his dubitatio sit Solem ac Liberum patrem eiusdem numinis habendum, absolute tamen hoc argumentis liquidioribus astruetur. in sacris enim haec religiosi arcani observatio tenetur, ut sol, cum in supero—id est in diurno—hemisphaerio est, Apollo vocitetur, cum in infero—id est in nocturno—Dionysus, qui est Liber pater, habeatur.

[4] An etymologising (*νύξ* + *ἥλιος* or *ἠέλιος*!) explanation of Νυκτέλιος, a title borne by Dionysos at Megara (Paus. 1. 40. 6 *μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ τέμενος ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνελθοῦσι καλουμένην ἀπὸ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέως καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Καρίαν ἔστι μὲν Διονύσου ναὸς Νυκτελίου, πεποίηται δὲ Ἀφροδίτης Ἐπιστροφίας ἱερὸν καὶ Νυκτὸς καλούμενόν ἐστι μαντεῖον καὶ Διὸς Κονίου* (L. C. Valckenaer cj. Κρονίου. Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 642 n. 75 cj. Κωνίου, 'kegelförmig, metae modo.' K. F. Hermann in *Philologus* 1848 iii. 518 cj. *σκοτίου* or *χθονίου*. And H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.* state that the text 'scheint keine plausible Erklärung zuzulassen.' Zeus 'of the Dust,' cp. Pind. *Nem.* 9. 102 *ἐν κονίᾳ χέρσῳ*, was possibly chthonian, but more probably the god that sent dusty weather—a very material consideration in Greece, where the ancient wayfarer—witness Plat. *rep.* 496 D—was glad to take shelter from the swirling dust-storm behind the nearest wall and the modern hotel-manager keeps a man in the hall to flap your boots with a feather-broom) *ναὸς οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον*), at Delphoi (Plout. *de* E *apud Delphos* 9 cited *supra* p. 234), and doubtless elsewhere (Ov. *met.* 4. 15, *ars am.* 1. 567, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 524. 14 = *h. Dion.* 14 (Abel *Orphica* p. 284), Nonn. *Dion.* 7. 349, 22. 6, 27. 173, 44. 203). But the title certainly originated in the fact that Dionysiac rites were held at night (Plout. *quaestt. Rom.* 112, *et. mag.* p. 609, 20 f., schol. Soph. *Ant.* 1147): see further Soph. *Ant.* 1146 f., Eur. *Ion* 1074 ff., *Bacch.* 485 ff., Aristoph. *ran.* 340 ff., Verg. *georg.* 4. 521, Hesych. *s.v.* *νυκτελεῖν*, and the epithets *νυκτέριος* (Orph. *h. triet.* 52. 4), *νυκτίπολος* (Eur. *frag.* 472, 11 Nauck[2] cited *supra* i. 648 n. 1 cp. i. 667 n. 4, Nonn. *Dion.* 7. 288), *νυκτιφαής* (Nonn. *Dion.* 44. 218).

and Apollon, who were completely unified by the solar syncretism of the Graeco-Roman age. But it would be a gross blunder to regard these two as identical from the outset. Rather they were analogous gods, of whom one proved a not uncongenial intruder upon the other. The welcome guest became in time a recognised member of the family circle, and ultimately the main representative of the house, his former naturalisation having been obscured by the later developments of religion and philosophy.

The situation thus arising may be illustrated by a short sequence of Greek vase-paintings[1]. A polychrome *pelike* from Jüz Oba, now at Petrograd (pl. xvi)[2], Attic work of the fourth century B.C., has for its principal figures the earlier *personnel* of the Delphic oracle. The obverse design shows Zeus, with golden bay-wreath and sceptre, enthroned beside Themis, who, clad in a *chitón* and a *himátion* partly blue partly red, sits on the yellow-touched gold-filleted *omphalós*, her left foot raised upon a stone. God and goddess are in earnest conversation, as befits the supreme counsellors of all the world[3]. The subject of their talk is presumably the glorification

[1] The Etruscan mirror from the Luynes collection (Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iv. 24 f. pl. 292), now at Paris (Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 517 f. no. 1300 fig.), adduced by Miss Harrison in her *Themis* p. 442 f. fig. 136 as representing Apollon and Dionysos *vis-à-vis* with the sun's disk between them, would make a delightful illustration of the same point. But unfortunately the interpretation of the second figure as Dionysos is far from certain. The duc de Luynes in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1848 p. 36 described it as Diana; E. Gerhard *loc. cit.*, E. Babelon and J. A. Blanchet *loc. cit.*, as Artemis.

[2] Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 324 ff. no. 1793, *id. Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1860 p. 39 ff. Atlas pl. 2, 1 f. = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 3, 1 f., C. Strube *Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis* Leipzig 1870 p. 86 n., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 181 K, 183, 185 f., *Wien. Vorlegebl.* A pl. 9, 1, C. Robert *Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 p. 188 ff. pl. 3, W. Klein 'Zur Einleitungsscene der Kyprien' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix. 251 ff. fig. 1, and above all Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 46—50 fig. 21 f. pl. 69 (= my pl. xvi). Height 0·443m.

[3] Themis as an earth-goddess (*supra* p. 176 n. 1) knows the right order of events and from experience of the past can give good advice for the future. In poetry she is εὔβουλος (Pind. *Ol.* 13. 11, *Isthm.* 8. 68 cited *infra* § 9 (h) ii (κ). *frag.* 30. 1 Schroeder cited *supra* p. 37 n. 1), ὀρθόβουλος (Aisch. *P. v.* 18), πινυτά (Bakchyl. 14. 55, cp. *frag. adesp.* 82 A as completed by Bergk[4] *ad loc.*), in prose Βουλαία (Plout. *praec. ger. reip.* 5, Synes. *de regno* 15 (lxvi. 1093 Migne)).

Zeus is wise as a forefather (Aisch. *suppl.* 592 ff. πατὴρ φυτουργὸς αὐτόχειρ ἄναξ | γένους παλαιόφρων μέγας | τέκτων, τὸ πᾶν μῆχαρ οὔριος Ζεύς. Cp. for his wisdom as conceived by Aischylos *P. v.* 61 f., *suppl.* 1058 f., and the remarks of W. Kausche in the *Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* Halis Saxonum 1888 ix. 137), as a magician (*supra* i. 14 n. 1, 758 n. 1 f.), as an all-seeing sky-god (*supra* i. 187 n. 9, 196 f., 459 ff., 731 n. 1, 783), and as ideal mind (Nonn. *Dion.* 20. 266 περισσονόοιο Διός, Tzetz. *chil.* 6. 930 ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ νοῦς ὁ πάνσοφος, *proleg. alleg.* 315 ὁ Ζεὺς γὰρ νοῦς ἐκέλευσε, *alleg. Od.* 1. 163 ὦ Ζεῦ, σὺ νοῦ καὶ φρόνιμε). But it is as a chthonian god or, more strictly, as a god associated with chthonian goddesses that he gives counsel to men. Thus he is Zeus Βουλεύς in Mykonos (*supra* i. 668 f., 717 n. 3, with Demeter and Kore), Zeus Εὐβουλεύς in Amorgos (*supra*



Polychrome *pelike* from Jüz Oba: Zeus takes counsel with Themis.

See page 258 ff.

[From Furtwängler—Reichhold *Griechische Vasenmalerei* pl. 69 by permission of Messrs F. Bruckmann A.-G., Munich.]



i. 669 n. 2 with Demeter and Kore), Paros (*supra* i. 669 n. 2 with Hera, Demeter *Thesmophóros*, Kore, Baubo), Delos (*supra* i. 669 n. 2, 717 n. 3, with Demeter and Kore), Kyrene (Hesych. Εὐβουλεύς· ὁ Πλούτων. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Κυρήνῃ). At Mantineia a limestone block inscribed ΔΙΟΣΕΥΒΩΛΕΟΣ in lettering of *s.* iv or early *s.* iii B.C. was found in the middle of the Bouleuterion (G. Fougères in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 133 f. no. 8 = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 289), cp. Diod. 5. 72 διόπερ αὐτὸν προσαγορευθῆναι Ζῆνα μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δοκεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ ζῆν.... εὐβουλέα δὲ καὶ μητιέτην διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ βουλεύεσθαι καλῶς σύνεσιν. At Athens the Bouleuterion included a sanctuary of Zeus Βουλαῖος and Athena Βουλαία (Antiph. *or.* 6. 45 καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ Διὸς Βουλαίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Βουλαίας ἱερόν ἐστι, καὶ εἰσιόντες οἱ βουλευταὶ προσεύχονται, cp. Ulpian. *in* Dem. *in Mid.* 115 πῶς γὰρ ἂν προσεδέξατο τὴν θυσίαν ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Βουλαῖος, ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Νέμ<ε>ιος, εἰ τοιοῦτος ἦν Δημοσθένης;), whose joint priest is mentioned in inscriptions (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 272 a seat in the theatre ἱερέως | Διὸς Βουλαίου | καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Βουλαίας, no. 683 of *s.* ii A.D. [ὁ δῆμος? τὸν ἱερ]έα Δι[ὸς Βου]λαίου καὶ | ['Αθη]νᾶς Βουλαί[ας] κ.τ.λ.): Zeus had a *xóanon* (Paus. 1. 3. 5 Βουλαίου δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται ξόανον Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλων τέχνη Πεισίου καὶ Δῆμος ἔργον Λύσωνος), an altar (schol. Aischin. *de fals. leg.* 45 'καὶ τὴν Ἑστίαν ἐπώμοσε τὴν Βουλαίαν.' Διὸς ἦν βωμὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ. τὴν Ἑστίαν οὖν λέγει τὴν Βουλαίαν τὸν βωμὸν αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Διός, τὸν ὄντα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ. ὤμοσε δὲ καθὸ βουλευτὴς ἦν. κ.τ.λ. The same confusion of the altar of Zeus with the hearth of Hestia appears in L. Bachmann *Anecdota Graeca* Lipsiae 1828 i. 181, 9 f. Βουλαία: Διὸς ἦν βωμὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, ὃς ἐλέγετο βουλαία, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς)—probably that from which Theramenes was dragged to his death (Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3. 52 ff., Diod. 14. 4 f., Plout. *v. dec. or.* 4 *init.*)—, and dedications (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 1025, 16 a list of *c.* 140—150 A.D. [ὁ δεῖνα τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς συνάρχ]οντας ἀναγράψας Διὶ Βο[υλαίῳ ἀνέθηκεν], cp. H. G. Lolling in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1893 p. 86 f.); his original consort was perhaps Hestia Βουλαία (Aischin. *de fals. leg.* 45 with schol. *ad loc.*, Deinarchos *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* Βουλαία and *ap.* Souid. *s.v.* Βουλαία, Diod. 14. 4, cp. Andok. *or.* 1. 44, 2. 15, Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3. 52), as at Sparta (*Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 62 *a* 1 ff. Δία Βουλαῖον, Ἑστ[ίαν Βουλαίαν]· | ἔφοροι οἱ ἐπὶ Α[ττ]ικ[οῦ·] | κ.τ.λ., cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1240 iii 1 with A. Boeckh *ad loc.*), at Aigai in Aiolis (R. Bohn *Altertümer von Aegae* (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* Ergänzungsheft ii) Berlin 1889 p. 33 ff. fig. 35 epistyle of the Bouleuterion inscribed in Aeolic Ἀντιφάνης Ἀπολλωνίδα Διὶ Βολλαίῳ καὶ Ἰστία Βολλαία καὶ τῷ δάμῳ), and at Pergamon (M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* Berlin 1890 i. 153 ff. no. 246, 47 ff. [θῦ]σαι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ ἄλλας | θυσίας [μεγί]στωι [ἀναλώματι τοὺς ἱερέας? ἐπὶ τῶι βωμῶ]ι τῆς Βουλαί[α]ς Ἑστίας | [κ]α[ὶ τ]οῦ [Δ]ιὸ[ς τοῦ Β]ου[λαίου,] κ.τ.λ., where Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 515, 47 ff. and Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 332, 47 ff. prefer H. Usener's restoration [θῦ]σαι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ ἄλλας | θυσίας [ἐπὶ] στωιᾶ[ι τῆι βασιλικῆι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶι βωμῶ]ι κ.τ.λ.), not to mention the Greek oath taken by Roman senators (G. M. Thomas in the *Gelehrte Anzeigen.* Herausgegeben von Mitgliedern der k. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften. München 1860 l. 158 f.). At the Panionion near Mykale Zeus Βουλαῖος was associated with Hera (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2909, 5 ff. περὶ | τῆς δίκης τῆς γενομένης περὶ | τῆς ἱερατείης τοῦ Διὰς τοῦ | (Β)ουλήιου καὶ τῆς Η(ρ)η[ς]), at Gythion with Helios, Selene, Asklepios, Hygieia, etc. (*Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 1179, 7 ff. τὸν ἱερέα τῶν | ἐπιφανεστάτων | θεῶν Διὸς Βουλαί|ου καὶ Ἡλίου καὶ Σε|[λ]ήνης καὶ Ἀσκληπ[ι]|οῦ καὶ Ὑγίας καὶ – –). At Kalchedon he stood alone (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 733, 6 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 596, 6 f. ἱερεῖ Διὸς Βουλαίου ἀπὸ τᾶς | [ἱερωτ]είας CCTI). His head appears on imperial coppers of Mitylene (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 201 pl. 40, 3 (= my fig. 172), struck in the time of Valerianus and Gallienus, obv. ZЄVCBOV ΛAIOC bust of Zeus to left, rev. Є ΠICTP·BAΛ·A PICTOMAX OV MVTI-ΛHNAI ΩN Asklepios seated to left with *phiále* in right hand, sceptre in left, and snake coiled before him, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 562) and coppers of Antiocheia on the Maiandros (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 16 no. 13, struck *c.* the time of Septimius Severus, obv. Z[EVC] BOVΛAIOC head of Zeus laureate to left, rev.

ANTIOX ЄΩN MOPCVNOC river-god Morsynos standing to left with *phiále* in right hand and reed in left, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 471 no. 75 obv. ΣЄVC BOVΛAIOC, rev. read as .....ΩN ΠOPCVNOC *sic*, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 608, cp. Zeus with Boule (?) on a copper of Neapolis on the Harpasos in Karia, struck by Gordianus iii (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 148 no. 5)). The title Βουλαῖος was transferred to Roman emperors etc. (Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* ii. 594 no. 538, a copper of Pergamon in the collection of L. E. Cousinéry, obv. CЄBACTΩI·KAICAPI·BOYΛAIΩ head of Augustus laureate to right, rev. A·ΦOYPIOΣ·ΓYMNAΣI-APXΩN·ΠЄPΓAMH... large vase on a table; *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1393, 1 ff. [Δία Βου]λαῖον Γερμανικὸν Καίσαρα | [τὸν πατέρ]α Γαΐου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ | ὁ δᾶμος between no. 1392, 1 ff. Ἑστίαν Βουλαίαν Ἀγριππῖναν | τὰν ματέρα Γαΐου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ | ὁ δᾶμος and no. 1394, 1 ff. [Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσ]αρα | [Σεβαστὸν Οὐεσπ]ασιανὸν | [ὁ δᾶμος], where M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* Berlin 1890 i. 159 would read [Τὸν νέον Δία Βου]λαῖον Γερμανικὸν Καίσαρα, | [τὸν σωτῆρα, πατέρ]α Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, | ὁ δᾶμος; *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 1352 a limestone base from Abea inscribed Ἀδριανοῦ Βου|λαίου. κ.τ.λ., cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1167, 10=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 259. 4) from Zeus, to whom it properly belonged (Plout. *an seni resp. ger. sit* 10 τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Βουλαίου καὶ Ἀγοραίου καὶ Πολιέως Διὸς ὑπηρέτας οὐ ποδῶν ἔργα καὶ χειρῶν ἀπαιτοῦμεν ἀλλὰ βουλῆς καὶ προνοίας καὶ λόγου, *id. praec. ger. reip.* 5 οὐδὲ Διὸς



Fig. 172.

Βουλαίου μόνου ἔχρηζον, Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 9, 16 f. Lang καὶ βουλαῖον...προσαγορεύουσιν, Achilles *in* Arat. *phaen.* 3 (E. Maass *Commentariorum in Aratum reliquiae* Berolini 1898 p. 84, 16 ff.) λέγεται γὰρ καὶ βουλαῖος Ζεὺς καὶ (so Wilamowitz for ὡς V.) ξένιος καὶ ἑταίρειος φίλιος (so Maass for φίλος V.) φυτάλμιος (so Scaliger for φυτάλιμος V.) ἐπικάρπιος, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 no. 23 βουλαίου cp. *ib.* i. 274 n. 18, 282 n. 14) and of whom it was a virtual synonym (Lyk. *Al.* 435 f. (Kapaneus) ὃν Γογγυλάτης εἶλε Βουλαῖος Μυλεύς, | ἀγηλάτῳ μάστιγι συνθραύσας κάρα, with Tzetz. *ad loc.* ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Γογγυλάτης, δι' οὗ αἱ γογγύλαι καὶ συνεσφιγμέναι χεῖρες κινοῦνται, ὁ Βουλαῖος, δι' οὗ καὶ τὸ βουλεύειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐστίν, ὁ Μυλεύς, δι' οὗ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰς μύλας καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας κινοῦσιν, ἢ ὁ ἀρτοδότης, ἀπὸ τῆς μύλης, cp. Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 no. 27 γογγυλάτου, no. 65 μυλέως. O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1585 says: 'Vermutlich entspricht Zeus G. dem Zeus Palamnaios.' H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3307 cp. Zeus Μυλεύς with Iupiter *Pistor*; L. Bachmann *ad loc.* cp. Iupiter *Lapis*. Was Zeus Γογγυλάτης connected with turnips (γογγύλαι), as Iupiter with onions (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 270)? And was Zeus Μυλεύς, like Apollon *Mýlas* or *Mylántios* (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3306), the Mylanteioi Theoi (K. Tümpel *ib.* ii. 3305 f.), and Promylaia (O. Höfer *ib.* iii. 3110 f.), a protector of mills? *Non liquet.* Both titles might be local, Γογγυλάτης from some island *Γογγύλη, Μυλεύς from some town akin to Μύλασα). Βουλαῖος meant 'God of the *Council*' and at most connoted the power of giving *counsel* (cp. Theokr. 16. 70 Διὸς μέγα βουλεύοντος); it is not directly connected with the *quasi-*

of Athens[1], since Athena, who stands before them wearing a golden *aigís* slung across a lilac (?) *péplos* spangled with gold and having in her left hand a golden spear, on her head a golden red-crested helmet, is in the act of receiving a golden olive-wreath from a Victory, in a bright-coloured *péplos*, poised on wings of blue and gold. The remaining figures are less dazzling, being in effect little more than conventional 'filling': Selene on her horse led by Hesperos to the right; Hermes in waiting behind Zeus; Aphrodite with Peitho to the left. The central group plainly recalls the east pediment of the Parthenon; and the same great original, haunting the imagination of the painter, has contributed something to his Selene, Hermes, and Aphrodite[2]. The reverse design represents Dionysos seated with Ariadne. Each holds a *thýrsos*, and Eros hovers between them. Dionysos' panther, caressing Ariadne, and a Maenad, with a timbrel at her side, complete the picture. Thus front and back of the vase taken together[3] portray Zeus, Themis,

magical *βουλή* or *βουλαί* of Zeus (*supra* i. 14 n. 1). Zeus Ἀμβούλιος at Sparta (Paus. 3. 13. 6 *πρὸς τούτῳ Διὸς Ἀμβουλίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστιν Ἀμβουλίας βωμὸς καὶ Διοσκούρων καὶ τούτων Ἀμβουλίων*, Souid. *s.v.* Ἀμβούλιος· *ὄνομα κύριον i.e.* a theophoric name (?)) was probably a warlike deity (Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 13 f.), who on some historic occasion, unknown to us, had saved the state by a sudden change of plans and was therefore worshipped as 'the Reverser of the Decree' (cp. Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 145 n. 1, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1816, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1117 n. 3). H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum*[2] Lugduni Batavorum 1910 p. 81 thinks that the Spartans would have called these deities ἄμβωλοι (*sic*) and ἀμβωλία.

[1] The vase has been much misinterpreted. L. Stephani *locc. citt.*, deserted by his usual good sense, made the meaning of the obverse turn on the nature of the horse-rider: if she were Selene led by one of the Dioskouroi, the other figures from left to right might be two Hesperides, Hestia, Hermes, Atlas, Nike, Athena; but if—as he preferred to think—she were Artemis *Pheraía* led by a Satyr, they might be Iphthime, Alkestis, Hestia, Hermes *Pheraîos*, Admetos, Nike, Athena. C. Strube *loc. cit.*, followed by J. Overbeck and A. Furtwängler *locc. citt.*, made a much better suggestion. The vase-painter had been inspired by the opening scene of the *Kypria*, in which Zeus took counsel with Themis how to lessen the tribes of men that burdened the earth by bringing about the Trojan war (Prokl. *chrestom.* 1 (p. 17 Kinkel) *Ζεὺς βουλεύεται μετὰ τῆς Θέμιδος* (so C. G. Heyne for codd. *θέτιδος*) *περὶ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ πολέμου. παραγενομένη δὲ Ἔρις εὐωχουμένων τῶν θεῶν ἐν τοῖς Πηλέως γάμοις νεῖκος περὶ κάλλους ἐνίστησιν Ἀθηνᾷ Ἥρᾳ καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ, κ.τ.λ.* cp. *Kypria frag.* 1 Kinkel *ap.* schol. *Il.* 1. 5 f.). Strube's notion that the horse-rider was Eris led by Oistros is rightly abandoned by Furtwängler. C. Robert *loc. cit.* put forward the odd idea that Zeus is about to bear Dionysos, who is as yet hidden in his left thigh, and that Themis is foretelling the child's future. Robert takes the rider to be Selene led by Phosphoros—an indication that the scene is laid just before day-break. W. Klein *loc. cit.*, comparing the famous Dareios-vase (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 142 ff. pl. 88), will have it that Athena and Aphrodite here stand for Hellas and Asia, that the seductive rider is Apate, etc. S. Reinach *loc. cit.* is eclectic naming the *dramatis personae* Peitho (?), Aphrodite, Hestia (?), Hermes, Zeus, Nike, Athena, Artemis or Selene led by an *éphebos*.

[2] *Infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*).

[3] An objection to my view is that late vases of this type as a rule have for reverse

and Dionysos—the early Delphic triad—in thoroughly characteristic surroundings.

Another fourth-century vase, likewise found at Jüz Oba and preserved at Petrograd[1], is a red-figured *kratér*, which has for obverse design a judgment of Paris[2] comparable with that depicted on the *hydría* at Karlsruhe[3] and for reverse the arrival of Apollon at Delphoi (pl. xvii)[4]. The scene is marked by the *omphalós* with its fillets and bay-wreath, the palm-tree[5], and the tripod[6]. Dionysos —a kingly figure bearded, wreathed with ivy, clad in fine under-*chitón*, richly decorated upper-*chitón*, and *himátion*, and holding his *thýrsos* like a sceptre—is evidently lord of the locality[7]. Round him is his retinue, three naked Satyrs and three Maenads, who with flutes, lyre, and timbrel make music as their master extends the right hand of fellowship[8] to the youthful Apollon, a simpler personage in a dotted *himátion* with bay-wreath and bay-branch. One of the Maenads prepares a seat for him beside the *omphalós*—a sufficiently significant action. The guest has come to stay. And it may be added that Zeus and Themis, the original occupants of the place, are already relegated to the other side of the vase.

A later moment is represented on a red-figured bell-*kratér* of

design some commonplace subject (draped youths, etc.) unconnected with the obverse. That is true. But there are notable exceptions (*e.g. Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1859 p. 32 ff. Atlas pl. 1 f. = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 1, 1 f., 2, 2 or Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 590 f. no. 1854), and this may well be one. Robert *op. cit.* p. 190 is not averse from connecting the two sides of our vase.

[1] Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 339 ff. no. 1807. Height 0·49^{m}.

[2] *Infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*).

[3] *Supra* i. 125 f. pl. xi.

[4] L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 33 ff. Atlas pls. 3 and 4 (= my pl. xvii) = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 7, 5 f., 8, 1, L. Weniger in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1866 xxiv. 185 ff. pl. 211, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 331 no. 73, 333 Atlas pl. 21, 25 (central group only), Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 316 pl. 17, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 390 f. fig. 122, *ead. Themis* p. 443 f. fig. 137.

[5] Recalling the bronze palm at Delphoi (Plout. *v. Nic.* 13, *de Pyth. or.* 8, Paus. 10. 15. 4 f.). On the relation of palms to Apollon see L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 68 f.

[6] *Omphalós*, palm, and tripod are all found on the *amphora* from Ruvo (*supra* p. 170 n. 2).

[7] Miss Harrison is a trifle less dogmatic in her *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 390 f.: 'It is perhaps not quite certain which is regarded as the first comer, but the balance is in favour of Dionysos as the sanctuary is already peopled with his worshippers.'

[8] L. Weniger in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1866 xxiv. 190 f. and Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 316 suggest that Dionysos is greeting Apollon on his return from the Hyperboreans—a possible interpretation. L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 114 after many pages reaches the wrong conclusion, *viz.* that Apollon and Dionysos grasp each other's hand merely to show their essential similarity—'Eine...rein theoretische, nicht dramatische Anwendung des Handschlags'—or, if the gesture has any reference to the particular occasion, their unanimity in regard to the judgment of Paris.



Kratér from Jüz Oba: Apollon visits Dionysos at Delphoi.

See page 262.



Kratér in the British Museum: Apollon honoured by the followers of Dionysos at Delphoi.

See page 263.

Attic style now in the British Museum (pl. xviii)[1]. The mountain-side with a stepped altar in the foreground stands for the precinct at Delphoi[2], which is still largely Dionysiac—witness the ivy-leaves that strew the ground, the company of Satyrs and Maenads, and the presence of Dionysos himself. But the principal deity is now Apollon, who is seated in the centre with short *chitón* and embroidered *himátion*, a bay-wreath round his hair, a bay-branch in



Fig. 173.

his left hand, a tortoise-shell lyre in his right. He glances over his shoulder at Dionysos, who occupies a subordinate seat on the extreme left, similarly clad in a short *chitón* with an embroidered *himátion*, wearing fillet and ivy-wreath, and holding a *thýrsos* in one hand, a *rhytón* in the other. His former retainers seem bent on honouring the new arrival. One of the Satyrs turns towards him, fingering a lyre. The other, carrying an *oinochóe*, offers him an ivy-patterned *kántharos*. And both Maenads present him with flat baskets of fruit. It is clear that Apollon is in process of displacing Dionysos.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 50 f. no. F 77, [P. F. Hugues, dit d'Hancarville] *Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines* Naples 1767 ii pl. 68, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* ii. 137 f. pl. 196, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 222 ff. pl. 74 A, E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1865 xxiii. 102 ff. pl. 202, 2 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 397, 6, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 59 n. 2, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 326 no. 53, 330. Pl. xviii is from a photograph of the vase (height 15¼ inches) in its present condition. Previous illustrations are grossly inaccurate, Dionysos having been restored as a nude goddess and many details wrongly repainted.

[2] This may be disputed, since the *omphalós* does not appear (are we to think of it as concealed beneath Apollon's drapery?). But the painting fills a gap in a series of undoubtedly Delphic scenes, and Gerhard *loc. cit.* p. 102 was probably right in describing it as 'Apollon zu Delphi.'

The displacement is well nigh complete in the scene painted on a late Attic bell-*kratér* from Santa Agata de' Goti, now at Berlin (fig. 173)[1]. Apollon, with a bordered *himátion* about his legs, a bay-wreath and fillet on his head, and a bay-branch in his left hand, is seated on the *omphalós*, itself garlanded with bay, whilst he dangles a sprig of bay-leaves[2] over a white deer at his side[3]. Before him

[1] Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 755 no. 2645, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 139 ff. pl. 45, E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1865 xxiii. 106 ff. pl. 203 = my fig. 173 (omits ground-line. Furtwängler *loc. cit.* says: 'Keine Terrainlinien, die Figuren nur etwas über der Bodenlinie') = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 397, 7 f.

[2] Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* ii. 140: 'Cette circonstance rappelle la mastication de feuilles de laurier que la Pythie mettait dans sa bouche avant de s'asseoir sur le trépied fatidique.' See Soph. *frag.* 811 Nauck², 897 Jebb, *ap.* schol. Hes. *theog.* 30 δάφνην φαγὼν ὀδόντι πρῖε τὸ στόμα, Theophr. *char.* 16 (28 Jebb) ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων τοιοῦτός τις οἷος...δάφνην εἰς τὸ στόμα λαβὼν οὕτω τὴν ἡμέραν περιπατεῖν, Lyk. *Al.* 6 (Kassandra) δαφνηφάγων φοίβαζεν ἐκ λαιμῶν ὄπα with schol. *ad loc.* εἰώθασιν οἱ μάντεις δάφνας προεσθίειν, Kallim. *iamb.* 3. 222 f. (A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1910 vii. 39) καὶ Πυθίη γὰρ ἐν δάφνῃ μὲν ἵδρυται, | δάφνην δ' ἀείδει (Wilamowitz cj. ἀείρει, but see A. Platt in the *Class. Quart.* 1910 iv. 113 and A. E. Housman *ib.* p. 119) καὶ δάφνην ὑπέστρωται, Plout. *symp.* 4. 2. 3 ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἄχρι τούτου τῆς αἰτίας ὥσπερ δάφνης παρατετρώχθω (so J. J. Reiske for παρατετάχθω), Loukian. *bis accus.* 1 ἡ πρόμαντις...μασησαμένη τῆς δάφνης, Athen. 140 D—E καὶ ἔστιν ἡ παρασκευὴ τῶν λεγομένων ἐπαΐκλων...διττή. ἦν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς παισὶ παρέχουσι, πάνυ τις εὔκολός ἐστι καὶ εὐτελής. ἄλφιτα γάρ ἐστιν ἐλαίῳ δεδευμένα, ἃ φησι Νικοκλῆς ὁ Λάκων (*frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 464 Müller)) κάπτειν αὐτοὺς μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐν φύλλοις δάφνης, παρὸ καὶ καμματίδας μὲν προσαγορεύεσθαι τὰ φύλλα, αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ ψαιστὰ κάμματα (cp. Hesych. *s.v.*). ὅτι δὲ ἔθος ἦν τοῖς πάλαι καὶ φύλλα δάφνης τραγηματίζεσθαι Καλλίας (*Kyklopes frag.* 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 737 Meineke)) ἢ Διοκλῆς ἐν τοῖς Κύκλωψί φησιν οὕτως· "φυλλὰς ἡ (so K. G. A. Erfurdt for φύλλα σὺ V. L. φυλλα συ P. φυλασῃ A. φῦλάσῃ B.) δείπνων κατάλυσις· ἡ δὲ (ἥδε P. ἥδε Meineke, omitting the point before it) καθάπερ σχημάτων," *Geopon.* 11. 2. 6 λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο περὶ τῆς δάφνης, ὅτι ὑγείας ἐστὶν ἐργαστική. ὅθεν καὶ φύλλα αὐτῆς ἐπιδίδονται (ἐπεδίδοντο F. M.) τοῖς ἄρχουσι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ Ἰαννουαρίου μηνός, καὶ ἰσχάδες, Tzetz. *in* Hes. *o. d. proleg.* p. 14 ff. Gaisford φασὶ δὲ ὡς ἐννέα τινὲς ἐλθοῦσαι γυναῖκες καὶ δρεψάμεναι κλῶνας δάφνης Ἑλικωνίτιδος αὐτὸν ἐπεσίτισαν, καὶ οὕτω σοφίας ποιητικῆς ἐπεμφόρητο (ἐμπεφόρητο E. and ed. Trincavelli. ἐμπεφόρηται F. and annot. Graevii)....καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ποιμαίνειν περὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα καθευδήσας ὁ Ἡσίοδος ὄναρ εἶδεν ἐννέα γυναῖκας δάφνας αὐτῷ ψωμιζούσας....ἔνθεν τοι μή τις τῶν νέων νωχελὴς καὶ ῥάθυμος καὶ ἀμβλὺς περὶ λόγους τελείτω καὶ μονονουχὶ καθευδέτω τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἡσίοδον τοῦτον ἠπατημένος μύθοις καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπελθεῖν δαφνηφορούσας τινὰς παρθένους καραδοκῶν ψωμιζούσας τὰς δάφνας...ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ μυθοπλαστούμενα περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἡσιόδου δαφνηφαγίας κ.τ.λ., Villoison *anecd.* ii. 186 n. 1 schol. cod. 489 Venet. S. Marci *de rhapsodia* ἢ ὅτι μαντικὴ ἡ δάφνη· οἱ γὰρ μαντευόμενοι ἐδαφνηφάγουν, Tib. 2. 5. 63 f. vera cano: sic usque sacras innoxia laurus | vescar (*noscar* O.), Ov. *ex Pont.* 2. 5. 67 gustata (so A. confirming a cj. of R. Bentley in his n. on Hor. *od.* 3. 30. 15) et (so Rothmaler for *est* codd.) laurea nobis, Mart. *ep.* 5. 4. 1 ff. foetere multo Myrtale solet vino, | sed fallat ut nos folia devorat lauri | merumque cauta fronde, non aqua, miscet. | ...dicas licebit "Myrtale bibit laurum," Iuv. 7. 19 laurumque momordit. These multifarious usages—mantic, prophylactic, cathartic, hygienic, etc.—probably go back to a belief that the bay-tree was highly charged with divinity (cp. Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 264 f., 338 ff., A. de Gubernatis *La Mythologie des Plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 188 ff., R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 p. 404 ff.). It would, however, be a mistake to regard the bay as a vegetable form of Apollon (despite his

stands a Maenad[1], in a richly embroidered *péplos* with a wreath of ivy on her hair, grasping a couple of lit torches; behind him, a similarly draped and wreathed Maenad[2] carrying a *thýrsos*, and a clumsy dancing Satyr. To the left is Hermes, who beckons the *thíasos* away to their nightly revels on the mountain. In the background are seen the upper parts of four Doric columns supporting an architrave—a rough sketch of the Delphic temple on its terrace[3]. Dionysos, it will be observed, has gone: the Maenads and the Satyr are going.

But even when Apollon had entered into full possession of the Delphic seat it was not forgotten that he derived his authority from Zeus. Another late Attic bell-*kratér*, formerly in the Lamberg collection and now at Vienna (fig. 174)[4], shows Zeus instructing Apollon in the presence of other deities. Apollon, with a bay-wreath on his head, a bay-branch in his right hand, and a bay-bush at his left side, sits before the filleted *omphalós*, on the other side of

epithets Δαφναῖος, Δαφνηφόρος, Δαφνίτας, on which see K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 46 f., 110). The myth of Daphne (L. von Sybel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 954 f., O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2138 ff., Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 449 ff.) points rather to a close connexion between the tree and the earth-mother.

[3] The inhabitants of Dion in Makedonia dedicated at Delphoi τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ὃς εἰλημμένος ἐστὶ τῆς ἐλάφου (Paus. 10. 13. 5). See further K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 110.

[1] Furtwängler *loc. cit.* says 'Artemis'; but the resemblance to the pendant Maenad is too close. The ivy-wreath is clearer in Gerhard's drawing.

[2] Furtwängler *loc. cit.* says 'Nymphe'; but the *thýrsos* is decisive.

[3] Cp. *supra* p. 170 n. 2.

[4] Laborde *Vases Lamberg* i pl. 27 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 183, 1 (Peitho (?), Zeus, Aphrodite on swan, Apollon, Hermes, Athena (?)), Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iii. 70 ff. pl. 235 (apotheosis of Helene! cp. Raoul-Rochette *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1831 p. 224 'l'*apothéose d'une initiée*'!), O. Jahn in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1845 xvii. 364 and in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1858 xvi. 238 ff. (Zeus announces to Apollon the appearance of Kyrene on a swan, cp. F. G. Welcker in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1847 ii. 498), L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1863 p. 70 f. (Dionysos (!) and Apollon with Hermes and three Muses or Maenads or Thyiads), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 182 HH, 185 f. Atlas pl. 1, 33 Zeus only (Kyrene (?)), H. Heydemann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1871 xliii. 114 f. (the judgment of Paris 'trasportato a Delfo per rendere più palpabile l'importanza del giudizio e le sue conseguenze per l'avvenire,' the figures being Hera, Zeus, Aphrodite on swan, Paris (!), Hermes, Athena, cp. G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1845 iii. 79 = *id. Descrizione di alcuni vasi fittili della collezione fatta* Napoli 1846 i. 23), O. Benndorf *Griechische und sicilische Vasenbilder* Berlin 1877 p. 78 ff. fig. = my fig. 174 (a variation on the opening scene of the *Kypria* (*supra* p. 261 n. 1)—Zeus takes counsel with Apollon on the strife between the goddesses, which led up to the Trojan war), Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff* Vasen p. 14 ff. (Zeus instituting Apollon as god of the Delphic oracle (Aisch. *Eum.* 17 ff.), while the previous occupants depart, Gaia and Themis to right and left, Phoibe on the swan), A. Kalkmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 258 ff. ('Zeus dem Apollo befiehlt, die Kyrene nach Libyen zu senden, und Hermes sich anschickt, diesen Auftrag auszuführen, während die schwesterlichen Nymphen nicht ohne Theilnahme nach ihrer zur Abfahrt gerüsteten Gespielin sich umschauen').

which stands[1] Zeus, with bay-wreath and sceptre, announcing to his 'prophet[2]' the mandate of omnipotence. Who the remaining deities may be and what exactly they are doing, has been the subject of much futile discussion. Apparently the painter has utilised

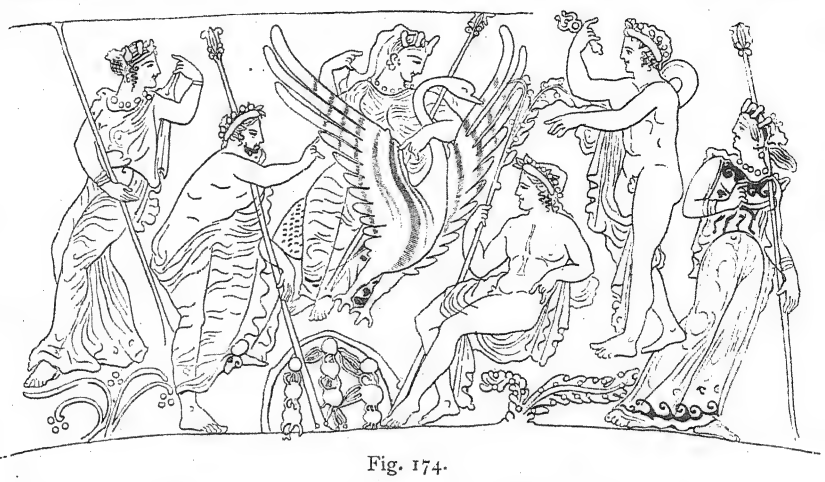


Fig. 174.

the type of Hermes conducting Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite to the judgment of Paris[3] merely for the purpose of suggesting a crowd of deities. It is as ruler of the assembled gods that Zeus issues his royal decrees.

(ψ) The stratification of Delphic Cults.

We are now in a position to gather up results and to venture upon a conspectus of Delphic worship. The main cults appear to be stratified as in the following diagram:—

iii.	APOLLON	Bay
ii.	DIONYSOS	Tripod
i.	ZEUS *Aphésios* (?) and GE *Thémis* (?)	Eagles and *omphalós*

[1] The pose is unusual for Zeus (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 185 f.), who does not appear elsewhere in the attitude of the supported foot (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*)).

[2] *Supra* p. 204 n. 1, *infra* § 3 (a) vi (λ) *sub fin.*

[3] Objections brought against the interpretation of this scene as a judgment of Paris—*viz.* that Athena would then have some distinctive attribute (Furtwängler *loc. cit.* p. 14) and that Aphrodite would not be riding on a swan (A. Kalkmann *loc. cit.* p. 259)—lose their force, if, as I suppose, the artist is reminiscent and no more; for in that case he is free to contaminate or adapt.

Further, the circumstances suggest that these *strata* represent distinct racial elements in the population, which had arrived, by dint of much mutual accommodation, at a joint-recognition of their respective deities. Zeus and Ge *Thémis*, the original possessors of the sanctuary, were throughout classical times admitted to be the ultimate source of the oracles there delivered. Of the younger gods first Dionysos, and subsequently Apollon, was affiliated to Zeus. And, since they were gods of approximately similar character, the populace came to regard them almost as obverse and reverse aspects of the same divinity[1]. Finally, our survey of the *data* may enable us to hazard at least a provisional guess concerning the races involved in this curious superposition of cults. Alluvial deposits often tell their own tale.

iv. Zeus and Dionysos.

Zeus and Ge, the sky-father and the earth-mother, were essentially Hellenic, their worship being common to every branch of the Hellenes[2]. The precise character of the relations between them will be explained in a later section[3]. Here it must suffice to observe that the early Delphians seem to have worshipped Zeus as a storm-god under the title *Aphésios*, which may be rendered 'He that lets fly[4],' and Ge as a fertility-goddess under the title *Thémis*[5],

[1] In this connexion the pedimental sculptures of the temple at Delphoi are noteworthy. From fragments found on the site it seems that in the sixth-century building the east pediment contained a marble group with Apollon in his chariot as centre-piece, the west pediment a *pôros* Gigantomachy with Zeus in the middle, Athena to the left of him, Dionysos to the right (T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1901 xxv. 457—515 figs. 1—6 pls. 9—16, 18 f., F. Courby *ib.* 1914 xxxviii. 327—350 pl. 6 f. and in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 103 f. fig. 83 pl. 12). And from Paus. 10. 19. 4 *τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς, ἔστιν* Ἄρτεμις *καὶ* Λητὼ *καὶ* Ἀπόλλων *καὶ* Μοῦσαι *δύσις τε* Ἡλίου *καὶ* Διόνυσός *τε καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ* Θυιάδες. *κ.τ.λ.* it has been justly inferred that in the fourth-century structure the east pediment was occupied by Apollon and deities of his cycle, the west pediment by Dionysos and his *cortège* (T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 627—639, F. Courby in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 20). The numismatic evidence is inconclusive (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 118 ff. pl. X, 22—25, J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 35 f. nos. 53 f. pl. 27, 10—12, 44 ff. nos. 81—88 pl. 29, 11—18, T. Homolle *ib.* 1902 xxvi. 629, F. Courby in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 21).

[2] For Ge see W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1566 ff., A. Dieterich *Mutter Erde*[2] Leipzig-Berlin 1913, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 1 ff., 307 ff., S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 467 ff., J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 73 ff.

[3] *Infra* § 9 (e) ii.

[4] *Supra* p. 179.

[5] Dr Farnell *op. cit.* ii. 495 rightly recognizes 'that Ge herself developed into a Ge Themis, and thence into Themis alone,' and *ib.* iii. 13 ff. rejects the notion 'that Themis began her religious career as the mere personification of the abstract idea of righteousness,' concluding that she 'was something more concrete than this, and was allied to an earth-divinity of fertilizing function.' He compares—as does Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1080 n. 6—the Themis of Boucheta (Harpokr. *s.v.* Βούχετα· *...πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς* Ἠπείρου, *...ἣν* Φιλοστέφανος *ἐν τοῖς* Ἠπειρωτικοῖς (*frag.* 9 a (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 30 Müller)) *ὠνομάσθαι*

which probably once denoted 'She that creates or produces[1]'—a possible doublet of it being the name *Thétis*[2].

Dionysos—as would be admitted by modern scholars[3] with scarcely a dissentient voice[4]—was a god of Thraco-Phrygian extraction[5]. And his presence at Delphoi implies that a wave of Thracian immigrants had early reached Phokis—a fact attested also by the existence of the Delphian Thrakidai[6]. Herodotos indeed

φησὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν Θέμιν ἐπὶ βοὸς ὀχουμένην ἐκεῖσε ἐλθεῖν κατὰ τὸν Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμόν, cp. Souid. *s.vv.* Βούχετα and Θέμιν, *et. mag.* p. 210, 34 ff., Favorin. *lex.* p. 385, 31 ff.) with the Cretan Europe, a vegetative earth-goddess (*supra* i. 524 ff.), and cites to the same effect a convincing passage from Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 22. 5 p. 17, 9 ff. Stählin καὶ προσέτι Γῆς (so Wilamowitz for τῆς P. Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 3. 40) Θέμιδος (C. A. Lobeck cj. θεσμοθέτιδος or Ἀρτέμιδος) τὰ ἀπόρρητα (ἄρρητα Euseb. *loc. cit.*) σύμβολα ὀρίγανον, λύχνος, ξίφος, κτεὶς γυναικεῖος, <ὃς> (δς Euseb. *loc. cit.* δ M. P.[2] and cod. H. of Euseb. *loc. cit.* above the line) ἐστιν, εὐφήμως καὶ μυστικῶς εἰπεῖν (om. Euseb. *loc. cit.*), μόριον γυναικεῖον.

[1] Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 338 relates θέμις to Zend *dāmiš* fem. 'creation,' adj. 'who creates, creator,' and for the vocalisation of the root compares θέμα, Zend *dąma* 'creation, creature, abode.' See, however, E. Fraenkel 'Grammatische und syntaktische Bemerkungen zu griech. θέμις' in *Glotta* 1913 iv. 22 ff. and P. Kretschmer 'Zum Namen der Themis' *ib.* 1913 iv. 50 f.

[2] This equation *saute aux yeux*. But others have seen otherwise. Omitting the common but certainly misleading comparison of Thetis with Tethys, we have to reckon with a whole string of more or less doubtful conjectures: W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1905 ii 207 f. (shortened form of *Κυμοθέτις, *Ἀλοθέτις, *Τδαοθέτις, 'Wassermuhme,' cp. τηθίς, θεῖος), L. Laistner *Das Rätsel der Sphinx* Berlin 1889 i 140 f. (shortened form of *Παιδοθέτις, *Ὀνομαθέτις, *Νομοθέτις, *Πυριθέτις), Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 94, 116, 618 n. 1, 657, 1140, 1163, 1168 n. 3, 1197 n. 1 (shortened form of Demeter *Thesmothétis*), G. Prellwitz *De dialecto Thessalica* Gottingae 1885 p. 26 (related to Θεσσαλός, Boeotian Φετταλός, Thessalian Πετθαλός, original form *Χεθjαλός, cp. θέσσασθαι).

[3] See *e.g.* O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1011 ('Nehmen wir als sicher an, dass die Heimat des D. Thrakien ist,' etc.), Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 85 f. ('the theory that he was of Thrako-Phrygian origin, carried by a Phrygian migration from Thrace into Asia Minor, and spreading his influence and name from the Balkan district into Macedonia and certain communities of Greece at an early period, appears to be generally accepted'). Evidence in A. Rapp *Die Beziehungen des Dionysoskultus zu Thrakien und Kleinasien* Stuttgart 1882, F. A. Voigt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1031 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 211 ff. and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1110 ff.

[4] S. Schneider 'Über den Ursprung des Dionysoskultes' in the *Wiener Studien* 1903 xxv. 147—154 brings Dionysos from Egypt *viâ* Lydia and Thrace to Greece. P. Foucart *Le culte de Dionysos en Attique* (*Mémoires de l'Institut National de France: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* xxvii. 2) Paris 1906 argues in support of an Egyptian Dionysos, cp. the same author's recent restatement of his views on the Eleusinian mysteries (*Les mystères d'Éleusis* Paris 1914 p. 445 ff.). Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 211 ff., 1410 and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1111 thinks it probable that Dionysos was originally a Boeotian god introduced by Greek settlers into Thrace. The latest leader of a forlorn hope is Miss G. M. N. Davis *The Asiatic Dionysos* London 1914. There is of course an element of truth in most of these hypotheses, even when they are otherwise misleading. The name *Bákchos* perhaps came from Egypt (*supra* i. 438), the name *Zagreús* probably came from Mt Zagron (*supra* i. 651); but Dionysos as such was certainly Thraco-Phrygian.

[5] *Supra* i. 669, 677, 695, 705, 706, 780, ii. 114 f., 219, 239.

[6] *Supra* p. 231 n. 2. Cp. P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 242 f.

knew of no nearer parallel to the Delphic oracle than that of Dionysos among the Thracian Bessoi[1]. In Thrace Dionysos had many ap-



Fig. 175.

[1] Hdt. 7. 111 Σάτραι δὲ...διατελεῦσι τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ ἐόντες ἐλεύθεροι, μοῦνοι Θρηίκων. οἰκέουσί τε γὰρ οὔρεα ὑψηλὰ ἴδησί τε παντοίῃσι καὶ χιόνι συνηρεφέα, καὶ εἰσὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄκροι. οὗτοι οἱ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήϊόν εἰσι ἐκτημένοι. τὸ δὲ μαντήϊον τοῦτο ἔστι μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν οὐρέων τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων· Βησσοὶ δὲ τῶν Σατρέων εἰσὶ οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἱροῦ, πρόμαντις δὲ ἡ χρέουσα, κατάπερ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ οὐδὲν ποικιλώτερον. In 29 B.C. M. Licinius Crassus took the sanctuary of Dionysos from the Bessoi and gave it to the Odrysai (Dion Cass. 51. 25). Later, Vologaisos, a Bessian priest of Dionysos, moved by divine frenzy, headed a revolt, slew Rhaskyporis son of Kotys, drove out Rhymetalkes uncle of

pellatives: he was *Aúalos*(?) and *Dýalos* among the Paiones[1], *Sábos* or *Sabázios* among the Saboi[2], *Asdoúles* in the vineyards of Maidike (fig. 175)[3], *Pleístoros*(?) at Apsinthos[4], *Bálin* or the like elsewhere[5].

Rhaskyporis in obedience to his god's command, and pursued him to the Chersonese—a revolt quelled by L. Piso, praetor of Pamphylia, in 11 B.C. (Dion Cass. 54. 34). On the Bessoi see further E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 329 ff.

[1] *Supra* p. 250 n. 4. [2] *Supra* i. 395, 400.

[3] This relief (height, exclusive of tenon, 0·46^{m}: breadth 0·41^{m}), found in the ruins of an old church at Melenikos (*Melnik*) on the S.W. flank of Mt Orbelos, brought to Thessalonike in 1895 (J. H. Mordtmann in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 100 f. no. 6), and now at Brussels (F. Cumont *Catalogue des sculptures & inscriptions antiques* (*monuments lapidaires*) *des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*[2] Bruxelles 1913 p. 63 ff. no. 52 fig.), shows a youthful god riding from left to right. His long hair is bound by a *stróphion*, in the front of which are stuck two little clusters of ivy-berries. Across his chest is slung a *nebrís*. On his feet are Thracian boots. Being in a festive mood, he grasps with his right hand the beard of a goat-footed Pan, who follows his master, hanging on in true Greek fashion to the horse's tail. In the background is a huge vine with two small vintagers in its branches. One of these holds out a big bunch of grapes to the god as he passes by. Old Silenos in a tufted costume, with his *chitón* knotted round his waist, dangles a bunch in his right hand and raises a reaping-hook in his left to gather a second. Under the horse is seen a panther, half-hidden by the vine. The slab is inscribed Κλαυδιανὸς Πύρρος καὶ Πύρρος | Λάνδρου καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτοὺ(s) σαλτάριοι | θεῷ Ἀσδούλῃ τῷ Ϛμς' ἔτ(ε)ι (246 of the Actian era=215 A.D.). Λάνδρου is perhaps an abbreviation of Λεάνδρου rather than a slip for Μάνδρου. The σαλτάριοι are the *saltuarii*, Low Latin *saltarii*, people employed about a *saltus*, 'vineyard-keepers.' The god's name should be read Ἀσδούλῃ (Cumont), not Ἀσδουλήτῳ (Mordtmann) or Ἀσδουληταῖ (Perdrizet). It recurs as that of a man in the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 216=Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 6840 (from Grumentum in Lucania) ....VIX.... | AVR·ASDVLA·MIL | COH·V·PRETORIE | FRATRI·BENMEREN (*sic*) | QVI·MECV LABORAIT (*sic*) | AN·XII ET·FRVNINONE | EST IN BARBARICO. See further J. H. Mordtmann *loc. cit.*, P. Perdrizet 'Relief du pays des Maedes représentant un Dionysos thrace' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1904 i. 19—27 pl. 1 (=my fig. 175), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 162 no. 1, F. Cumont *loc. cit.*

[4] So W. Tomaschek 'Die alten Thraker' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 cxxx. 2. 42, comparing Hdt. 9. 119 Οἰόβαζον μέν νυν ἐκφυγόντα ἐς τὴν Θρῄκην Θρῃκίκες Ἀψινθιοι λαβόντες ἔθυσαν Πλειστώρῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ with Dionys. *per.* 575 f. Θρήικος ἐπ' ἠόσιν Ἀψίνθοιο | Βιστονίδες καλέουσιν ἐρίβρομον Εἰραφιώτην. The same comparison was made earlier by C. Müller in his note on Dionys. *per.* 575 and is repeated by O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2563.

[5] *Et. mag.* p. 186, 32 καὶ Βάλιν, τὸν Διόνυσον, Θρᾶκες (so T. Gaisford following codd. D. P. M. F. Sylburg had omitted the essential word Βάλιν, including the rest under the gloss Βαλίαι· κ.τ.λ.). Cp. Hesych. Εὐρυβάλινδος· ὁ Διόνυσος. The meaning of these titles is clear from Aisch. *Pers.* 658 βαλὴν ἀρχαῖος βαλὴν ἴθι, ἰκοῦ with schol. *ad loc.* βαλλὴν (βαλὴν H. vulg.) βαρβαρικῶς ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγεται. Εὐφορίων δέ φησι Θουρίων (Meineke cj. Φρυγίων) εἶναι τὴν διάλεκτον [ὅθεν καὶ Βαληναῖον ὄρος, ὅ ἐστι βασιλικόν]. φησὶν οὖν· ὦ ἀρχαῖε βασιλεῦ, ἰκοῦ κ.τ.λ., Soph. *poiménes frag.* 472 Nauck[2], 515 Jebb, *ap.* Sext. *adv. math.* i. 313 οἱ παρὰ τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ ποιμένες "ἰὼ βαλλήν" λέγοντες ἰὼ βασιλεῦ λέγουσι Φρυγιστί, Herodian. περὶ μονήρους λέξεως 17, 5 f. p. 52 Lehrs βαλλήν, οὕτως (so K. W. Dindorf for cod. οὗτος) ὁ βασιλεύς, Arkad. p. 9, 1 Barker βαλλήν, p. 9, 5 βαλλήν, Hesych. βαλ[λ]ήν· βασιλεύς. Φρυγιστί, Plout. *de fluv.* 12. 3 f. παράκειται δὲ αὐτῷ (*sc.* the river Sagaris in Phrygia) ὄρος Βαλληναῖον καλούμενον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνευόμενον βασιλικόν, τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχον ἀπὸ Βαλληναίου τοῦ Γανυμήδους καὶ Μηδησιγίστης παιδός· οὗτος γὰρ τὸν γεννήσαντα θεασάμενος ἀποτηκόμενον τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις (lacunam indicavit D. Wyttenbach) καὶ Βαλληναῖον ἑορτὴν κατέδειξεν μέχρι νῦν καλούμενον. γεννᾶται δ' ἐν αὐτῷ λίθος καλούμενος ἀστήρ· οὗτος εἴωθεν νυκτὸς

Diónysos, the name that lends unity to these local cults, has been very variously interpreted[1].

(*a*) P. Kretschmer's hypothesis.

The view that at present holds the field is that of P. Kretschmer[2], whose arguments may be here resumed. Side by side with *Diónysos* there existed a form *Deónysos*[3], the non-Greek change of *i* to *e* in

βαθείας πυρὸς δίκην λάμπειν, τοῦ φθινοπώρου τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνοντος· προσαγορεύεται δὲ τῇ διαλέκτῳ τῶν ἐγχωρίων βαλλήν, ὅπερ μεθερμηνευόμενόν ἐστιν βασιλεύς, καθὼς ἱστορεῖ Ἑρμησιάναξ Κύπριος ἐν β' Φρυγιακῶν (*frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 427 f. Müller)), Eustath. *in Il.* p. 381, 15 ff. Αἰσχύλος δὲ...βαλῆνα τὸν βασιλέα ἐν τῷ "βαλὴν ἀρχαῖος βαλήν." γλώσσης δὲ τοῦτο, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ὄρος Βαλιναῖον, ὅ ἐστι βασιλικὸν παρὰ Πλουτάρχῳ ἐν τῷ περὶ ποταμῶν, *id. in Od.* p. 1854, 26 ff. λέγει δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐθνικώτερον καὶ οὐ κατὰ Ἀττικοὺς βαλῆνα τὸν βασιλέα ἐν τῷ "βαλὴν ἀρχαῖος βαλήν." ὅθεν καὶ Βαληνναῖον ὄρος παρὰ Πλουτάρχῳ ἐν τῷ περὶ ποταμῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλικόν. It would seem, then, that the Thracian Dionysos was called Βάλιν or Βαλήν, *i.e.* 'King,' and that his title Εὐρυβάλινδος meant 'Wide-ruling' (cp. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 33 ff. ὕπατ' εὐρὺ ἀνάσσων | Ὀλυμπίας,...Ζεῦ πάτερ, Bakchyl. 5. 19 f. αἰετὸς εὐρυάνακτος ἄγγελος | Ζηνὸς ἐρισφαράγου, and the Euryanaktidai of Kos (J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1318)). If so, we may conjecture that the Thracian kings who devoured Zagreus (*supra* i. 654 ff. pl. xxxvi), not merely assimilated the virtue of the god (*ib.* p. 656), but actually posed as Dionysos incarnate.

R. Förster in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 373 published an inscribed marble block from Bithynia reading ΔΙΙ ☙ ΒΑΛΗΩ | ☙ ΠΟΠΛΙΟΣ | ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ | ☙ ΑΡΕΣΤΟΣ ☙. This Zeus Βάλης was compared with the Thracian Dionysos Βαλιός (*sic*) of *et. mag.* p. 186, 32 by O. Höfer in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1896 cliii. 472, and with the Phrygian βαλήν by H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum*[2] Lugduni Batavorum 1910 i. 261 (cp. *ib.* ii. 1090 *s.v.* παλήν).

P. Carolidis *Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen* Strassburg 1913 p. 47 connects βαλήν or βαλλήν with the Armenian *gal*, *gal-am*, 'herrschen,' the Carian γέλας, 'king' (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σουάγελα), and even the Lydian κοαλδεῖν, 'king' (Hesych. *s.v.* κοαλδδεῖν. M. Schmidt *ad loc.* cp. βαλλήν and cites Hesych. καλόϊς· βασιλεύς and λαίλας· ὁ τύραννος, ὑπὸ Λυδῶν, on which see Steph. *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 41 A).

[1] Ancient and modern etymologies are collected by Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 664 n. 1, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1409 n. 1, 1412 f., 1413 n. 1, 1414 n. 1, 1427 n. 9, O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1011.

[2] P. Kretschmer 'Semele und Dionysos' in *Aus der Anomia* Berlin 1890 pp. 17—29 criticised by Rohde *Psyche*[2] ii. 38 n. 1, to whom Kretschmer replies in his *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 241.

[3] *Et. mag.* p. 259, 30 τοῦ ι τραπέντος εἰς ε γίνεται Δεύνυσος· οὕτω γὰρ Σάμιοι προφέρουσι, where cod. V. has εἶτα τραπέντος τοῦ ῑ εἰς ε̄ γέγονε δεύνυσος· Σάμιοι γὰρ οὕτω λέγουσι. 'Samians' can hardly mean Samothracians, though Σάμος is used for Σαμοθράκη (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 ii. 1337). ΔΕΟΝΥΣ or ΔΕΟΥΝΥΣ on tetradrachms of Maroneia *c.* 450—400 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thrace etc. p. 124 no. 10, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 249, *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 178 no. 28, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 717 f. no. 5685, 7 with n. *ad loc.*). ΔΕΟ on tetradrachms and drachms of Abdera *c.* 512—478 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thrace etc. p. 66 no. 11 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 382 no. 1 pl. 26, 1, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 253, M. L. Strack in *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands* Berlin 1912 ii Thrakien 1. 1. 47 no. 19, 1. 1. 51 no. 36 pl. 1, 8). [Δ] | ΕΟ | Ν[Υ] | ΔΟΣ on a tetradrachm of Abdera *c.* 478—450 B.C. (H. Montagu in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1892 xii. 27 pl. 2, 10, M. L. Strack *op. cit.* 1. 1. 54 no. 45), like Δεονῦδος in an inscription from Erythrai in Asia Minor (W. Judeich in the

the first syllable being due to the intermediate sound of the Thraco-Phrygian vowel[1] and pointing to the conclusion that Dionysos is '*von Haus aus ein Thraker*.' Greek dialects represent his name as *Diónysos*, *Diônysos* and *Diónnysos*, thereby presupposing two original forms, *viz. Diónysos* and **Diosnysos*[2], of which the one is a compound *Dió-nysos*, the other a synthesis of the genitive *Diós* and **nȳsos*[3]. As to the meaning of the combination, Kretschmer insists that the first half contains the name of Zeus, who—he holds—was called *Zeús* alike by Thracians and by Hellenes. The second half he connects with *Nŷsa* or *Nýse*, the mythical place to which Hermes brought Dionysos for the nymphs to rear[4], and with *Nŷsa*, the nymph who nursed the infant god[5]. Raising the question whether the nymph was called after the place or the place after the nymph, Kretschmer decides for the latter alternative on the ground that one of the fragments (fig. 176)[6] of a vase painted by Sophilos (*c.* 600—

Ath. Mitth. 1890 xv. 338 no. 1, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 730 no. 5694. So Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 744, 10 [Διον]ῦδος in a Rhodian inscription) and Δεονῦσος in an inscription from Thasos (E. Jacobs in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1897 xxii. 120 ff. no. 1, 2, O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1898 iii. 38 no. 74, 2 cp. *ib.* p. 262 f., Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 604 f. no. 5469, 2. Similarly Διονῦσος in an inscription from Olbia: Collitz—Bechtel *op. cit.* iii. 2. 661 no. 5553), is gen. of Δεονύς = *Δεονύσιος. Δεύννσος (schol. Townl. *Il.* 14. 325, *et. mag.* p. 259, 28 and 31), Δεύννσε (Anakr. *frag.* 2, 11 Bergk[4]), Δεύννσον (Anakr. *frag.* 11, 2 Bergk[4], *et. mag.* p. 277, 37) have Ionic ευ for εο.

[1] W. Tomaschek 'Die alten Thraker' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 cxxxi. 1. 31 cites Thracian names beginning with *Deo-* (*e.g.* Δεό-βιζος, Deo-pus) and *Dio-* (*e.g.* Διο-σκέβριος, Dio-bessi). P. Kretschmer in *Aus der Anomia* p. 23 notes the δεος or διως of Phrygian inscriptions (*infra* p. 278 n. 2) and the Macedonian *ινδέα* (Hesych. *ινδέα· μεσημβρία. Μακεδόνες*) for *ἐνδία* (*supra* i. 4 f.).

[2] P. Kretschmer in *Aus der Anomia* p. 24: 'Also haben wir nicht eine, sondern zwei Grundformen unseres Namens anzusetzen: Διόννσος und *Διοσννσος; jene blieb in allen Mundarten unverändert, diese gab im Aiolischen und Thessalischen regelrecht Διόννυσος, in den Mundarten aber, die ο zu ω dehnen, Διώνυσος.' Etc.

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 25: 'Denn die Doppelform des Namens erklärt sich am einfachsten so, dass Διό-*ννσος* ein Compositum, *Διόσ-*ννσος* aber eine Zusammenrückung aus dem Gen. Διός und **νῦσος* ist, von derselben Art wie Διόσ-κουρος, Διόζοτος = Διόσ-δοτος, Διόσ-πολις. Vgl. Prellwitz, *dial. thess.* 31.' *Id. Einleitung* etc. p. 241: 'Auch darauf sei noch hingewiesen, dass die doppelte Bildungsweise, das Kompositum Διό-*ννσος* und die Zusammenrückung *Διός-*ννσος* = aiol. Ζόννυσος, thess. kret. Διόννυσος (Knossos, Athen. Mitt. X 92. Eleutherna, Mus. Ital. II 165 f. n. 8), im Thrakischen ebenfalls ihre Parallele hat. Neben den Personennamen *Diu-zenus*, Δεό-βιζος, *Dio-bessus* finden sich hier *Deos-por*, *Dios-cuthes*, deren Analyse sich aus *Muca-por*, bezw. Μιλτο-κύθης ergiebt[3] [[3]Tomaschek teilt unrichtig *Deo-spor*, *Dio-scuthes* ab.].' See, however, *infra* p. 279.

[4] Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1616 B—D.

[5] R. Wagner in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 567 ff. For an excellent illustration of the Nymphs nursing the infant Dionysos among trees see the silver *alábastron* of *c.* 200 B.C. from Metropolis (*Karditsa*) in Thessaly published by A. S. Arvanitopullos in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1912 xxxvii. 76 ff. pls. 2 and 3, cp. A. de Ridder in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 434 fig.

[6] F. Winter 'Vase des Sophilos' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1889 xiv. 1—8 and col. pl. 1,

550 B.C.) represents a pair of nymphs inscribed *Nŷsai*: a mere eponym would not have been thus pluralised. Kretschmer further suggests that *Nŷsa* as a place-name is a shortened form of *Nyseía* or *Nysaía*, and observes that Homer uses only the adjectival phrase *Nyséïon*[1]. On this showing *nȳsā* was the Thracian term for a nymph or maid, and its masculine correlative was *-nȳsos*, the second element in *Dió-nysos*. We are thus led along a legitimate route[2] to the conclusion that *Diónysos* denoted simply 'Zeus' Son,' 'Zeus' Hero,'—a view confirmed by another remarkable vase-painting (fig. 177)[3], which describes the child Dionysos as *Diòs phós*, 'Zeus' Man,' 'Zeus' Hero,' not to mention a third, which dubs Herakles *Diòs paîs*, 'Zeus' Son[4].'

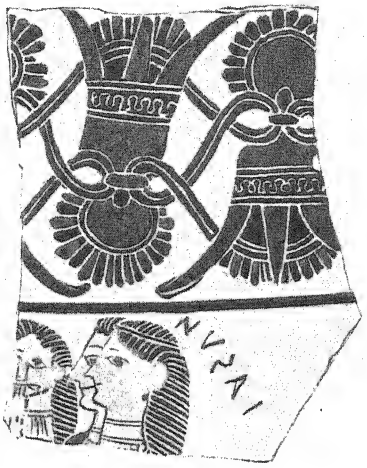


Fig. 176.

Wien. Vorlegebl. 1889 pl. 2, 3a—3d, F. Studniczka 'Ueber die Bruchstücke einer Vase des Sophilos' in *Eranos Vindobonensis* Wien 1893 pp. 233—240, P. Wolters in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii. 19 n. 8, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 379 f., Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen.* i. 64 no. 587 a—i pl. 26 a, b (=my fig. 176), c—h, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 199.

[1] *Il.* 6. 133. In *Il.* 2. 508 Νῦσάν τε ζαθέην there was a variant Νῦσάν τε ζαθέην (Strab. 406).

[2] J. Savelsberg in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1867 xvi. 60 n. had already related 'Διό-σννσος "zeussohn"' to *νυός*, *nurus*, but he had spoilt his etymology by attempting to work in *νέος*, *νῦν*, and other totally unconnected words.

[3] G. Minervini *Monumenti antichi inediti posseduti da Raffaele Barone* Napoli 1852 i. 1—7 and Appendice p. vi pl. 1 (=my fig. 177), Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. lxi n. 402, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 12, H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1885) Halle 1885 p. 13, P. Kretschmer *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 199, De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 127 f. no. 219, P. Milliet—A. Giraudon *Vases antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris 1891 i pl. 32 f. A (IVme Classe, viiie Série), O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1144. The obverse design of this small black-figured *amphora* from S. Maria di Capua shows Zeus seated to the right, in *chitón* and *himátion*, with a fillet on his head, a thunderbolt in his right hand, a sceptre in his left. On his lap stands a naked boy, with a fillet on his head and two flaming torches (not *thýrsoi*) in his hands. Moving to the right, but turning to speak with Zeus, is Hera, in *chitón* and *himátion*, her hair bound with a double fillet. Inscribed KALOϟ (*καλός*, not *καλόν*) ΔIOϟΦOϟ HEPA O. Jahn *loc. cit.* recognised the scene as the 'Geburt des Dionysos'—an interpretation strongly supported by the analogous types of Athena's birth (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*)). P. Kretschmer in *Aus der Anomia* p. 29 was the first to read Διὸς *φώς* as 'einen volkstümlichen oder sacralen... Ausdruck für das Verhältnis des Dionysos zu Zeus,' rightly objecting to such a poetic locution as Διὸς *φῶς* (cp. *supra* i. 7 n. 3 and Xen. *an.* 3. 1. 12 *φῶς μέγα ἐκ Διὸς ἰδεῖν ἔδοξε*).

[4] J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* London 1822 i. 91 f. pl. 38, 7, Müller—

(β) Criticism of P. Kretschmer's hypothesis.

Kretschmer's solution of the problem, being phonetically unassailable, has been accepted by the majority of scholars, but is perhaps open to criticism on two grounds. In the first place,



Fig. 177.

Pherekydes of Leros is credited with the statement that *Diónysos* was so named because he flowed from *Zeús* on to the *nŷsai* or 'trees[1].' This rather enigmatic assertion probably hangs together with Pherekydes' description of Semele as *Hýe* and the nurses of

Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 14 pl. 19, 96 a small black-figured *amphora* in the Louvre (E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 2me Série Paris 1901 p. 133 no. F 385, *id. Cat. Vases du Louvre* iii. 811 no. F 385) representing the combat between Herakles and Kyknos inscribed HERAKLES (*sic*) ΔIOSΠAIS and KY+NOS (retrograde). Cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 7610.

[1] Schol. Aristeid. iii. 313 Dindorf εὐεργετεῖν φησι τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ (C. Müller lacunam indicat) δοῦναι ἀνθρώποις. δηλοῖ δὲ (καὶ D.) ὁ Φερεκύδης (*frag.* 1 *a* (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 637 Müller)), καὶ μετ' (ἐπ' D.) ἐκεῖνον Ἀντίοχος (*sc.* of Syracuse), λέγοντες καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κεκλῆσθαι Διόνυσον, ὡς ἐκ Διὸς ἐς νύσας ῥέοντα· νύσας (νύσσας D.) γάρ, φησίν, ἐκάλουν τὰ δένδρα· κτλ.

Dionysos as *Hyádes*[1]. Since this fifth-century author, the earliest writer of Attic prose[2], indited a book *On the Festivals of Dionysos*[3], he was doubtless well posted on the mythology of the god, and we must not dismiss his remarks as idle invention[4]. They fit on to a number of stray hints and intimations. Thus lexicographers and scholiasts tell us that *Sabázios*, the Phrygian Zeus[5] or Dionysos[6], was entitled *Hýes*[7], *Hýas*[8], *Hyeús*[9]. Kleidemos, the oldest exponent of local Attic lore[10], said that Dionysos was called *Hýes* 'because we sacrifice to him in time of rain[11].' Others explained 'that Dionysos was *Hýes* from the rain that fell at his begetting, when Zeus rained ambrosia upon him[12].' Plutarch in a more philosophical mood declares that the Greeks name 'Dionysos *Hýes* as lord of watery nature[13].' Nonnos waxes eloquent on the theme and makes Gaia address Dionysos in the following terms:

> Zeus' son, grain-giver, murderer—ay, thou rulest
> Both fruitful rain and bloody snow alike:
> With rain thou didst bedew the whole rich field
> Of Hellas, and with gore hast drenched the tilth
> Of India; sheaves thy harvest once, now death.
> Thy flakes found ears for the peasants; thou hast reaped
> The Indian host and cut men down like corn.
> Raindrops thou bringest from Zeus, from Ares blood[14].

[1] Pherekyd. *frag.* 46 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 84 Müller) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* Ὑης = Souid. *s.v.* Ὑης = *et. mag.* p. 775, 4 ff. = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1791, 26 f. (cp. *ib.* 19 f.). See further *supra* i. 111 n. 6, *infra* § 9 (i).

[2] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1908 i. 429.

[3] Souid. *s.v.* Φερεκύδης Λέριος.

[4] Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 796 'voller Phantasie.'

[5] *Supra* i. 390 ff.

[6] *Supra* i. 395 n. 3.

[7] Phot. *lex. s.v.* Ὑης *bis*· τοῦ Σαβαζίου ἡ ἐπίκλησις, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1155, 63 f. ἐν δὲ ῥητορικῷ λεξικῷ εὕρηται καὶ ὅτι Ὑάδες Βάκχαι τιθῆναι τοῦ Διονύσου· καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον Ὑην φασὶν ἀπὸ τούτων τινές· Ὑης γὰρ ἐπίκλησις τοῦ Σαβαζίου.

[8] Schol. Aristoph. *av.* 874 παίζει πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα (*sc.* φρυγίλῳ Σαβαζίῳ), ἐπεὶ Φρύγες τὸ εὐάζειν σαβάζειν φασὶ καὶ ἐκ τούτου Σαβάζιον τὸν Διόνυσον λέγουσι. σάβους δὲ ἔλεγον καὶ τοὺς ἀφιερωμένους αὐτῷ τόπους καὶ τοὺς βάκχους τοῦ θεοῦ. ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ Ὑας καὶ Εὔαιος (*sic*) καλεῖται. Was the φρυγίλος (on which see D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 184 and E. J. Seltman in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1913 xv. 4), like the jay (Cornut. *theol.* 30 p. 61, 22 f. Lang), if not also the nightingale and the swallow (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 92, 951 n. 7), specially connected with Dionysos?

[9] Hesych. *s.v.* Ὑεύς· Σαβάζιος.

[10] Paus. 10. 15. 5, cp. W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1911 ii. 1. 81.

[11] Kleidemos (Kleitodemos *frag.* 21 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 363 Müller)) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* Ὑης (= Souid. *s.v.* Ὑης = *et. mag.* p. 775, 3 f. = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1791, 24 ff.)· ἐπίθετον Διονύσου, ὡς Κλείδημος· ἐπειδή, φησιν, ἐπιτελοῦμεν τὰς θυσίας αὐτῷ καθ' ὃν ὁ θεὸς ὕει χρόνον.

[12] Bekker *anecd.* i. 207, 26 ff. ἄλλοι δὲ Ὑην μὲν εἶναι τὸν Διόνυσον ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβάντος ἐπὶ τῇ γεννήσει αὐτοῦ ὑετοῦ· ὗσε γὰρ ἀμβροσίαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὁ Ζεύς, *et. mag.* p. 775, 7 f. ἢ ὅτι ὗσεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὴν γέννησιν αὐτοῦ, cp. *ib.* p. 277, 45 f. ἢ ὅτι Διὸς ὄντος ἐτέχθη. *Infra* § 9 (e) iii, § 9 (i).

[13] Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 34 καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον Ὑην ὡς κύριον τῆς ὑγρᾶς φύσεως, κ.τ.λ.

[14] Nonn. *Dion.* 22. 276 ff.

Elsewhere the same author expresses the Orphic belief that the infant Dionysos 'was a second Zeus | And sent the rain-storm[1].' These and other indications of an essential connexion between Dionysos and the rain[2] warrant us in attaching weight to Pherekydes' statements. It would seem that, in Thraco-Phrygian myth, not only did Zeus descend in rain upon Semele when he begat Dionysos[3], but Dionysos himself 'a second Zeus' came upon the *nŷsai* or 'trees'[4] in the form of rain. And after all, *nŷsai* 'trees' are compatible with *nŷsai* 'nymphs'; for nymphs may be tree-nymphs, and it is on record that Dionysos was nursed by the Dryads[4].

In the second place, exception might be taken to Kretschmer's view that the sky-god was called *Zeús* by Thracians as well as Hellenes. That view is based[5] on the fact that, just as Hellenic names derived from *Zeús*, *e.g. Diódoros, Diogénes, Diomédes*, have for their first element *Dio-*, so Thracian names begin sometimes with *Deo-*[6], *Dio-*[7], *Diu-*[8], sometimes with *Deos-*[9], *Dios-*[10],—the twofold

[1] *Id. ib.* 10. 298 καὶ πέλε δεύτερος ἄλλος ἔτι βρέφος υἱέτιος Ζεύς (*supra* i. 398 f., 647 n. 6).

[2] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1427 n. 9.

[3] *Infra* § 9 (i).

[4] Opp. *cyn.* 4. 275 σὺν Δρυάσιν δ' ἀτίτηλε μελισσοκόμοισί τε Νύμφαις, κ.τ.λ.

[5] P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 241.

[6] Δεό-βιζος in an inscription cited by W. Tomaschek 'Die alten Thraker' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 xxxi. i. 31 Ποσία Δεοβίζου.

Deo-pus in an inscription from Thessalonike published by A. Dumont *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie* Paris 1892 p. 470 no. 113 DEOPVISFIL·AN.LX.HSS. etc. after L. Duchesne et C. Bayet *Mémoire sur une Mission au Mont Athos* Paris 1876 p. 51 no. 82.

Deo-titanus in an inscription from Regensburg in Bavaria: *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 5965 d. m. | et perpetuae sec|ur. Deotitano, v|ixit an. xv, fec. Iul. Po|tititus filio, etc. = Gruter *Inscr. ant. tot. orb. Rom.* ii. 680 no. 3. For the second element in the name cp. an inscription from Campanil' Góng near Jimena in *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ii no. 3354 D M S|NVSATITA | PVER SERVE | PRONATVS NA|TIONE TRA|CIE PLVS MI|NVS ANNO|RVM III IA|CET PETITO BE|NEFICIO IN | LOCVM CAM|PANIANEN|SEM.

[7] *Dio-bessi* in Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 40 amnem Strymonem accolunt...latere...laevo Digerri Bessorumque multa nomina ad Mestum amnem ima Pangaei montis ambientem inter Haletos, Diobessos, Carbilesos, inde Brigas, Sapaeos, Odomantos. The Δῖοι are mentioned in Thouk. 2. 96 παρεκάλει δὲ (*sc.* Sitalkes in 429 B.C.) καὶ τῶν ὀρεινῶν Θρᾳκῶν πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτονόμων καὶ μαχαιροφόρων, οἳ Δῖοι καλοῦνται, τὴν Ῥοδόπην οἱ πλεῖστοι οἰκοῦντες, cp. 7. 27 ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ Θρᾳκῶν τῶν μαχαιροφόρων τοῦ Διακοῦ γένους ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πελτασταὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τούτῳ (413 B.C.) τριακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι κ.τ.λ. (whence Dion Cass. 51. 22 Θρᾷκες τοῦ Δακικοῦ (!) γένους τοῦ τὴν Ῥοδόπην ποτὲ ἐποικήσαντος ὄντες), Tac. *ann.* 3. 38 Coelaletae Odrusaeque et Dii (so J. Lipsius for codd. *alii*), validae nationes, arma cepere (21 A.D.). See further W. Tomaschek 'Die alten Thraker' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1893 cxxviii. 71 f.

Διο-σκέβριος in an inscription from Miletopolis in Mysia first published by Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* v no. 1105 ΔΙΟCΚΕΡΒΙΟCΡΟΥΦΟC κ.τ.λ. and later corrected by G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie d'une partie de la Mysie de la Phrygie, de la Cappadoce et du Pont* Paris 1872 i. 99 ΔΙΟCΚΕΡΒΙΟCΡΟΥΦΟC κ.τ.λ.

method of formation producing on the one hand a compound, *e.g.* *Dió-nysos*, on the other a synthesis, *e.g.* **Diós-nysos*. But these data, it seems to me, are susceptible of another interpretation, *viz.* that corresponding with the Hellenic sky-god *Zeús* there was a Thracian sky-god *Díos*, whose name coupled with an appellative appeared now as *Díos Pápas* or the like, 'Dios the Father[1],' now as *Díos Nŷsos*, 'Dios the Son[2].' The Greeks, familiar with *Diós* as the genitive case of *Zeús*, would inevitably take this *Díos Nŷsos* to mean 'Son of Zeus' and would therefore readily form the Hellenic compound *Dió-nysos*[3].

(γ) *Díos* and *Díos Nŷsos*.

Further evidence of a Thraco-Phrygian sky-god called *Díos* may be sought both on the Asiatic and on the European side of the Dardanelles. Epitaphs of the Roman imperial age found in Phrygia and published by Sir W. M. Ramsay[4] and Mr W. M. Calder[5] com-

[8] *Diu-zenus*, a Bessian, is mentioned in a bronze diptych found at Stabiae in 1749 A.D. and now preserved at Naples: *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii. 844, x no. 769, Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 2863, 13 f., Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1986 gregali: Spartico Diuzeni f. Dipscurto (altered from *Dibpscurto*), | Besso.

[9] *Deos-por* in a military dedication of 223 A.D. found at Xanten and now at Bonn: Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 6804, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2350 Sept. Deospor etc. W. Tomaschek in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 xxxi. 1. 31 divided *Deo-spor*, cp. Σποράκης (Dion Cass. 68. 21). P. Kretschmer (*supra* p. 272 n. 3) divides *Deos-por*.

[10] *Dios-cuthes* on a large broken coffer from Reusilava or Orsilava near Kirlikova in Makedonia: *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 703, 5 SABINVS • DIOSCVTHIS. W. Tomaschek *loc. cit.* divided *Dio-scuthes* like Διο-σκέβριος (*supra* p. 276 n. 7). P. Kretschmer (*supra* p. 272 n. 3) divides *Dios-cuthes*.

[1] On Πάπας as the Thracian term for 'Father' see W. Tomaschek in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 xxxi. 1. 18. *Infra* § 3 (a) iv (δ).

[2] *Díos Nŷsos* could presumably pass into **Diós-nysos*. Cp. *Dies*+*Pater*=*Diespiter* (K. Brugmann *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* Strassburg 1904 p. 298, K. Brugmann—A. Thumb *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 pp. 182, 200).

[3] Another possible, but—I think—less probable, explanation would be to suppose that the compound *Diónysos* was originally Thracian and meant the same as *Díos Nŷsos*, 'Dios the Son.' The main objection is the rarity of such appositive compounds: K. Brugmann *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* Strassburg 1904 p. 303 quotes *ἰατρό-μαντις* and analogous forms from Gothic, Old Church Slavonic, and Russian. Other examples are collected by F. H. M. Blaydes in his notes on Aristoph. *ran.* 499, 937. But these are all cases of mixed human (Διονυσαλέξανδρος etc.) or animal (*τραγ-έλαφος* etc.) types. What of Δειπάτυρος (*supra* i. 681 n. 4)?

[4] Sir W. M. Ramsay 'Phrygian Inscriptions of the Roman Period' in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1887 xxviii. 381—400, *id.* 'Neo-Phrygian Inscriptions' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1905 viii Beiblatt pp. 79—120. See also A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1889 xiv. 50 f. with the reply of Sir W. M. Ramsay *ib.* pp. 308—312.

[5] W. M. Calder 'Corpus inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 161—215 and 1913 xxxiii. 97—104.

monly end with a curse on the violator of the tomb[1]. This curse, expressed in the Phrygian language though the rest of the inscription is in Greek, devotes the offender to Attis among certain powers, who are described as *deōs zemelōs*, *deōs zemelōs ke*, *zemelō ke deos*, *diōs zemelōs*, *dios ke szemelōs ke*, or the like[2]. The most probable interpretation of this vexed phrase[3] is that proposed by G. Meyer[4],

[1] Such *formulae* of execration were in use among the Phrygians a thousand years earlier (*id. ib.* 1913 xxxiii. 102).

[2] The examples so far published are the following (numbered in accordance with Mr Calder's *Corpus*):

nos. 4 δη διως ζεμελω[ς τιττετ]ικμενος ειτου (*or* ζεμελω [ετιτ...]).
5 με διω[ς ζ]ομολω ετιτετικμενος ητου.
6 τος νι με ζεμελω κε δεος ετι ητιττετικμενος ε[ιτ]ου.
7 δεος κε ζεμ[ελως...] ακεοι ειροια τι ετιττ[ετικμενα ειττ]νου.
21 με ζεμελως τιττετικμενος ειτου.
25 τος νι [δεος ζ]ιμ[ε]λως τι με κ(ε) Ατ[τι] τιττετικμενος ειτου.
39[a] [δ]ιος [κ]ε [σ?]ζεμ[ελ]ως κε τιτ[τ]ε[τ]ικμε[νος] ειτου Αττιη κε αδειτου.
40 δεως ζεμελως κε τιττετικμε[ν]ος ειτου.
42 [με ζε]μελως κε [δ]ε[ω]ς....
62 Αττιη κε δεως κε τιτεττικμενος ειτου.
63 δεως ζεμελως [τ]ε τιτετ[ουκμενος ειτου].
68 [δεως ζεμελως] ετι[τ]τετικ[μενος ειτου].

The whole *formula* was almost certainly metrical. Prof. A. H. Sayce in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1905 viii Beiblatt p. 85 restores the original as a hexameter couplet: ΙΟC ΝΙ CЄΜΟΥΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΙ ΚΑΚΩΝ ΑΔΔΑΚЄΤΟ ΖЄΙΡΑ | ΜЄ ΖЄΜЄΛΩC ΚЄ ΔЄΟC ΚЄ ΤЄΤΙΚΜЄΝΟC ΑΤΤΙЄΑΔ ЄΙΤΟΥ, where ΙΟC =ὅς, ΝΙ is a particle like ἄν or νυ, CЄΜΟΥΝ is dat. of a demonstrative stem, ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΙ is dat. of a noun meaning 'tomb,' ΚΑΚΩΝ=κακόν, ΑΔΔΑΚЄΤΟ is from the stem seen in ἔθηκα, θήκη, ΖЄΙΡΑ=χεῖρα, ΜЄ=μετά, ΚЄ=καί, ΤЄΤΙΚ-ΜЄΝΟC must mean 'devoted to,' etc. R. Meister in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1909 xxv. 318 n. 1 says: 'ττετικμενος (zur Bestrafung) "zugesprochen" oder "angezeigt," auch in den Formen ατετικμενος (d. i. ατ-τετικμενος) 41 und mit Vereinfachung der Gemination τετικμενος 5, 11, 14, 20, 21, 38, 45; τ-τικω "ich spreche zu, zeige an" (=griech. ἐπι-δείκνυμι, lat. *ad-dico*) ist zusammengesetzt mit der Schwundstufe der Präposition ατ, idg. *ad* (Brugmann, KVG. 470),' etc. *Id. ib.* 1909 xxv. 318 n. 2: 'ατ Τιαδ "zu Zeus hin" mit Verdoppelung der Richtungsangabe wie z. B. im lat. *ad-versus*; Τιαδ geht auf **Diwi̯-dhe*: *Τιαν-δ(ε) zurück, -(ε) ist vor Vokal elidiert. ν ist im Phrygischen vor s (Akk. Plur. δεως διως "die Götter" 4a, 5, 40, ζεμελως "die Unterirdischen" 4a, 6, 25, 42 u. a.) und vor dem spirantisch gewordenen und oft (nicht nur vor ι [Kretschmer Einl. 196]) mit s wechselnden δ mit Ersatzdehnung geschwunden. Statt Τι-ᾱδ 11, 41, 44 steht auch Τι-εαδ 12, 45 und Τι-ηκ-εαδ 39 (mit εα werden ebenso wie mit αε *lange* Vokale bezeichnet), das letztere eine Weiterbildung des Zeusnamens mit dem Kosesuffix -ēκ (Brugmann Grundriss II[2], 501), das auch in βαν-ηκ-ος "des Weibes" 30 vorliegt.' But W. M. Calder in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 204 ff., 214 f., *ib.* 1913 xxxiii. 98 proves that the concluding words are the equivalent of κατηραμένος Ἄττι ἔστω and must be divided ΑΤΤΙЄ (dat.) ΑΔЄΙΤΟΥ (cp. *adesto*). Accordingly I would amend Sayce's restoration as follows:

ΙΟC ΝΙ CЄΜΟΥΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝЄ ΚΑΚΟΥΝ ΑΔΔΑΚЄΤΙ ΖЄΙΡΑ,
ΜЄ ΖЄΜЄΛΩC ΤЄ ΔЄΩC ΤЄ ΤЄΤΙΚΜЄΝΟC ΑΤΤΙ' ΑΔЄΙΤΟΥ.
Whosoever upon this tomb lays evil hand,
Among gods below and gods above let him be devoted to Attis.

[3] Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1887 xxviii.

P. Kretschmer[1], and W. M. Calder[2], who agree in rendering 'heavenly and chthonian gods.' We may reasonably infer that in Phrygia the earth-goddess Semele[3] was associated with a sky-god known as

397 n. 1 translated με ζεμελω by 'μετὰ τέκνων.' A. Torp 'Zu den phrygischen Inschriften aus römischer Zeit' in the *Skrifter udgivne af Videnskabsselskabet i Christiania* 1894 ii Historisk-filosofisk Klasse Christiania 1895 no. 2 p. 16 f., *id.* 'Zum Phrygischen' *ib.* 1896 no. 3 p. 4 takes με = μετά and regards δεως κε ζεμελως as meaning 'himself and his family.' P. Kretschmer in *Aus der Anomia* Berlin 1890 p. 19 f., cp. *id. Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 226, renders δεως διως 'Himmel' and ζεμελω 'Erdgottheit, Erde.' F. Solmsen 'Zum Phrygischen' in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1897 xxxiv. 54 f. understands δεος διως as a gen. sing. = Διός and ζεμελως as a gen. sing. = Σεμέλης. Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1905 viii Beiblatt p. 107 translates με διως ζεμελως τι, με ζεμελω κε δεος by 'among gods and men,' regarding the termination as that of a dat. plur. (-ως rather than -os).

[4] G. Meyer 'Albanesische Studien' iii in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1892 cxxv. 11. 21 n. 2 says: 'Mir scheint, dass in jener phrygischen Verwünschungsformel ζεμελω derselbe Casus sei, wie das parallele δεος oder διως, und zwar eine Pluralform (in Nr. 25 bei Ramsay Phrygian Inscriptions, KZ xxviii, 381 ff., steht ζ]εμελως), mit Nichtschreibung des -s, und dass die Formel bedeute: "bei den irdischen und himmlischen (Gottheiten)."' Cp. *id.* as cited by W. Gurlitt in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1892 p. 514.

[1] P. Kretschmer in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1905 viii Beiblatt p. 79 n. 1 'would prefer ΔΕΩC ΚΕ ΖΕΜΕΛΩC "heavenly and Chthonian gods."'

[2] W. M. Calder in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 207 f.

[3] The opinion of ancient scholars that Semele was but another name of Ge (Apollod. *frag.* 29 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 433 Müller) *ap.* Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 51 p. 107, 1 ff. Wünsch φέρεται δὲ καί τις μῦθος περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἀπολλόδωρον, ὡς εἴη γεγονὼς ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Γῆς, τῆς δὲ Γῆς Θεμέλης προσαγορευομένης διὰ τὸ εἰς αὐτὴν πάντα καταθεμελιοῦσθαι, ἣν κατὰ συναλλαγὴν ἑνὸς στοιχείου, τοῦ σ, Σεμέλην οἱ ποιηταὶ προσηγορεύκασι, *et. Gud.* p. 498, 39 ff. Σεμέλη, θεός, θεμελίς, θεμελιῶτις οὖσα. θέμελις ἡ γῆ προσαγορεύεται· διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ πάντα καταθεμελιοῦσθαι· καὶ κατ' ἐναλλαγὴν τοῦ θ εἰς σ, Σεμέλη; Diod. 3. 62 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκ Σεμέλης γένεσιν εἰς φυσικὰς ἀρχὰς ἀνάγουσιν, ἀποφαινόμενοι Θυώνην ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων τὴν γῆν ὠνομάσθαι, καὶ τεθεῖσθαι τὴν προσηγορίαν [καὶ del. H. K. A. Eichstädt] Σεμέλην μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ σεμνὴν εἶναι τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τιμήν, Θυώνην δ' ἀπὸ τῶν θυομένων αὐτῇ θυσιῶν καὶ θυηλῶν. Conclusions right: etymologies wrong) has been confirmed, not only by modern mythologists (Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 434 ff., Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 182, 505, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 660, O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 664 ff. A notable dissenter is Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1415 n. 6), but—what is more to the point—by modern philologists. V. Hehn *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien sowie in das übrige Europa*[1] Berlin 1870 pp. 24, 412 f. n. 13 conjectured that Σεμέλη was a Thracian word for 'Erde, Erdgöttin,' related to χαμαί, *humus*, etc. P. Kretschmer 'Semele und Dionysos' in *Aus der Anomia* Berlin 1890 p. 17 ff. first established the conjecture on a sound basis by proving that the word really occurred in Thraco-Phrygian sources: 'Zur Deutung des zweiten Begriffes ζεμελω kann uns die hesychische Glosse ζεμελεν· βάρβαρον ἀνδράποδον· Φρύγες behilflich sein, welche man mit Recht zu indogermanisch *ghem-*, skr. *kšam-*, avest. *zâo*, Gen. *zemō* "Erde," slav. *zemlja*, lit. *žẽmė* "Erde," *žẽmas* "niedrig," gr. χθών, Loc. χαμαί, χθαμαλός, lat. *humus* "Erde," *humilis* "niedrig," *homo homo* "Mensch," *humānus*, got. *guma* "Mensch" gestellt hat[1] [[1]Die Bildung ist dieselbe wie die von phryg. βρῖκελος, Κυβέλη (auf einer phryg. Inschrift *matar Kubile*) und gr. χθαμαλός, lat. *humilis*.]. Fick, Spracheinh. a.a.O [A. Fick *Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas* Göttingen 1873 pp. 321, 416, 429].' This view, which links Semele with Nova *Zembla*

Déos or *Díos*. The inference can, I think, be raised to a high degree of probability. At Dorylaeion (*Eskishehir*), a great centre of Zeus-worship[1] in north-eastern Phrygia, G. Radet in 1893 found an altar dedicated to Zeus *Dios*[2]. A. Körte, reviewing Radet's discovery in 1897, threw out the ingenious suggestion that this title may attest a local survival of the primitive sky-god *Díos*[3] postulated by H. Usener[4]. Sir W. M. Ramsay in 1906 assumed a long vowel and wrote Zeus *Dîos*[5]—a course in which I formerly followed him[6]. But Körte's case is materially strengthened by the occurrence of *deos*, *dios*, etc. in the neo-Phrygian inscriptions cited above[7]; and his

(Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 404), has met with almost universal accceptance and is clearly correct. See further Walde *Lat. etym. Worterb.*[2] p. 372 f. *s.v.* 'humus.'

[1] F. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 891 argues that Dorylaeion was the principal cult-centre of Zeus *Brontôn* (*infra* § 4 (d)). A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 409 f. demurs to this statement, though he admits that thirteen dedications to the god have been found there. Coins of the town show more than one type of Zeus. A copper struck by Trajan has rev. ΔΟΡΥΛΑ ΕΩΝ ΜΕΛΗΝΟC Zeus Μεληνός (meaning unknown) seated with *phiále* in right hand, sceptre in left, and eagle on ground behind the seat (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 225 no. 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. lvii). Coppers of Titus have rev. ΙΤΑΛΙΚΩΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΩ ΔΟΡΥΛΑΕΩΝ Zeus enthroned to left with thunderbolt in right and sceptre in left hand (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 195 pl. 25, 1). A 'third brass' of Domitian has rev. ΔΟΡΥΛΑΕΩΝ Zeus, naked, standing with *phiále* in right, sceptre in left hand (Rasche *Lex. Num.* Suppl. ii. 657). A copper of Philippus Senior has rev. ΕΠΙΜΑΥΡΤΙΜΑΙΟΥ·Α· ΑΡΧ·Κ·CΤΕΦΔΟΡΥΛΑΕ Ω Ν (*ἐπὶ* M. *Αὐρ.* Τιμαίου *α' ἄρχ. κε στεφ.*) Zeus standing to front, but facing left, with thunderbolt in right hand (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. lvii, 198 pl. 25, 8). Cp. a copper of Gordianus Pius, having for reverse type two men (Dorylaos and Akamas ?), each of whom holds a *phiále* over a flaming altar, while an eagle hovers above it (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 226 no. 4, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 197 pl. 25, 7). I. Meliopoulos in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1897 xxii. 480 f. publishes a dedication from Dorylaeion [– – – – –?] *βου υἱῶι Διὶ Πατρῴ[ωι – – – –]* | *[σωτῆρι ἅπαν]τος ἀνθρώπων γένο[υς – – – – –]* | *[... καὶ θεοῖ]ς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ θεαῖς Σεβασταῖς [καὶ Ὁ][μονοίαι Σ]εβαστῆι καὶ θεᾶι Ῥώμηι καὶ θεῶι Συνκλήτωι|[καὶ τῶι] δήμωι Ῥωμαίων κ.τ.λ.* Zeus *Πατρῷος* here means Hadrian as in *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3187, 5 ff. Smyrna *Διὸς Πατρώου, Αὐτοκ[ράτορος, ἀρχιερέως]|μεγίστου, πατρὸς τῆ[ς πατρίδος? καὶ σωτῆρος?]|τοῦ σύμπαντος ἀν[θρωπείου γένους· κ.τ.λ.]*. Sir W. M. Ramsay *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* Aberdeen 1906 p. 276 f. among other dedications to Zeus *Brontôn* at Dorylaeion includes no. 9 a *stéle* with pointed pediment, garland underneath, and letters under garland: *Αὐρ. Δημᾶς Ἀσ[ι]|νίου ὑπὲρ ἑαυ|τοῦ κὲ τῶν ἰδί|ων πάντων Διὶ Σ|ημαντικῷ εὐ|χήν*. The god that sent thunder and lightning thereby gave *σήματα* (*supra* p. 4).

Evidence of the worship of Dionysos at Dorylaeion is collected by W. Quandt *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* Halis Saxonum 1913 p. 221 f.

[2] G. Radet 'En Phrygie' in the *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques* Paris 1895 vi. 425—594.

[3] A. Körte in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1897 clix. 409 f.

[4] H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 pp. 43, 70 f.

[5] Sir W. M. Ramsay *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* Aberdeen 1906 p. 275.

[6] *Supra* i. 4 n. 2.

[7] *Supra* p. 277 ff.

view must—as it now seems to me—be definitely preferred to the alternative hypothesis. If so, we have here the old Thraco-Phrygian *Díos* Hellenised, as might have been expected, into a Zeus *Díos*. Körte remarks that at Dorylaeion there were seven tribes named after the Mother of the gods, Zeus, Poseidon, Sarapis, Apollon, Aphrodite, and Augustus respectively[1]. But, since the tribe of Zeus was known as *Deía*[2], its eponymous deity was conceivably the Phrygian *Déos* rather than the Greek *Zeús*[3]. Be that as it may, Zeus *Díos* was a god of Dionysiac character, for his altar is decorated with grape-bunches[4] and a plough[5]. He should therefore be

[1] A. Körte in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1897 clix. 401 f.

[2] *Id. ib.* 400 f. no. 45 a marble base inscribed *θεὸς ἡγοῦ.* | *εἰκόνα τήνδε* | *στῆσαν ἀγακλει*|*τῷ Στρατονεί*|*κῳ φυλέται* | *οἱ Δείας εἶ*|*ναι ἀγαλλόμενοι. κ.τ.λ.*

[3] The inference is uncertain : *ει* may be for *ī* as in *Στρατονείκῳ*. But cp. the name *Δεουειας* in the neo-Phrygian inscription no. 69, 10 f. (W. M. Calder in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1913 xxxiii. 98 ff. cites *Δεουας* from G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie d'une partie de la Mysie de la Phrygie, de la Cappadoce et du Pont* Paris 1872 i. 52).

[4] Zeus is connected with the vine by an early Phrygian myth. According to Akousilaos of Argos, one of the older logographers (*c.* 525 B.C.), Priamos persuaded Astyoche, wife of Telephos, to send her son Eurypylos from Mysia to Troy by presenting her with a golden vine (Akousilaos *frag.* 27 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 103 Müller) *ap.* schol. Q.V. *Od.* 11. 520, cp. schol. B.Q. *Od.* 11. 521). Some said that Priamos had himself made the vine (schol. Iuv. 6. 655—a notice full of confusions). But others stated that it was the golden vine which Zeus had given to Tros in exchange for Ganymedes and that it had passed to Priamos by way of inheritance (schol. T.V. *Od.* 11. 521, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1697, 31 ff.). This version was derived from Lesches of Lesbos (*c.* 660—657 B.C.), who in his *Ilias parva frag.* 6 Kinkel *ap.* schol. Eur. *Tro.* 821 and *Or.* 1392 described the vine as follows : *ἄμπελον, ἣν Κρονίδης ἔπορεν οἱ* (so G. W. Nitzsch for *οὗ*) *παιδὸς ἄποινα* | *χρυσείην* (*χρυσείοις* schol. Eur. *Tro.* 821) *φύλλοισιν ἀγανοῖσι* (J. Barnes *corr. ἀγαννοῖσιν*, F. Osann cj. *ἀγαυροῖσιν*, Jortin cj. *ἀγανοῖσιν*, J. G. Schneider cj. *ἰανθέσι καὶ* or *ἅμ' ἄνθεσι καὶ*, J. G. J. Hermann cj. *παναργυρέοις*—an amazingly stupid emendation) *κομόωσαν* | *βότρυσί θ'* (*βότρυσι* schol. Eur. *Or.* 1392), *οὓς Ἥφαιστος ἐπασκήσας Διὶ πατρὶ* | *δῶχ', ὁ δὲ* (*πατρὶ δῶκεν,* | *αὐτὰρ ὃ* schol. Eur. *Or.* 1392) *Λαομέδοντι πόρεν Γανυμήδεος ἀντί.* The tree, which forms the background for Ganymedes and the eagle in the Vatican group after Leochares (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 521 ff. Atlas pl. 8, 4 : bibliography in W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 249 f. no. 386, ii. 473), is perhaps meant for this famous vine-stem. A similar tale told how Tithonos, the brother of Priamos, was induced by the gift of a golden vine to send Memnon, his son by Heos, to help the Trojans (Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 489). I take it that the golden vine belonged to the *regalia* of Troy and that its presence ensured the protection of the Thraco-Phrygian Zeus.

Parallels are not wanting. Pythios son of Atys, a Lydian, gave Dareios a golden plane-tree and vine (Hdt. 7. 27, Plin. *nat. hist.* 33. 137 (Pythis Bithyni), Aristeid. *or.* 13. 129 (i. 210 Dindorf) with schol. *ad loc.* p. 147, 19 ff. Dindorf, Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 923 ff., cp. Plout. *mul. virt.* 27, Polyain. 8. 42). These no doubt became heirlooms. For the Persian kings had a golden vine studded with gems above their couch (Chares of Mitylene *frag.* 10 (*Script. hist. Alex. Mag.* p. 117 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 514 E—F, Amyntas *frag.* 4 (*Script. hist. Alex. Mag.* p. 136 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 514 F), or golden planes and a golden vine with jewels for grapes, beneath which they often sat to transact business (Phylarchos *frag.* 41 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 345 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 539 D. And over the doors of Herod's temple at Jerusalem rose a gigantic golden vine with hanging clusters (Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 15.

compared with Zeus *Diónysos* (fig. 178) of north-eastern Thrace[1],

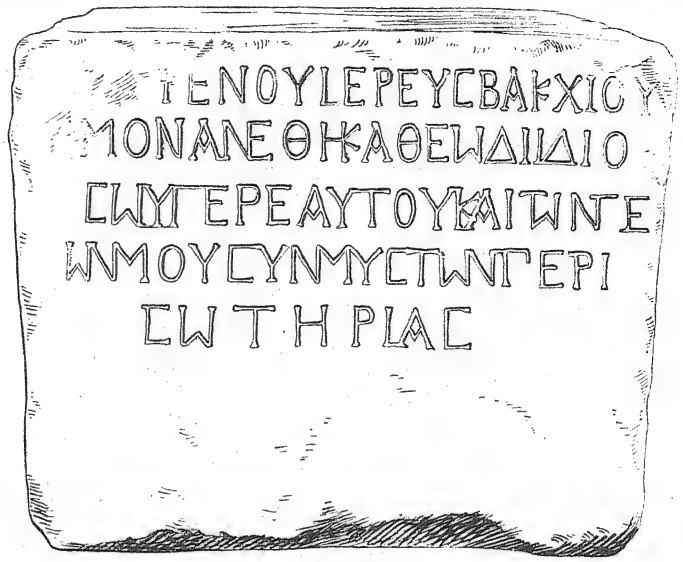


Fig. 178.

with Zeus *Sabázios* whose worship radiated from Phrygia (pl. xix)[2],

11. 3), which made people think that the Jews worshipped Liber Pater (Tac. *hist.* 5. 5). See further Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 212—214 ('Metallene Bäume') and G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 407 f. ('The Vine of Pythios and Andocides'). Note also *Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 161 B 44 ἄμπελος χρυσῆ ἄστατος in an inventory of 279/280 B.C.

[5] Galen. *de aliment. facult.* 1. 13 (vi. 515 Kühn) notes that the grain called ζεόπυρον was grown at Dorylai (*sic*) in Phrygia.

[1] G. Kazarow in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1915 xxx Arch. Anz. pp. 87—89 fig. 1 (=my fig. 178) publishes a marble base (0·55^{m} high, 0·65^{m} broad) of late Roman date, from *Malko-Tirnovo* in the Bulgarian territory of *Burgas*, inscribed with a dedication θεῷ Διὶ Διονύσῳ by the priest of a Βακχεῖον (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 228). The text runs: ..ιενοῦ ἱερεὺς Βακχίου [τὸν βω]μὸν ἀνέθηκα θεῷ Διὶ Διο[νύ]σω ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέ[κν]ων μου συνμύστων περὶ | σωτηρίας. The interest and importance of the find made in this locality is great. *Malko-Tirnovo* is within easy reach of *Viza*, the ancient Bizye, chief town of the Thracian Astai.

[2] *Supra* i. 390 ff. Thanks to the courtesy of Mr W. H. Buckler, I am enabled to supplement my previous account by publishing a new and important *stéle*, which he has lately presented to the British Museum. Pl. xix is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming. Mr Buckler writes: 'This small stele, in good preservation except for the missing base, was bought for 20 francs at the bazaar in Constantinople in June, 1914, from a dealer who professed to know nothing of its origin. It then consisted of two closely fitting fragments, divided by a line of breakage passing through the eagle's neck and down along the front of the horse's fore leg. The lower part of the stele appeared to have recently been chiselled away; before restoration the lower edge, showing the coarse-grained bluish marble, of a kind common in Western Asia Minor, looked quite freshly cut. The inscription was then intact: Εὔτυχος Διὶ Σαβαζείω | κατ' ὄνειρον χαριστήριον. This inscription (Λ, Σ, Ω) might be as early as 1st century B.C., but of course dating from such indications is pretty uncertain. On the journey to London the larger fragment was broken in



Stéle obtained by W. H. Buckler in Constantinople: Zeus *Sabázios* on horseback, with altar, *kratér*, and leafless tree, in which are eagle and snake, surmounted by votive inscription.

See page 282 *n.* 2.

two, and this break, which shows clearly in the plate, almost destroyed the fifth letter in ὄνειρον. Dimensions as follows: Height, as now restored, 46 cm. Original portion: height 34 cm.; width at top 36 cm., at bottom 36½ cm.; depth of recessed panel 1½ cm.; thickness at top 6 to 4 cm. Back roughly tooled.'

The relief shows Zeus *Sabázios* as a bearded god on horseback advancing towards an ancient leafless tree. He wears a *chitón* with short sleeves, a stiff *chlamýs* over his back, and a diadem round his head. He holds a thunderbolt in his right hand, a couple of spears in his left. In the tree is an eagle side by side with a snake. Beneath the tree burns a small square altar, close to which stands a wide-mouthed *kratér*. Thunderbolt and eagle characterise the god as Zeus; snake and *kratér* (cp. Dem. *de cor.* 259 κρατηρίζων), as *Sabázios*. All four attributes are found on the *Sabázios*-monuments already noted (*supra* i. 391 ff. fig. 296 bronze hand, pl. xxvii bronze relief), which likewise have the



Fig. 179.

eagle and snake juxtaposed in friendly fashion. The unusual features of this *stéle* are the conception of the god as a rider and his connexion with a dream. Zeus *Sabázios* is not elsewhere an equestrian figure, unless it be he who on the well known but little understood bronze plaque from Rome, now at Berlin (F. Lajard in the *Mon. d. Inst.* iv pl. 38, 1, *id. Recherches sur le culte du cyprès pyramidal* Paris 1854 pp. 113 ff., 281 f., 360 pl. 7, 6, E. Gerhard 'Phrygische Götter zu Pferd' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1854 xii. 209 ff. pl. 65, 3 (§ 3 (c) i (o)), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 30 no. 3, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2744, T. Eisele *ib.* iv. 250), swings a double axe as he gallops over a prostrate human form. But the god appears in a variety of poses (figs. 179, 180, 185) according to local convention, and here it is not difficult to recognise the influence of Thrace (*supra* fig. 175). As to the dream, it will be remembered that in Aristoph. *vesp.* 9 ff. Sosias and Xanthias both get dreams from *Sabázios*. Xanthias sees a great eagle carry off an asp to the sky;

Sosias sees sheep in the *ekklesía*, etc.—fancies obviously suggested by the attributes (eagle, snake, ram) of *Sabázios* himself.

Other reliefs illustrating the cult of Zeus *Sabázios* are listed by T. Eisele in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 243 ff. They include: (1) A relief in white marble, drawn by A. Conze at *Schoinoudi* in Imbros, but said to have come from Blaudos (*Balát*) in the Mysian district of Abrettene (A. Conze *Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres* Hannover 1860



Fig. 180.

p. 98 ff. pl. 17, 7 = my fig. 179, T. Eisele *loc. cit.* iv. 243 fig. 2). The god, who is beardless, sits on a high-backed throne, with a band (?) round his head, a *phiále* in his right hand, and a spear or sceptre in his left. Beside him is a tree (palm?), up which his snake is coiled. Before him an altar, on which a man, followed by a woman, deposits a pinch of incense. Inscribed: Μένανδρος Ἀθηνοδώ|ρου Διὶ Σαξίωι | εὐχήν. Σαάξιος is a mason's mistake for Σαάζιος = Σαβάζιος (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 229). Height *c.* 0·25^{m},

with Zeus *Poteos* (fig. 187) of Dionysopolis on the upper Maiandros in Phrygia[1], with Zeus *Poteús* (?) of Limnobria? (*Burdur*) on the

breadth *c.* 0·18m. (2) A relief in white marble, found by A. Wagener in the court of a private house at Koloë (*Koula*) in Lydia (A. Wagener *Inscriptions grecques recueillies en Asie Mineure* (in *Mémoires couronnés et mémoires des savants étrangers, publiés par l'académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique* 1858—1861 xxx) pp. 3—19 pl. A, 1 inscription only, T. Eisele *loc. cit.* iv. 243 f. fig. 3 = my fig. 180). The upper register shows a beardless male figure (Zeus *Sabázios*) driving towards the left a two-horsed vehicle. On the reins is seen an eagle; beneath the horses, a snake. The equipage is accompanied by a male figure (Men, cp. *supra* i. 193, 642) with a Phrygian cap (so Wagener: Eisele says, a bowl-shaped helmet) and a winged *caduceus*, between which appears a crescent moon. The remainder of the panel is filled by a personage pouring a libation at a raised altar and by three worshippers with gestures of adoration. The lower register groups thirteen worshippers about an altar, behind which rises a sacred tree. On the altar are piled round objects like loaves. Inscribed: ἔτους ρπε (185 of the Sullan or Lydo-Phrygian era = 101 A.D.), μη(νὸς) Δαισίου ᾱ, ἐπὶ στεφανη|φόρου Γλύκωνος, ἡ Κολοηνῶν κατοικία κα|θιέρωσαν Δία Σαβάζιον, ἐπὶ ἱερέων Ἀπολ|λωνίου τοῦ Ἰόλλα καὶ Ἀπολ|λωνίου τοῦ Δαΐπ|που Αἰσώπου καὶ Μητρᾶ Ἀσκληπιάδου καὶ | [Ἀρτε]μιδώρου Κλέωνος καὶ Κλέωνος Με[[νεκράτους καὶ Ἀ]πολλωνίου Δίωνος καὶ Α.. Height *c.* 1·50m, breadth *c.* 0·75m. Wagener with much probability concludes that a solar Zeus *Sabázios* is here conducted to his temple by the lunar Men, who is equipped with the *caduceus* of Hermes. The personage pouring a libation is—he supposes—the *stephanephóros* Glykon, and the sixteen suppliants are the priests of the god assisting at his installation. Since the Macedonian Daisios = the Attic Thargelion (W. Dittenberger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2014), it would seem that Daisios 1 was a sort of May-day festival. (3) A marble relief at Philadelpheia (*Ala-Shehir*) in Lydia represents Zeus *Sabázios* seated on a throne, holding a large-bodied vase in which a shrub is planted (O. Rayet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1877 i. 307—309, T. Eisele *loc. cit.* iv. 244). Inscribed: Διὶ Κορυφαίῳ Δία Σα|ουάζιον Νεαυλ|είτην | Πλουτίων Πλουτίωνος | Μαίων εὐχήν. Height 0·60m, breadth 0·37m. The image of Zeus Σαουάζιος Νεαυλείτης (*i.e.* Zeus Σαβάζιος of Νεαυλή (Νέα Αὐλή)) is here dedicated to Zeus Κορυφαῖος of Philadelpheia (on whom see *infra* Append. B). (4) In the winter of 1864—1865 workmen digging at *Vichy* (? = Aquae calidae in Aquitania: M. Ihm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 298) near a well full of Roman remains found a packet of eighty *plaques* of thin silver foil, together with a coin of Gordianus and the statuette of a newborn babe in thin silver backed with resin. The *bratteae*, which vary from 0·05m to 0·17m in height and from 0·02m to 0·07m in breadth, are now in the Musée de Saint-Germain. They have in almost every case a tree or leaf impressed upon them (figs. 181, 182). Some add an *aedicula*, in which stands Iupiter with sceptre, bolt, and eagle (figs. 184—186), flanked on one specimen by a couple of grape-vines (fig. 186). Others symbolise the god by his bolt and reduce the vines to mere scrolls (fig. 183). The most important type subjoins a label inscribed: Numin·Aug·deo Iovi Sa|ba·sio (*sic*)·G·Iul·Caras|sounus·v·s·l·m (fig. 185). See further C. Rossignol—A. Bertrand 'Notice sur les découvertes faites à Vichy et en particulier sur des Bractéoles votives d'argent' in the *Bulletin de la Société d'Émulation du département de l'Allier* (Sciences, Arts et Belles-lettres) Moulins 1889 xviii. 185—232 pls. 1—8, of which pl. 1, 1 and 2 = my figs. 181, 182, pl. 3, 1 and 3 = my figs. 184, 186, pl. 4, 1 = my fig. 183, pl. 5 = my fig. 185, T. Eisele *loc. cit.* iv. 245, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 1496. Similar *bratteae* in S. Lysons *Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ* London 1817 ii pls. 38—41, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii nos. 80 f., 84—86, *supra* i. 626 ff. Cp. the 'silver shrines of Diana' made at Ephesos (Acts 19. 24).

[1] A *quasi*-autonomous copper of Dionysopolis, struck in the time of Alexander Severus (?), has obv. ΖΕVCΠΟΤΗΟC ΔΙΟΝVCΟΠΟΛЄΙΤΩΝ· Head of Zeus Ποτηος, wearing fillet, to right, within border of dots; rev. CTPATHГOVN-TOC[C]Ω[C] TPATOVB The river-god Maiandros recumbent to left, with reed and

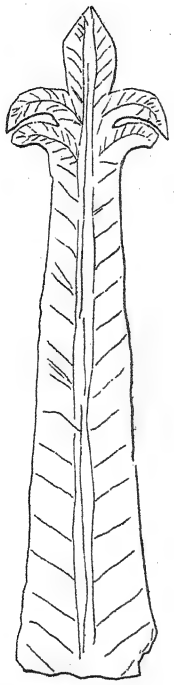


Fig. 181.

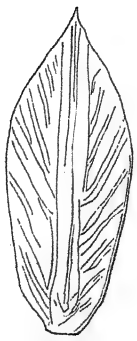


Fig. 182.

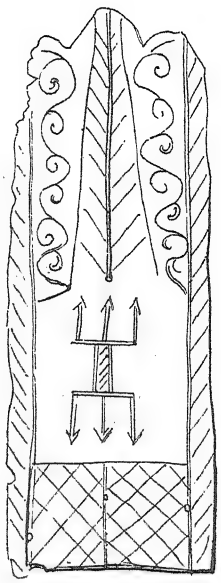


Fig. 183.

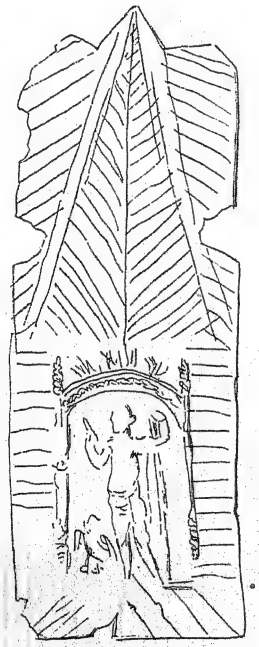


Fig. 184.

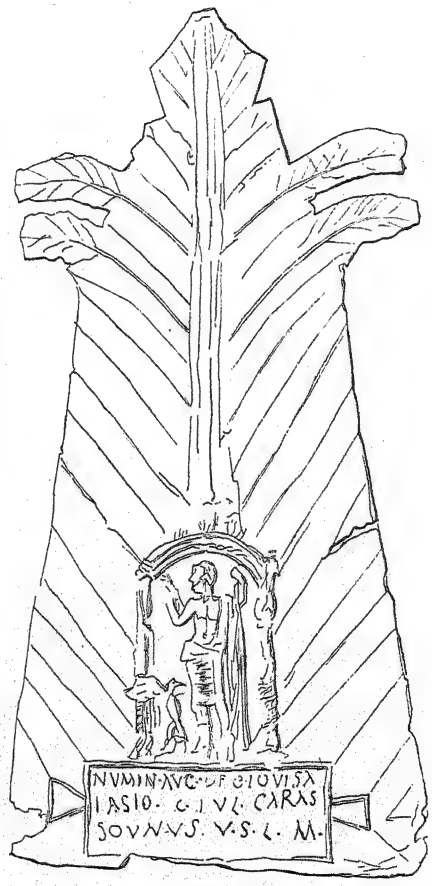


Fig. 185.

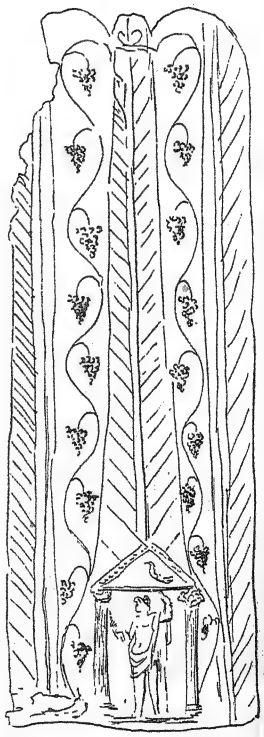


Fig. 186.

eastern side of Lake Askania in Pisidia[1], and with Zeus *Bákchos* of Pergamon in Mysia[2]. The plain fact is that to the Phrygians Zeus



Fig. 187.

cornu copiae, and behind him an inverted vase from which flows his river. ΜΕΑΝΔΡΟC in exergue. All within border of dots (Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 150 f., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 223, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. lv, 183 pl. 23, 4, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 671, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2902 f.). Fig. 187 is from a cast of the specimen in the British Museum. R. Rochette in the *Journal des savants* 1842 p. 10 n. 1 held that Ποτηος was a local epithet. Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 169 took ποτέος (*sic*) to denote a rain-god. Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 126 n. 2 suggests 'a rude attempt at the Greek Πύτιος (for Πύθιος...).' Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 29 were the first to detect 'un caractère bachique,' which is rendered practically certain by the inscription from *Burdur* (*infra* n. 1).

[1] A *stéle* mentioning Zeus Ποτεύς (?) or Πότης (?) or Πότις (?), found at *Bouldour* or *Burdur* in Pisidia, was published by M. Collignon in the *Bull. Cor. Hell.* 1879 iii. 335 no. 3 Μεννέας Ἀρ|τεμιδώρου | ἰε|ρεὺς | Διὶ | Ποτ|ει | τὸν [β]ωμὸν | ἀνέστησεν. The stone (0·65^{m} high, 0·33^{m} broad, 0·20^{m} thick) is adorned with reliefs—a bunch of grapes on its right side, a wreath on its left, and a *bucranium* adjoining the inscription in front. This interesting record of a Dionysiac Zeus was re-published by Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 337 f. no. 178, cp. *ib.* i. 126 n. 2. See also O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2902 f.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3538, 30 ff. = M. Fränkel in *Pergamon* viii, 1 no. 324, 30 ff. = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 1035. 20 ff. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 172. 20 ff. (directions to avert the plague of 166 A.D.) ἑπτὰ γεραιρόντων εἰς ἤματα μῆρα ἐπὶ βωμ(ῶ)ν, | Παλλάδι μὲν μόσχου διετήρονος ἄζυγος ἀγνοῦ | δαίοντες, τριένου δὲ βοὸς Διί, καὶ Διὶ Βάκχωι | ὡσαύτως καὶ παιδὶ Κορωνίδος ἠθαλέοιο (E. Cougny cj. Αἰθαλέοιο cp. Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 75 ff.). | ταύρου μηρία ῥέζοντες προτιτύσκετε δαῖτα, | ἠίθεοι, χλαμύδεσσι ἀμφεμμένοι ὄπποσοι ἑ[στέ] | μὴ σφετέρων νόσφιν πατέρων· κ.τ.λ. See further *infra* Append. B Mysia.

Zeus Βάκχος is presumably to be equated with the important Pergamene god Zeus Σαβάζιος (M. Fränkel in *Pergamon* viii, 1 no. 248, 31 ff. Attalos iii Philometor (138—133 B.C.), nephew and successor of Attalos ii Philadelphos (159—138 B.C.), says of Sosandros, σύντροφος of Eumenes ii (197—159 B.C.) and priest of Dionysos Καθηγεμών at Pergamon: τοῦτον ἐγέννησεν, ὧι καὶ γενομένωι ἀξίωι τοῦ οἴκου ἡμῶν τὸ | μὲμ πρῶτον Ἄτταλος ὁ θεῖός μου σὺγ καὶ τῆι ἐμῆι γνώμηι ζῶντος | ἔτι τοῦ Σωσάνδρου ἔδωκε διὰ γένους ἱερεωσύνην τὴν τοῦ Διὸς | τοῦ Σαβαζίου τιμιωτάτην οὖσαμ παρ' ἡμῖν, ὕστερον δὲ μεταλλάξαντος | τοῦ Σωσάνδρου διὰ τὴμ περὶ αὐτὸν οὖσαγ καλοκἀγαθίαγ καὶ περὶ τὸ θε[ῖ]|ον εὐσέβειαγ καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὔνοιαγ καὶ πίστιγ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Καθηγε|μόνος Διονύσου ἱερεωσύνης ἠξιώσαμεν αὐτόν, κρίναντες αὐτὸγ καὶ | ταύτης εἶναι ἄξιον τῆς τιμῆς καὶ πρεπόντως προστήσ(ε)σθαι μυστ[ηρί]|ων τηλικούτωγ κἀγὼ καὶ Ἄτταλος ὁ θεῖός μου, κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 45 ff. Attalos iii says of Stratonike, wife of Eumenes ii: ἐπεὶ βασ[ί]|λισσα Στρατονίκη ἡ μήτηρ μου εὐσεβεστάτη μὲγ γενομένη πασῶν, φιλ[ο]|στοργοτάτη δὲ διαφερόντως πρός τε τὸμ πατέρα μου καὶ πρὸς ἐμέ, | πρὸς ἅπαντας μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς προσηνέχθη, μάλιστα δὲ | πρὸς τὸν Δία τὸν Σαβάζιον, πατροπαράδοτον (see *infra*) αὐτὸγ κομίσασα εἰς | τὴμ πατρίδα ἡμῶν, δγ καὶ ἐμ πολλαῖς πράξεσι καὶ ἐμ πολλοῖς κινδύ|νοις παραστάτηγ καὶ βοηθὸν ἡμῖγ γενόμενον ἐκρίναμεν διὰ τὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ | γενομένας ἐπιφανείας συγκαθιερῶσαι τῆι Νικηφόρωι Ἀθηνᾶι (*sc.* in the

and Dionysos were but different aspects of the self-same god. As Sir W. M. Ramsay, the highest living authority on Phrygia and all its ways, expresses it, 'The father and the son...are merely complementary forms of the single ultimate form of the divinity as male[1],' or again 'the character and personality of the God-father and God-son pass into one another in such a way in the divine tale or drama, that no clear line can be drawn to separate them[2].' This essential unity *saute aux yeux*, if—as I have supposed—the former deity was originally named Dios and the latter Dios *Nŷsos*. Well might Christianity take root and flourish (we know that it did[3]) among a people, who had already learnt that the Son was in the Father and the Father in the Son[4]. One of the earliest extant representations of our Lord, the tombstone of Abirkios and his wife Theuprepia, erected *c.* 300 A.D. at Prymnessos (*Seulun*) in central Phrygia (fig. 188)[5], shows Him as a youth raising His right

Nikephórion outside the city), νομίσαν τες τοῦτον αὐτῶι ἄξιογ καὶ πρέποντα τόπον ὑπάρχειν, διεταξάμε|θα δὲ ἀκολούθως τούτοις καὶ περὶ θυσιῶγ καὶ πομπῶγ καὶ μυστηρίων | τῶν ἐπιτελουμένωμ πρὸ πόλεως αὐτῶι ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσι καιροῖς καὶ τόποις· | ἐποήσαμεν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἱερέα διὰ γένους Ἀθήναιον τὸν ἐμόν (a slip for τὸν συγγενῆ τὸν ἐμόν, as Fränkel saw), εὐσεβείαι κα[ὶ] | καλοκάγαθίαι διαφέροντα καὶ τῆι πρὸς ἡμᾶς πίστει· κ.τ.λ. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 46, 31 ff., 45 ff. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 331, 31 ff., 45 ff.).

In this connexion it is not without significance that P. Aelius Aristides, a native of Hadrianoi in Mysia, who had studied rhetoric under Aristokles at Pergamon (Philostr. *v. Aristid.* p. 83, 25 ff. Kayser), remarks: ἤδη δέ τινων ἤκουσα καὶ ἕτερον λόγον ὑπὲρ τούτων ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεὺς εἴη ὁ Διόνυσος (Aristeid. *or.* 4. 29 (i. 49 Dindorf)). The allusion is in all probability to the Thraco-Phrygian god called by the Pergamenes Zeus Βάκχος or Zeus Σαβάζιος, whom Stratonike, wife of Eumenes ii, had introduced from the court of her father Ariarathes iv Eusebes, king of Kappadokia (*c.* 220—*c.* 163 B.C.).

It is noteworthy that on the Akropolis of Pergamon, south of the great altar of Zeus (*supra* i. 118 ff.), stood a Hellenistic temple of Dionysos (Καθηγεμών?) with a prostyle tetrastyle *façade* of *quasi*-Doric order (R. Bohn *Der Tempel des Dionysos zu Pergamon* Berlin 1885 (extr. from the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1884* Phil.-hist. Classe), E. Fabricius in Baumeister *Denkm.* ii. 1217, E. Pontremoli and M. Collignon *Pergame, restauration et description des monuments de l'acropole* Paris 1900 pp. 55—57, K. Hachtmann *Pergamon* Gütersloh 1900 p. 26).

[1] Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 34. See also the same author's article on Phrygian religion in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1917 ix. 900 ff.

[2] *Id. The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 140.

[3] See *e.g.* Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Church in the Roman Empire Before A.D. 170* London 1893 pp. 37 ff., 90 ff., 146, 436 ff., *id. The Cities of St Paul* London 1907 p. 315 ff., and especially *id.* in J. Hastings *A Dictionary of the Bible* Edinburgh 1900 iii. 863—869. Cp. also F. Cumont *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*[2] Paris 1909 p. 75 ff., T. Eisele 'Die phrygischen Kulte und ihre Bedeutung für die griechisch-römische Welt' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1909 xxiii. 620—637.

[4] John 14. 10.

[5] Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Church in the Roman Empire Before A.D. 170* London 1893 pp. 440—442 with pl. (=my fig. 188), E. Legrand—J. Chamonard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 290 no. 98, F. Cumont 'Les Inscriptions Chrétiennes de l'Asie Mineure' in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 1895 xv. 278 no. 190, Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities*

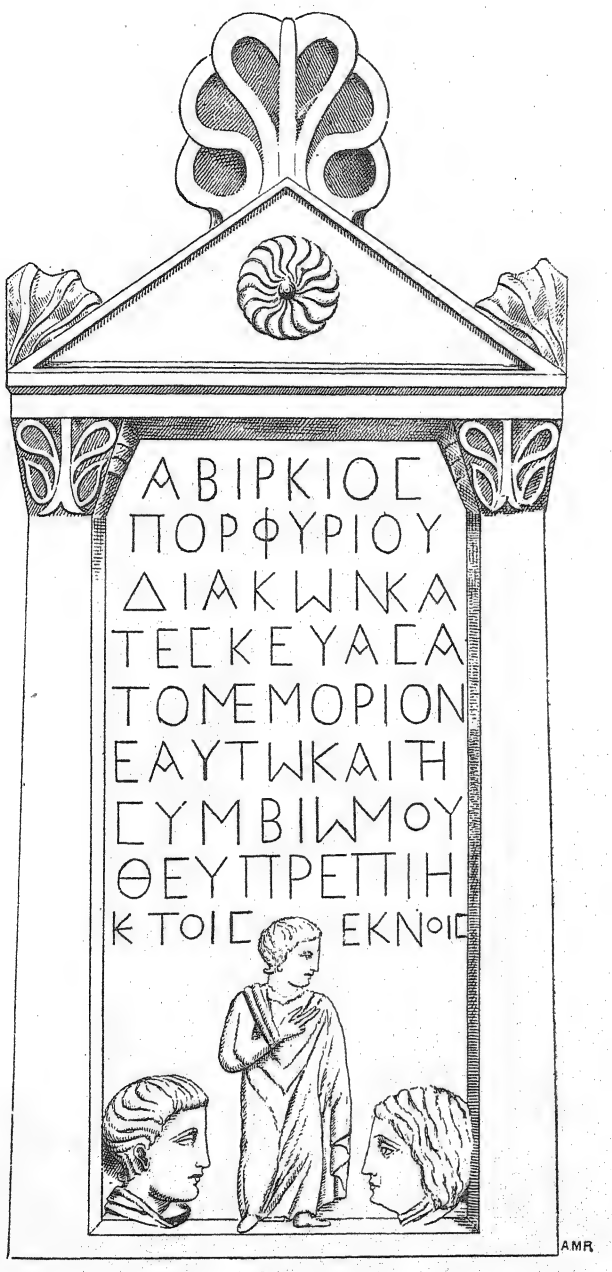

ΑΒΙΡΚΙΟC
ΠΟΡΦΥΡΙΟΥ
ΔΙΑΚΩΝΚΑ
ΤΕCΚΕΥΑCΑ
ΤΟΜΕΜΟΡΙΟΝ
ΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΤΗ
CΥΜΒΙΩΜΟΥ
ΘΕΥΠΡΕΠΤΙΗ
ΚΤΟΙC ΕΚΝΟΙC
AMR

Fig. 188.

and Bishoprics of Phrygia Oxford 1897 i. 2. 736 f. with pl. Beneath the inscription Ἀβίρκιος | Πορφυρίου | διάκων κα|τεσκεύασα | τὸ μεμόριον | ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ | συμβίῳ μου | Θευπρεπίη | κὲ τοῖς τέκνοις stands the Saviour between two heads representing the souls of Abirkios and Theuprepia.

The conception of the head as the seat of the soul (E. Bethe in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1907 lxii. 465 n. 62, L. Radermacher in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1908 xi. 412 ff., A. E. Crawley *The Idea of the Soul* London 1909 p. 239) is responsible for much in ancient literature (the epic νεκύων ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα, the tragic φίλον κάρα, the colloquial ὦ μιαρὰ κεφαλή, etc.), art (the herm, the mask, the bust, the medallion, etc.), and custom (*e.g.* separate burial of the head (Korybantes *supra* i. 107; θεουργοί Prokl. *in Plat. theol.* 4. 9 p. 193 Portus καὶ (ὃ πάντων ἐστὶ θαυμαστότατον) ὅτι τῶν θεουργῶν θάπτειν τὸ σῶμα κελευόντων, πλὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἐν τῇ μυστικωτάτῃ τῶν τελετῶν, ὁ Πλάτων (*Phaedr.* 250 c) καὶ τοῦτο προείληφεν, ὑπ' αὐτῶν κινούμενος τῶν θεῶν; Battos Herakleides Pontikos *frag.* 4. 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 212 Müller); on Capitol at Rome Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 41, Liv. 1. 55, 5. 54, Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 4. 59, Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 15, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 7, Aur. Vict. *de vir. ill.* 8. 4, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 345, Isid. *orig.* 15. 2. 31, cp. E. Babelon *Collection Pauvert de la Chapelle: Intailles et Camées* Paris 1899 p. 44 f. no. 111 fig. and pl. 7, 111, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 451 f. fig. 233, and *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 371 n. 20: archaeological evidence from Egypt is cited by Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 252 n. 3 and especially by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *Ancient Egypt* Part iv 1916, from Megara Hyblaia, Syracuse, the Aeolian Myrina, etc. by A. Mau in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 341 f., from the Scandinavian area by P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston-London 1902 p. 303), and divination by means of a severed head (head of Osiris floats to Byblos Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 7; head of Orpheus floats to Lesbos—see Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pls. 22, 1—9, 13 f., 61, 51, ii. 107 f., 277, iii. 245—252 with figs. 138 f., and O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1069, 1168 ff., 1177 f. fig. 3; head of Archonides preserved in honey and consulted by Kleomenes i (?) of Sparta Ail. *var. hist.* 12. 8; head of Publius prophesies after victory at Thermopylai in 191 B.C. Antisthenes the Peripatetic (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 182 Müller, but see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2537 f.) *ap.* Phleg. *mir.* 3; head of priest of Zeus Ὁπλόσμιος in Arkadia (?) reveals the name of murderer Aristot. *de part. an.* 3. 10. 673 a 17 ff. περὶ δὲ Καρίαν (καρ..αν E. καρ P. ἀρκαδίαν Z.) οὕτω τὸ τοιοῦτον διεπίστευσαν ὥστε καὶ κρίσιν ἐποιήσαντο περί τινος τῶν ἐγχωρίων. τοῦ γὰρ ἱερέως τοῦ Ὁπλοσμίου Διὸς ἀποθανόντος, ὑφ' ὅτου δὲ δὴ ἀδήλως, ἔφασάν τινες ἀκοῦσαι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποκεκομμένης λεγούσης πολλάκις "ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς ἄνδρα Κερκιδᾶς ἀπέκτεινεν." διὸ καὶ ζητήσαντες ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ Κερκιδᾶς, ἔκριναν. My note on this incident in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 417 n. 1 is far-fetched and improbable. Better service has been done by J. Schaefer *De Iove apud Cares culto* Halis Saxonum 1912 p. 370 f. (cp. P. Foucart in Lebas—Foucart *Peloponnèse* Explications ii. 221 and in the *Rev. Arch.* 1876 ii. 103, P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 149), who rightly restores Ἀρκαδίαν for Καρίαν, remarking that the name Κερκιδᾶς is not found in Karia but is found in Arkadia, especially at Megalopolis (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 i. 649, *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii nos. 439, 40, 550, 3), that another odd tale is told about the death of a Megalopolitan Kerkidas (Ail. *var. hist.* 13. 20), and that the cult of Zeus Ὁπλόσμιος is attested only for Methydrion, an Arcadian town which passed into the possession of Megalopolis (Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* ii. 148 f. no. 1634, 17 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 199, 17 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 229, 17 ff. = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 344, 17 ff. περ[ὶ | δὲ τᾶς Νί]κας τᾶς χρυσέ[α]ς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὁπλοσμίου, ἃγ καταθέντες ἐνέχυρα οἱ Μεθυ[δρι|εῖς οἱ μετοική]σαντες ε[ἰ]ς Ὀρχομενὸν διείλοντο τὸ ἀργύριον κ.τ.λ. in an Achaean decree of *c.* 234/3 B.C., cp. Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 344 no. 1203, 10 = O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 18 no. 8, 10 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 614, 10 = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 271, 10 Ὁπλοδμίας (*sc.* φυλᾶς) in a tribal list not later than *c.* 350 B.C. Hera, and perhaps Athena, shared the title with Zeus. Lyk. *Al.* 613 f. τύμβος... | Ὁπλοσμίας refers to the Argive Hera (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 610) rather than to Athena (schol. Lyk. *Al.* 614, cp. schol. *Il.* 5. 412); Lyk. *Al.* 857 f.

hand with the thumb and two fingers extended in the attitude peculiar to the Phrygian Zeus[1]—an attitude known to later ages as the *benedictio Latina*[2].

θεᾷ | Ὁπλοσμίᾳ to Hera Λακινία. Hera Ὁπλοσμία was worshipped in Elis and Triphylia (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 858, cp. Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Ὁπλοσμένα· ἡ Ἥρα, where J. A. H. Tittmann corr. Ὁπλοσμία); and there is said to have been a τύμβος (=βωμός) of Athena Ὁπλοσμία in Elis (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 614). As to the origin of the appellative, Ὁπλόσμιος < Ὁπλόδμιος < *Ὁπλοδάμιος (P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 149 'also ein Compositum von ὅπλον und der reducirten Form von δαμ- in δάμνημι'), cp. Ὁπλάδαμος (P. Foucart cj. Ὁπλόδαμος), the giant of Methydrion who, when Rhea was pregnant with Zeus, was prepared to defend her against Kronos (Paus. 8. 32. 5, 8. 36. 2). See further Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 26 f., O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2299). Possibly the same belief in the sanctity of the decorporated head accounts for the *Chiesa delle Anime de' Corpi Decollati* at Palermo (see E. S. Hartland in *Folk-Lore* 1910 xxi. 168 ff. pls. 8—10).

[1] *Supra* i. 391 n. 3.

[2] On the *benedictio Graeca* and the *benedictio Latina* see R. Sinker in Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* i. 199 figs. and E. Fehrenbach in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* publ. par Le R. P. dom F. Cabrol Paris 1910 ii. 749 ff. figs. 1489—1492. Various attempts have been made to read a symbolic meaning into these gestures, as may be seen in the articles here cited. A new, but not very probable, notion was started at Oxford in 1908 by my friend Dr J. Rendel Harris, who concluded an important address on 'Some points in the Cult of the Heavenly Twins' by suggesting—to the manifest alarm of a French ecclesiastic in the front row—'that the episcopal benediction with two fingers was originally a prayer that those blessed might have twin children' (*Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 176). Possibly both the Greek and the Latin forms of benediction may prove to have been but variants of the prophylactic gesture known all round the northern shores of the Mediterranean as 'the fig': if so, it was once sexual in character, the thumb perhaps representing the *phallós* and the fingers the *kteís* (*vide* my paper on 'CYKOΦANTHC' in the *Class. Rev.* 1907 xxi. 133—136. The view there taken had been in part at least anticipated by C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 p. 103 n. 1 (S. Reinach in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1906 xix. 342 n. 2 (*id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1908 iii. 98 n. 4) objects: 'Je ne crois pas qu'un Grec eût employé φαίνειν dans le sens d' "exhiber" une partie du corps.' But cp. the words φαινομηρίς and παραφαίνειν, ὑποφαίνειν as used in the passages collected *supra* p. 223 n. 6). Similar conclusions were reached independently by V. Riffer 'Συκοφάντης' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1912 xxx. 388—390: 'Diese Gebärde stellt bekanntlich die weibliche Scham dar, und soll ursprünglich in den Dämonen das sie abschreckende Gefühl des Abscheus hervorrufen, um sie auf diese Weise von den Menschen abzuwehren.' Cp. also S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 ii. 184 ff., Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 924. For rival hypotheses see M. Bréal in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1906 p. 740 (συκοφάντης is a mere insult=the ἱεροφάντης of nothing at all), S. Reinach 'Sycophantes' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1906 xix. 335—358 (*id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1908 iii. 93—118) (just as the ἱεροφάντης exhibited an ear of corn to the initiates of Eleusis, so we may assume that an official called the συκοφάντης exhibited a fig in the mysteries of the Phytalidai at Ἱερὰ Συκῆ, where Demeter had once revealed (ἔφηνεν) the fig to Phytalos: such an official would doubtless have the right to exclude undesirables from his audience—hence the transition to συκοφαντεῖν in its usual meaning: close at hand was the ancient altar of Zeus Μειλίχιος, 'god of the Fig' (μείλιχον), at which Theseus had been purified perhaps with fig-juice, by the Phytalidai—an attractive combination, which however L. R. Farnell in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1907* p. 62 f. is too cautious to accept. I have discussed it further *infra* Append. M), W. R. Paton 'The Pharmakoi and the Story of the Fall' in the *Rev.*

(δ) *Pápas* and *Áttis*.

The same relation of the Phrygian Son-god to the Phrygian Father-god is implied in the cult of Attis. Michael Konstantinos Psellos, the most famous Byzantine scholar of the eleventh century (1018—1078 A.D.)[1], boldly asserts that *Átis* in the language of Phrygia meant 'Zeus[2]'—an assertion based on the Demosthenic evidence for Attis as a rain-god[3]. More weight must be attached to the fact that Attis, like Zeus, bore the title *Pápas* or *Papâs*[4]—a

Arch. 1907 i. 51—57 (*ib.* p. 52 n. 1 in support of S. Reinach: 'I believe we both ventured the conjecture that there were at some time rival mysteries to those of Eleusis in which the hierophant, instead of solemnly exhibiting an ear of corn, as the Eleusinian hierophant did, exhibited a fig, and was described by the devotees of Eleusis, not as a ἱεροφάντης, but as a συκοφάντης (with an allusion, no doubt, to the improper meaning of σῦκον=*pudendum muliebre*, a meaning which still survives in Turkey).'), P. Girard 'Quelques réflexions sur le sens du mot *sycophante*' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1907 xx. 143—163 (ἱεροφάντης, on the analogy of ἱεροκῆρυξ, is taken to mean '*apparition sacrée*': so συκοφάντης must have meant '*celui qui paraissait dans le figuier, en train de voler des figues*'!)).

[1] K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)*[2] München 1897 p. 433 ff., Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*[2] Cambridge 1906 i. 412 ff.

[2] *Supra* i. 399 n. 3.

[3] Dem. *de cor.* 260 ὑῆς ἄττης ἄττης ὑῆς, *supra* i. 392 n. 4. See also Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 37 cited *supra* i. 392 n. 5 (end of second paragraph).

[4] *Supra* i. 399 n. 3. P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 pp. 334, 344 f., followed by H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 p. 208 n. 7, prefers to accentuate Παπᾶς.

With Zeus Πάπας or Παπᾶς of Bithynia (Arrian. *frag.* 30 cited *supra* i. 399 n. 3) and Phrygia (Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884 v. 260 no. 12 on a small *stêle* of common stone found in a field near Nakoleia Δάδα Καν|κάρου Νουνά|δος Οὐεκρο-κ|ωμήτισσα | Διὶ Παπᾷ | εὐχήν 'Probably Dada was daughter of Kankaros Nounas, who had according to Phrygian custom two names, and her native village was Vekrokome,' cp. *id. ib.* 1884 v. 257 f. no. 8 on a similar *stêle* found in the same place Οὐλπία Σά|βις Παπᾷ εὐχή|ν 'I copied the inscriptions from six similar stelai, all found in the same field: the owner said that the ground around was full of them. They are all evidently grave-stones of common people: the top is ornamented in the style of a pediment, and there is a plain pedestal ending in a projecting spike to stick in the ground. The one which is here published differed from the others in having a representation of the god on it: the god is apparently intended to be androgynous, like the Carian Zeus, but in such rude work, the point can hardly be asserted positively,' A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1897 xxii. 32 no. 8 on the marble pediment of a small *stêle* from Bejad Ἀρτέμων Πάπα: Körte regards all these *stêlai* as votive rather than funerary; they may well be both) and Zeus Παπίας of Dorylaeion (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 3817 on the road from *Eskishehir* to *Syed-Guz* or *Seid-el-Ghazi* Δημᾶς καὶ | Γάϊος ὑπὲρ | βοῶν ἰδίων Πα|πίᾳ Διὶ Σωτῆ|ρι εὐχὴν καὶ | Ἡρακλῇ ἀνικ|ήτ[ῳ]) we must group Zeus Παππῶος of Prousa ad Olympum (A. von Domaszewski in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1883 vii. 174 f. no. 17 on a white marble altar now used as base of a wooden pillar in the mosque at *Ermeni Bazardshik* [Ἀγαθῇ] τύχῃ | Διὶ Παππώω κα|τὰ ἐπιταγὴν ο[ἱ σ]υνγενῖς ἀνέσ|τησαν ἱερήων | ..... | ....Ἀπολλ.... | κ.τ.λ. in the earth: P. Kretschmer *Einleitung* etc. pp. 199, 241 f. renders Παππῶος by 'Vater,' but *ib.* p. 242 n. 1 suggests that the word may be an ethnic), Zeus Παπαῖος of Skythia (Hdt. 4. 59 θεοὺς μὲν μούνους τούσδε ἱλάσκονται, Ἱστίην μὲν μάλιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ Δία καὶ Γῆν, νομίζοντες τὴν Γῆν τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι γυναῖκα, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ἀπόλλωνά τε καὶ Οὐρανίην Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ἄρεα. τούτους μὲν πάντες Σκύθαι νενομίκασι, οἱ δὲ καλεόμενοι

sobriquet strictly comparable with our 'Papa[1].' Indeed, the term *Áttis* itself, as A. Fick proved in 1873[2], was just a pet-name for 'Father.' Now it is not a little remarkable that a youthful god, who stood to Kybele in the same relation as Adonis to Aphrodite[3], should have been thus habitually saluted in a tone of affectionate familiarity as 'Daddy[4].' The paradox ceases to be paradoxical, if

βασιλήιοι Σκύθαι καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέωνι θύουσι. ὀνομάζεται δὲ Σκυθιστὶ (on these names consult H. Hirt *Die Indogermanen* Strassburg 1907 ii. 587, E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 85 f.) Ἰστίη μὲν Ταβιτί, Ζεὺς δὲ ὀρθότατα κατὰ γνώμην γε τὴν ἐμὴν καλεόμενος Παπαῖος, Γῆ δὲ Ἀπία (with variant Ἀπί), Ἀπόλλων δὲ Οἰτόσυρος (Orig. *c. Cels.* 6. 39 thrice quotes Celsus as reading Γογγόσυρον, cp. Hesych. Γοιτόσυρον· τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα. Σκύθαι), Οὐρανίη δὲ Ἀφροδίτη Ἀρτίμπασα (with variants Ἀρίππασα, Ἀργίμπασα, cp. Orig. *c. Cels.* 6. 39 quoting Ἀργίμπασαν as read here by Celsus, Hesych. Ἀρτιμήασαν· Οὐρανίαν Ἀφροδίτην, ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν. See further Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 111, *id. Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1363 n. 3, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1454), Ποσειδέων δὲ Θαμιμασάδας (with many variants: Orig. *c. Cels.* 6. 39 gives Θαγιμάσαδα as Celsus' reading). ἀγάλματα δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ νηοὺς οὐ νομίζουσι ποιέειν πλὴν Ἄρεϊ· τούτῳ δὲ νομίζουσι, Orig. *c. Cels.* 5. 41 quoting Celsus "οὐδὲν οὖν οἶμαι διαφέρειν Δία Ὕψιστον καλεῖν ἢ Ζῆνα ἢ Ἀδωναῖον ἢ Σαβαὼθ ἢ Ἀμοῦν, ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι, ἢ Παπαῖον, ὡς Σκύθαι," 5. 45 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ Κέλσος οἴεται μηδὲν διαφέρειν Δία Ὕψιστον καλεῖν ἢ Ζῆνα ἢ Ἀδωναῖον ἢ Σαβαὼθ ἤ, ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι, Ἀμοῦν ἤ, ὡς Σκύθαι, Παπαῖον, φέρε κ.τ.λ., 5. 46 λεγέτωσαν δὲ καὶ Σκύθαι τὸν Παπαῖον θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν· ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οὐ πεισόμεθα, τιθέντες μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεόν, ὡς δὲ φίλον τῷ λαχόντι τὴν Σκυθῶν ἐρημίαν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν διάλεκτον οὐκ ὀνομάζοντες τὸν θεὸν ὡς κυρίῳ ὀνόματι τῷ Παπαῖον, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 565, 6 ὁμοίως καὶ Ἡροδότου τὸ καλεῖται Ζεὺς ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν ὀρθότατα Παπαῖος. C. Müller in his note on Anon. *per. pont. Eux.* 13 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 405 Müller) says of the Bithynian river Παπάνιος: 'Num forte nomen hoc a πάπα, Bithynico Jovis nomine, repetendum?' —a view adopted by W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 ii. 1129, but rightly queried by O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1559) and probably also the πόποι of the Scythians (*et. mag.* p. 823, 31 f. οἱ γὰρ Σκύθαι, ἀγάλματα τινὰ ἔχοντες ὑπόγαια (ὑπόγεα V.) τῶν θεῶν, πόπους αὐτὰ (αὐτοὺς V.) καλοῦσιν =*et. Gud.* p. 580, 4 ff. οἱ γὰρ Σκῦθαι (*sic*) ἀγάλματά τινα ἔχοντες ὑπόγεα τῶν θεῶν πόπους αὐτὰ καλοῦσιν, Herodian. περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας 7 (i. 187, 24 f. Lentz) πόπος· Σκύθαι γὰρ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀγαλμάτια πόπους καλοῦσι cited by Theognost. *can.* p. 158, 14 ff. Σκύθαι γὰρ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀγάλματα πόπους καλοῦσι, καθὼς Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῇ καθόλου—an extract printed in Bekker *anecd.* iii. 1433) and Dryopians (Plout. *de aud. poem.* 6 Δρύοπες δὲ πόπους τοὺς δαίμονας, schol. E *Od.* 1. 32 πόποι οἱ θεοὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Δρυόπων φωνήν· καὶ ἐπίρρημα ἀντὶ τοῦ φεῦ, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 943 πόποι οἱ θεοί, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ὦ πόποι τινὲς ὦ θεοὶ ἤκουσαν παρ' Ὁμήρῳ. ἡ δὲ λέξις Δρυόπων. See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2759 f., E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. xxxviii).

[1] See J. C. E. Buschmann 'Über den Naturlaut' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1852* Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 391—424, E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*[3] London 1891 i. 223 ff., P. Kretschmer *Einleitung* etc. pp. 200, 334 ff.

[2] A. Fick *Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas* Göttingen 1873 p. 414 f. Cp. P. Kretschmer *Einleitung* etc. p. 355, who does not mention Fick, and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1548 n. 7, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 281 n. 1, who follow Kretschmer. I hit upon the same (rather obvious) explanation independently in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 79, *supra* i. 399 n. 3.

[3] See *e.g.* H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 p. 123 ff., H. Graillot *Le culte de Cybèle mère des dieux à Rome et dans l'empire romain* Paris 1912 p. 208 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 261 ff.

[4] The simplest nursery-names for 'father' and 'mother' used by the ancients were

we assume—as, I think, we must—that *Áttis* was but *Pápas* reborn. After all, the Phrygians were not alone in the belief that a son may be the rebirth of his own father. This has been the faith of numerous tribes in all five continents[1]. And readers of Samuel Butler's *Life and Habit* are aware that analogous views can still be held by sane men.

(ε) The Mother-goddess and her *páredros*.

The Phrygian conception of the Son as the Father reborn throws light upon a variety of religious problems. It helps us to understand that otherwise perplexing aspect of old Anatolian worship, the association of the Mother-goddess with a youthful *páredros*, who is at once her consort and her child[2]. This is seen to involve no sanctioning of an essentially illicit union, but rather—at least in original intention—a primitive view of normal relations between father, mother, and son. Accordingly in the dactylic and spondaic lines quoted by Hippolytos (*c.* 235 A.D.)[3] from a Naassene source (*c.* 200 A.D.)[4], but composed at some earlier date, perhaps under Hadrian, for a citharodic performance in the theatre[5], Attis is equated with such divinities as Adonis, Osiris, Dionysos, and the like. The first fragment is as follows:

Blest son of Kronos, or of Zeus,
Or mighty Rhea, hail!
Attis (sad name for Rhea's use),
Whom weeping Syrians wail

πᾶς (πᾶ?) and μᾶ (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vi. 187 D f., H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum*[2] Lugduni Batavorum 1910 ii. 907 f., 1082, 1100). Even these childish vocables made their way into the language of religion. The former seems to have occurred in the hymn of the Salii (in Fest. p. 205 *a* 11 f. Müller, p. 222, 22 f. Lindsay pa pro parte, et po pro potissimum positum est in Saliari carmine L. C. Valckenaer corr. *patre*—a reading accepted by C. O. Müller and by R. Kühner—F. Holzweissig *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*[2] Hannover 1912 i. 196): the latter became the name of the great mother-goddess of Asia Minor (W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2215 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1527, 1548, *alib.*, *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 557). Both are found in Aisch. *suppl.* 890 ff. = 899 ff. μᾶ Γᾶ, μᾶ Γᾶ,... | ...ὦ βᾶ, Γᾶς παῖ, Ζεῦ with schol. ὦ πάτερ Ζεῦ, Γῆς παῖ, whence L. C. Valckenaer cj. ὦ παῖ Γᾶς, πᾶ Ζεῦ, C. A. Lobeck ὦ μᾶ γᾶ, πᾶ Ζεῦ, H. L. Ahrens (*infra* § 3 (c) i (η)) ὦ Βαγαῖε Μαζεῦ or ὦ Βαγαῖε πᾶ Ζεῦ.

[1] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 104 (Lower Congo), *ib.*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 91 f. (Lower Congo), A. E. Crawley *The Idea of the Soul* London 1909 p. 233 ff., and especially E. S. Hartland *Primitive Paternity* London 1909 i. 195—199 (Maidu of California, ancient Irish, Indian Aryans, Egyptians, Kulin tribe of S.E. Australia, ancient Scandinavians). Cf. *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 293 (ancient Italians).

[2] *Supra* i. 645 with n. 12, 648.

[3] G. Salmon in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iii. 93 ff., H. Lietzmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1874 f.

[4] F. Legge *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* Cambridge 1915 ii. 11 f., 26 n. 5.

[5] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 329.

As lost Adonis; Egypt's eyes
Have her Osiris seen;
Hellenic sages recognise
The heavenly horn of Men;

In thee the Samothracians chant
Adamna's[1] sanctity;
Haemonians find their Corybant;
'Papas' the Phrygians cry,

Now dead, now deity ycleped,
Fruitless and all forlorn,
A goatherd, or a green ear reaped[2],
A piper almond-born[3].

[1] Hesych. *ἀδαμνεῖν· τὸ φιλεῖν. καὶ Φρύγες τὸν φίλον Ἀδάμνα λέγουσιν.* I suspect connexion with the nursery-names Ἄδα, Ἄδας, etc. (P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 337 f.). If so, Ἄδαμνα meant 'Fatherly One' (suffix *-μν-* as in *ἀθέλιμνοι, ἀπάλαμνος, νώνυμνος*, etc.)—a doublet of Ἄττις (*supra* p. 293). A. Fick *Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas* Göttingen 1873 p. 416, misled by P. de Lagarde and F. Müller, says 'eranisches Lehnwort.'

[2] Hippolytos has already compared the crowning rite at Eleusis, the exhibition to the mystics of a corn-ear reaped in silence (*ref. haeres.* 5. 8 p. 162 Duncker—Schneidewin *λέγουσι δὲ αὐτόν, φησί, Φρύγες καὶ "χλοερὸν στάχυν τεθερισμένον," καὶ μετὰ τοὺς Φρύγας Ἀθηναῖοι μυοῦντες Ἐλευσίνια καὶ ἐπιδεικνύντες τοῖς ἐποπτεύουσι τὸ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ τελειότατον ἐποπτικὸν ἐκεῖ μυστήριον ἐν σιωπῇ τεθερισμένον στάχυν*). This corn-ear probably represented Kore, Demeter and her daughter being the Corn-mother and the Corn-maiden of the Eleusinian harvest-field (*supra* i. 397 n. 4 pl. xxviii). It is even possible that the identification of Kore with the young corn may help to clear up the obscurity which still surrounds the name Περσεφόνη. L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1286 ff. and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1181 n. 6 collect the extant forms. Gruppe emphasises the following points: (*a*) The first half of the compound, to judge from such vase-inscriptions as Περ(ρ)όφατ(τ)α (P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 pp. 122, 178), was probably not verbal. If an adverb **πέρσε* be assumed, Περσέ-φασσα, Περ(ρ)όφατ(τ)α, etc. might be related to it as Τηλέ-μαχος, Τηλο-κλῆς, etc. to τῆλε. (*b*) The second half of the compound cannot be directly derived from *φαίνω*. But Περσέ-φασσα may be formed like Τηλέ-φασσα for Τηλε-φάεσσα; in which case Περσε-φόνη might be a hypocoristic name. The *crux*, then, is to devise a suitable meaning for **πέρσε*. And the matter is complicated by the Laconian forms Πηρεφόνεια (Hesych. *s.v.*), .]ERIΦONAI (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 631 Lokroi Epizephyrioi). With all diffidence I suggest the root of *σπείρω, σπέρμα*, which appears with loss of initial *σ* in *πρώξ, περκνός*, etc. and with determinative *s* as *parš-* for **spere-s-* in Old Indian *pṛ́šan, pṛ́šat*, etc. (see Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 728 f.). On this showing Περσε- would be cognate with our word *spring* and Περσέφασσα, Περσεφόνη, could mean 'She that appears in Spring.' Cp. Orph. *h. Phers.* 29. 12 f. *εἰαρινὴ... | ἱερὸν ἐκφαίνουσα δέμας βλαστοῖς χλοοκάρποις.*

Be that as it may, it is clear that in Phrygia Attis was sometimes identified with the young corn (Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 279). Possibly the Phrygian Zeus stood in a similar relation to the old corn, for he bore the title *πολύσταχυς* (Hesych. *Βαγαῖος·...ἢ Ζεὺς Φρύγιος. μέγας. πολύς, ταχύς*, where W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2552 convincingly (O. Höfer *ib.* iii. 1560) restored *μέγας πολύσταχυς*). The Phrygian Lityerses, the Bithynian Bormos, etc. were analogous figures: see the highly important chapter on 'Lityerses' by Sir James Frazer (*Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 214 ff.). Attis was variously interpreted by late writers: he is the ripe corn cut by the reaper (Firm. Mat. 3), or more often the short-lived flowers of spring contrasted with Adonis as the maturer crops (Porph. *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 11. 12, 3. 13. 14, and *ap.*

The second fragment runs thus:

> Attis, Rhea's son, I'll sing,
> Not with blare of trumpeting,
> Nor with flute Kouretes shrill
> Up the steep of Ide's hill,
> Nay, but Phoibos' lyric muse
> I must mingle and confuse,
> Crying still *Euoî Euán*,
> For our god's a very Pan,
> He's a Bakchos, he's a swain
> Shepherding the white stars' train[4].

Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 25, cp. Sallustius *περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου* 4, Amm. Marc. 19. 1. 11, 22. 9. 15, 'Sosicles Atticus' *ap.* Fulgent. *myth.* 3. 5, Remigius *ap.* Myth. Vat. 3. 2. 4).

Some of the multiple corn-ears figured on coins of Bithynia, Kappadokia, Lydia, Phrygia, etc. (*e.g.* Anson *Num. Gr.* iii. 124 ff. nos. 1292–1313 pl. 23 f.) may be meant for ceremonial sheaves.

[3] *Infra* Append. B Galatia.

[4] Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 9 pp. 168, 170 Duncker—Schneidewin *τοιγαροῦν, φησίν, ἐπὰν συνελθὼν* (Wilamowitz cj. *συνέλθῃ* or perhaps *συνέλθωσι*) *ὁ δῆμος ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις εἰσίῃ* (*εἰσίοι* cod. C. Wilamowitz cj. *εἴσεισι*) *τις ἠμφιεσμένος στολὴν ἔξαλλον, κιθάραν φέρων καὶ ψάλλων, οὕτως* (Wilamowitz cj. *οὗτος*) *λέγει ᾄδων τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια οὐκ εἰδὼς ἃ λέγει· "Εἴτε Κρόνου γένος, εἴτε Διὸς μάκαρος* (Bergk cj. *μάκαρ*), *εἴτε Ῥέας μεγάλης, χαῖρε, τὸ κατηφὲς ἄκουσμα* (G. Hermann cj. *ἄκρισμα*) *Ῥέας, Ἄττι* (Bergk cj. *Ἄττη*)· *σὲ καλοῦσι μὲν Ἀσσύριοι τριπόθητον Ἄδωνιν, ὅλη* (Roeper cj. *καλεῖ*) *δ' Αἴγυπτος Ὄσιριν, ἐπουράνιον Μηνὸς κέρας Ἕλληνες σοφίαν* (Wilamowitz cj. *Ἕλληνος σοφία*), *Σαμοθρᾷκες* (Wilamowitz cj. *Σαμόθρᾳκες*) *Ἄδαμνα* (so Bergk for *Ἀδὰμ* cod. C.) *σεβάσμιον, Αἰμόνιοι* (*Αἰμόνιοι* cod. C. Schneidewin cj. *Μαιόνιοι*, Bergk *Ἀκμόνιοι*) *Κορύβαντα, καὶ οἱ Φρύγες ἄλλοτε μὲν Πάπαν, ποτὲ δὲ νέκυν, ἢ θεόν, ἢ ὃν πολύκαρπος ἔτικτεν ἀμύγδαλος ἀνέρα συρικτάν." τοῦτον φησὶν εἶναι <τὸν> πολύμορφον Ἄττιν, ὃν ὑμνοῦντες λέγουσιν οὕτως· "Ἄττιν ὑμνήσω τὸν Ῥείης, οὐ κωδώνων* (so Schneidewin for *ὠδινῶν* cod. C.) *σὺν βόμβοις* (so Schneidewin for *συμβόμβοις* cod. C.), *οὐδ' αὐλῶν* (Wilamowitz cj. *αὐλῷ*) *Ἰδαίων Κουρήτων μυκητᾷ* (so Wilamowitz for *μύκητα* cod. C.), *ἀλλ' εἰς* (so Schneidewin for *οἷς* cod. C.) *Φοιβείαν μίξω μοῦσαν φορμίγγων, εὐοῖ, εὐάν* (so Schneidewin for *εὐὼν* cod. C.), *ὡς Πάν, ὡς Βακχεύς, ὡς ποιμὴν λευκῶν ἄστρων." διὰ τούτους καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους παρεδρεύουσιν οὗτοι τοῖς λεγομένοις Μητρὸς μεγάλης μυστηρίοις, κ.τ.λ.*

These important excerpts have been variously handled: see F. G. Schneidewin 'Hymnorum in Attin fragmenta inedita' in *Philologus* 1848 iii. 247–266, G. Hermann in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1849 pp. 1–5, F. G. Schneidewin in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1852 p. 101 ff., *Poet. lyr. Gr.* iii. 685–687 Bergk[4], W. Froehner *Mélanges d'Epigraphie et d'Archéologie* Paris 1873 i. 49 ff., U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 328–331, H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 pp. 34–36. Schneidewin took the first fragment to be written in dactylic and anapaestic measures. Hermann completed it as a set of hexameters. Bergk printed it as eight anapaestic lines followed by six dactylic tetrameters. Wilamowitz restores it as thirteen dactylic tetrameters, viz.: *Εἴτε Κρόνου γένος, εἴτε Διὸς μάκαρ, | εἴτε Ῥέας μεγάλας, χαῖρ(ε) <ὦ> τὸ κα|τηφὲς ἄκουσμα Ῥέας Ἄττι· σὲ κα|λοῦσι μὲν Ἀσσύριοι τριπόθητον Ἄ|δωνιν, ὅλη δ' Αἴγυπτος Ὄσιριν, ἐπ|ουράνιον Μηνὸς κέρας Ἑλλη|νος σοφία, Σαμόθραικες Ἄδαμνα σε|βάσμιον, Αἰμόνιοι Κορύβαντα, καὶ | οἱ Φρύγες ἄλλοτε μὲν Πάπαν, ποτὲ | δ(ὲ) <αὖ> νέκυν ἢ θεὸν ἢ τὸν ἄκαρπον ἢ | αἰπόλον ἢ χλοερὸν στάχυν ἀμη|θέντ(α) ἢ <τ>ὸν πολύκαρπος ἔτικτεν ἀ|μύγδαλος ἀνέρα συρικτάν...* (I should prefer to spell Ἄττης and Παππᾶς: see P. Kretschmer *Einleitung* etc. pp. 350, 345). Schneidewin, followed by Bergk, prints the second fragment as eight spondaic

Syncretism of this sort can be illustrated by a marble statue of Hadrianic date (fig. 189)[1] found during the winter of 1867—1868 in the hall of the Dendrophori[2] adjoining the Metroion at Ostia[3] and now preserved in the Lateran Museum at Rome[4]. Attis, a youth



Fig. 189.

of markedly feminine type, is reclining on a rock, whose hard surface is softened by the spread of his mantle. His left arm is propped on a bust of Zeus[5]. His left hand, with a ring on the ring-finger, holds a *lagobólon*; his right, a bunch of corn, fruit, and

lines (two catalectic dimeters, two tripodies, four catalectic dimeters); Wilamowitz, as ten spondaic lines (a dimeter, a catalectic dimeter, four catalectic monometers, four catalectic dimeters), viz.: Ἄττιν ὑμνήσω τὸν Ῥείης | οὐ κωδώνων σὺμ βόμβοις, | οὐκ αὐλῶι | Ἰδαίων | Κουρήτων | μυκηταῖι, | ἀλλ' εἰς Φοιβείαν μίξω | μοῦσαν φορμίγγων· εὐοῖ, | εὐάν, ὡς Πάν, ὡς Βακχεύς, | ὡς ποιμὴν λευκῶν ἄστρων. (I should again spell the name of Ἄττης with *η*, not *ῑ*.)

[1] C. L. Visconti in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 224 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 8ª, 2 (=my fig. 189), A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 727, P. Decharme in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1688 fig. 2248, F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2251, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 472 no. 6. The inscription (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 38, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4115) is: Numini Attis C. Cartilius Euplus ex monitu deae. Length of marble 1·60ᵐ.

[2] On the Dendrophori of Italy and the Latin provinces see F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 216 ff. and the literature there cited.

[3] C. L. Visconti in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1868 xl. 362 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 60; *id.* in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 208 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pls. 8 and 8ª.

[4] W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*³ Leipzig 1913 ii. 51 f. no. 1236.

[5] C. L. Visconti in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 235: 'Giove Ideo'—a plausible suggestion.

flowers. His head, twined with a garland of pine-cones, almonds, pomegranates, poppy-heads, and flowers, wears a Phrygian cap, which is encircled below by five rays (restored in their ancient holes) and embellished above by a crescent moon and two upstanding ears of corn. The whole figure with its air of pensive melancholy, not to say unmanly slackness, aptly embodies the Graeco-Roman conception of Attis. Particular traits and adjuncts recall other deities. The crescent is that of Men. The hair, with its long side-curls and a ribbon across the brow, is reminiscent of

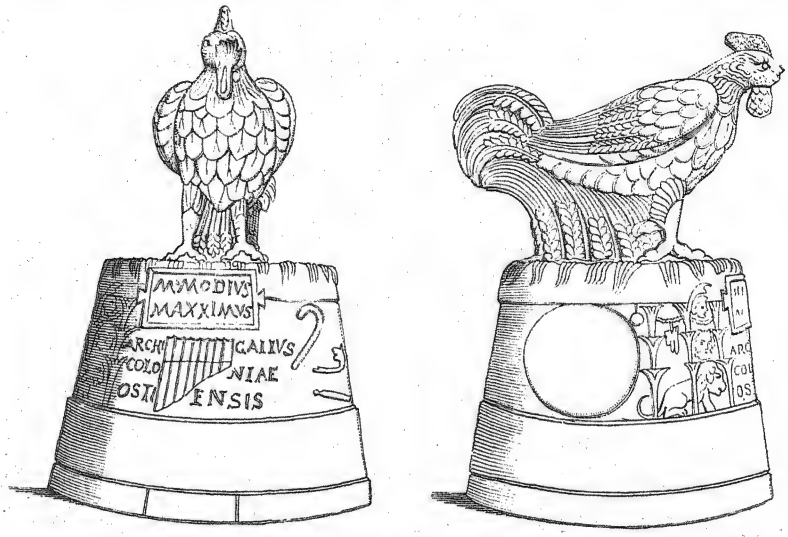


Fig. 190.

Dionysos. The attitude of graceful repose would suit Adonis[1]. And, lest the lines should degenerate into weakness, we have a rigid framework formed by the bearded bust and the underlying rock—a reminder that Attis after all was akin to the great powers of nature, Zeus and Kybele, the sky-father and the mountain-mother.

Zeus, as husband of Kybele[2], appears on other monuments of the same cult. From the Metroion at Ostia came also a votive marble basket (fig. 190)[3], the lid of which has a handle shaped like a cock in obvious reference to the *Gallus* or emasculated priest of

[1] Cp. Theokr. 15. 84 ff., 127 ff.

[2] Ioul. *or.* 5 p. 166 A f. *τίς οὖν ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν;...ἡ καὶ τεκοῦσα καὶ συνοικοῦσα τῷ μεγάλῳ Διὶ θεὸς ὑποστᾶσα μεγάλη μετὰ τὸν μέγαν καὶ σὺν τῷ μεγάλῳ δημιουργῷ, ἡ πάσης μὲν κυρία ζωῆς, πάσης δὲ γενέσεως αἰτία, ἡ ῥᾷστα μὲν ἐπιτελοῦσα τὰ ποιούμενα, γεννῶσα δὲ δίχα πάθους καὶ δημιουργοῦσα τὰ ὄντα μετὰ τοῦ πατρός· αὕτη καὶ παρθένος ἀμήτωρ καὶ Διὸς σύνθωκος καὶ μήτηρ θεῶν ὄντως οὖσα πάντων.*

[3] C. L. Visconti in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 240 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 8[a], 1[a], 1[b] (=my fig. 190), P. Decharme in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1688 fig. 2249, Frazer

the goddess. The rest of the lid is covered with corn-ears, which fall outwards from the centre: the cock's tail is formed by some of them[1] and supported by others. On the front of the basket is inscribed 'M. Modius Maximus, Archigallus of the colony of Ostia[2].' The latter part of the inscription is grouped about pan-pipes, and round it are disposed other tokens of the cult; to the right, a *lagobólon*, a pipe, a flute (?); to the left, a timbrel and a bed of reeds[3], among which are seen the head of Attis, the head of Zeus, the lion of Kybele, etc. This curious relic seems to have been a corn-measure or *modius* dedicated by the chief-priest, presumably because his own name happened to be *Modius*. Sir James Frazer supposes that it contained the priest's ashes[4]. But, arguing from the analogy of the Cabiric basket[5], I should surmise that it was the receptacle for the genitals of which, in accordance with the Phrygian rite (fig. 191)[6], the Archigallus had deprived himself[7]. Votaries of Kybele, Zeus, and Attis were wont to wear effigies of the gods that they served[8]. A statue brought from



Fig. 191.

Golden Bough[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 279 (who notes that the 'urn' is in the Lateran Museum, no. 1046).

[1] Cp. the tail of the Mithraic bull (*supra* i. 518), which ends in three corn-ears.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 385=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4162 M. Modius Maxximus (*sic*) | archi|gallus | colo|niae | Osti|ensis (Dessau reads *Ostiens.* But see fig. 190).

[3] H. Dessau *loc. cit.* says 'arbores.' But C. L. Visconti *loc. cit.* and H. Graillot *Le culte de Cybèle Mère des dieux à Rome et dans l'empire romain* Paris 1912 p. 117 n. 2 rightly connect the reeds with the Cannophori (F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1484 f.) and their festival known as *canna intrat* on March 15 (Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 321).

[4] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 279.

[5] *Supra* i. 107 f. See now an interesting article by E. M. W. Tillyard 'A Cybele altar in London' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1917 vii. 284 ff. pl. 8.

[6] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 301 pl. 11, 16 (=my fig. 191) a bronze contorniate: obv. IMP·CAES·VESPASIAN·AVG·COS·III· Head of Vespasian, laureate, to right; rev. A *Gallus*, nude, castrating himself with a knife before an altar (?), or into a round receptacle (??), set on or in the ground: behind him, his Phrygian cap. On the age and purpose of such contorniates see Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* i. 1. 689 ff., B. Pick in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1153—1160, F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i 1485—1488, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 271 ff. (*ib.* p. 94).

[7] Cp. the case of Kombabos (*supra* i. 591 n. 2). H. Graillot *op. cit.* pp. 134 n. 7, 179 n. 4 takes the same view, quoting Apul. *met.* 11. 11, Paulin. Nol. 19. 186, *poem. ult.* 79 ff. (lxi. 525 A and 699 A Migne).

[8] Hdt. 4. 76, Polyb. 21. 6. 7, 21. 37. 6, Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 19, cp. Cornut. *theol.* 6 p. 6, 8 f. Lang.

Rome to Paris, and subsequently published by Montfaucon, represents a priest wearing on his breast two medallions and an *aedicula* (fig. 192)[1]: the medallions display two busts of Attis; the *aedicula* has Kybele with mural crown and timbrel standing between Iupiter (thunderbolt, spear) and Mercurius (*caduceus*), the gable being occupied by a reclining figure of Attis (cap, *lagobólon*). A relief, found in 1736 between Civita Lavinia and Genzano and now in the Palazzo dei



Fig. 192.

Conservatori at Rome[2], shows (fig. 193)[3] a priest of effeminate aspect wearing a long-sleeved *chitón* and a *himátion* drawn like a veil over his head. He has ear-rings, fillets, and a necklace. In his right hand is a pomegranate and three pomegranate (?)-twigs; in his left hand a shell-shaped bowl of fruit including a fir-cone and almonds. A whip of triple lash strung with knuckle-bones hangs over his shoulder. And beside him are suspended a pair of cymbals, a timbrel, a pipe, a flute, and a basket or *kíste* containing his severed

[1] Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 6f. pl. 3 no. 9 statue (*minus* head and arms) belonging to M. Foucault. My fig. 192 reproduces the upper part of the figure only.

[2] W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 566 no. 987.

[3] G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti* Roma 1821 ii. 7 ff. pl. 8, P. Righetti *Descrizione del Campidoglio* Roma 1833 i. 131 f. pl. 130 (=my fig. 193), Baumeister *Denkm.* ii. 801 f. fig. 867, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 207 no. 1, H. Graillot *Le culte de Cybèle Mère des dieux à Rome et dans l'empire romain* Paris 1912 p. 236 ff.

genitals. Finally, he bears on his breast an *aedicula* with a half-length figure of Attis, and on his head a bay-wreath of gold (?) adorned with three medallions[1] representing a bust of Zeus between



Fig. 193.

two busts of Attis, while both ends of his whip-handle exhibit the same bearded head of Zeus. A pendant to this relief is furnished by another, formerly in the Villa Mattei and now in the Vatican (fig. 194)[2], which portrays Laberia Felicla, chief priestess of

[1] A broken diadem in gilt bronze, which came from Rome to Berlin, shows a bay-wreath decorated with two medallions (busts of Kybele and Attis) with a rosette between them (A. Furtwängler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii Arch. Anz. p. 111). On such diadems see *supra* i. 22, cp. i. 354, and *Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 364 nos. 3044, 3045 pl. 70.

[2] Visconti *Mus. Pie-Clém.* vii. 107 ff. pl. 18 (=my fig. 194), Baumeister *Denkm.* ii. 802 fig. 868, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 410 no. 3, Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* ii. 614 f. no. 403 pl. 58. Height 1·04^{m}, breadth 0·74^{m}. Fine-grained, light grey marble. Restored: upper part of scallop, head and neck, part of left breast, left hand with wreath and parts of garland, right lower arm with hand and *patera*.

Kybele[1]. Set against the background of a great scallop-shell, a *motif* appropriate to a Mother-goddess[2], we see Laberia pouring a libation, not, as we might have expected, to Kybele, but to Zeus. The small



Fig. 194.

altar decorated with a festooned eagle, the garland of bay-leaves[3] hanging from the left hand of the priestess, the bearded head slung between her breasts, all proclaim the essential relation of the Mother-goddess to the Father-god.

[1] The inscription (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 2257 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4160) runs: Laberia Felicla | sacerdos maxima | Matris deum m(agnae) I(daeae).

[2] See L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1870—1871 p. 17 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1349 f., S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 ii. 126 f., 204 ff., *alib.*, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 560 f. The symbolism rests on the resemblance of the shell to the womb: the Greeks spoke of the scallop as *κτείς* or *κτένιον* (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 2028 A—C).

[3] So Amelung *loc. cit.* Baumeister *loc. cit.* says 'Eichenzweig,' Dessau *loc. cit.* 'coronam quernam.' Apparently a trail of bay-leaves has been wrongly restored as a wreath of oak.

(ξ) Attis in relation to Christianity.

The cult of Attis had points of contact with Christianity itself. A Father manifesting himself anew in the person of his Son, a Son bearing the name of his Father,—such beliefs naturally predisposed men to faith in that Son whom the Father sent to be 'the effulgence of his glory, and the very image of his substance[1].' Outward ceremonies and inward doctrines alike lent themselves to this end. The rites of Attis, apart from certain crudities, might almost have passed for Christian usage—witness the body of the divine Son affixed to the pine-tree[2], the lamentation over his prostrate form, the sudden

[1] Hebrews i. 3.

[2] At the festival of the vernal equinox (March 22) known as *arbor intrat* (H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 p. 149 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 267 f.). Firmicus Maternus (*c.* 347 A.D.), who alone mentions the effigy fastened to the tree, already cites parallels (Firm. Mat. 27. 1 f. in sacris Frygiis, quae matris deum dicunt, per annos singulos arbor pinea caeditur et in media arbore simulacrum iuvenis subligatur. in Isiacis sacris de pinea arbore caeditur truncus, huius trunci media pars subtiliter excavatur: illic (so F. Oehler for *illis* cod. P.) de segminibus (so Wowerius for *seminibus* cod. P.) factum idolum Osiridis sepelitur (cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 8, 16, 18, 21, 42). in Proserpinae sacris caesa arbor in effigiem virginis formamque componitur et cum intra civitatem fuerit inlata, quadraginta noctibus plangitur, quadragesima vero nocte comburitur). The same method of comparative study has been followed with conspicuous success by W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldculte*[2] Berlin 1904 i. 572 f., 1905 ii. 291 ff. and by Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 59 ff., *ib.*[3]: The Dying God p. 251 ff. The former regards the tree with its effigy of Attis as a 'Verkörperung des vom Tode erwachten Wachstumsgeistes' (*op. cit.*[2] ii. 295). The latter says: 'The bringing in of the pine-tree from the woods, decked with violets and woollen bands, is like bringing in the May-tree or Summer-tree in modern folk-custom; and the effigy which was attached to the pine-tree was only a duplicate representative of the tree-spirit Attis' (*op. cit.*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 277).

I confess, I do not agree with these conclusions. So far as I can judge the evidence available, at least in the classical area, the tree-spirit was essentially female, being but a vegetable form of the earth-mother (*supra* i. 1 n. 3, 339, 396 f., 525 f., 779 f.). Her consort was male, being originally an embodiment or representative of the sky-father. The May-queen in popular custom stands for the fertilised vegetation-power, the May-king for her fertilising partner: their union ensures the fertility of the whole neighbourhood. On this showing (to get back to Attis) the man in the tree was not conceived as 'a duplicate representative of the tree-spirit,' but as in some sense (husband? victim? both?) devoted to the tree—the male to the female—for the purpose of promoting fertility. Attis, like Pentheus (on whom see an illuminating article by my friend the Rev. A. G. Bather 'The problem of the *Bacchae*' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 244—263, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 167 f., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] ii. 98, *ib.*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 24 f., *supra* i. 679), whose name—Prof. H. M. Chadwick suggests to me—may hang together with that of the Thracian Bendis (cp. the Thracian Penthesileia, if not also the Lesbian Penthilos, etc.), was a divine king (Ioul. *or.* 5. 168 c τοῦ βασιλέως Ἄττιδος, 169 c ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἄττις, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 913, 3 f. Ostia [Ἄττει] | Μηνοτυ[ράννῳ], *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi nos. 499, 3 f. Attidi | Menotyranno invicto, 500, 2 f. Attidi Meno|tyranno, 501, 2 f. Attidi sancto | Menotyranno, 508. 1 f. [At]|ti Menotyranno, 511, 1 Attidi Menoturano, 10 Attidis Minoturani, 512, 1 [Attidi Menotyranno]) and, as Sir James Frazer has shown (*Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 285 ff.), presupposes a line of priestly kings once sacrificed at periodic intervals for the good of the community.

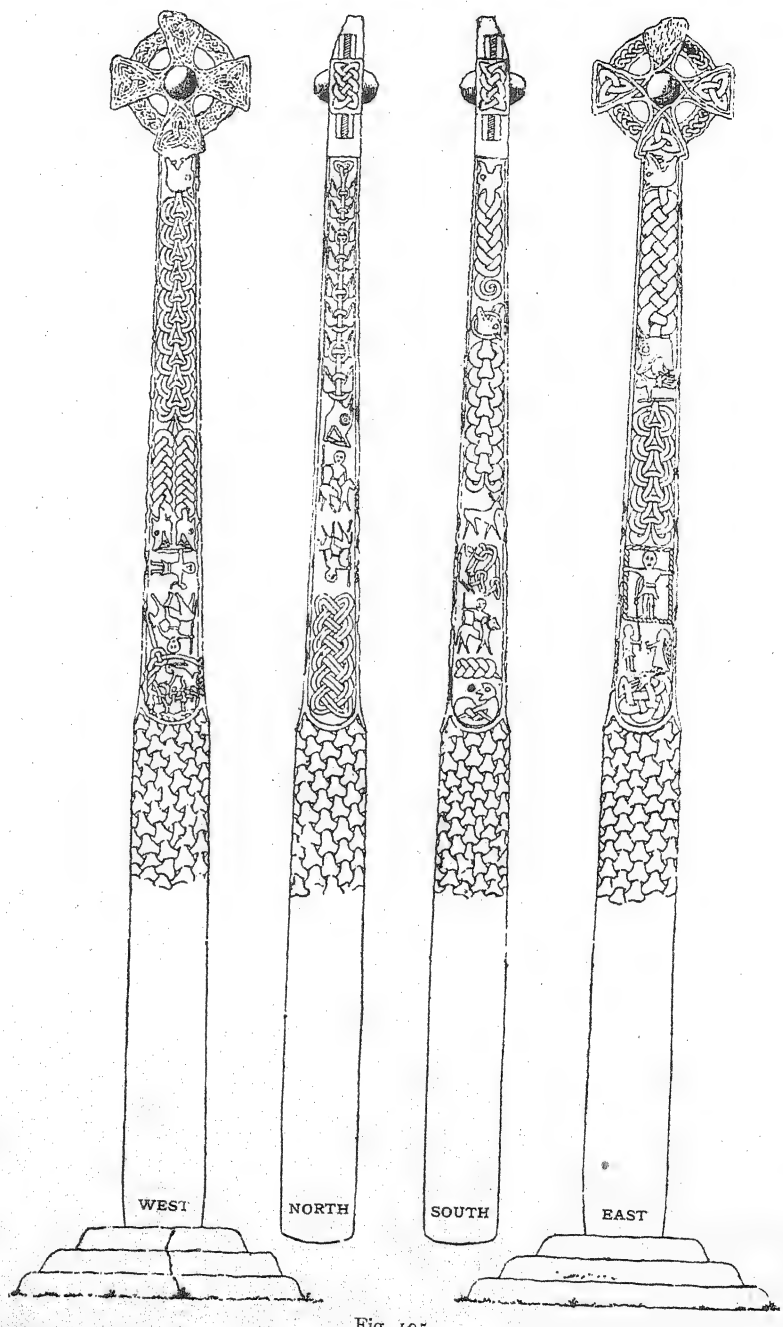


Fig. 195.

I add a northern parallel to the Christianisation of the Phrygian tree-cult. The Gosforth Cross (C. A. Parker *The Ancient Crosses at Gosforth, Cumberland* London 1896 with pls. and figs. of which pl. 1 = my fig. 195 and pl. 2 my fig. 196, *id. The Gosforth District: its Antiquities and Places of Interest* Kendal 1904 pp. 80—92 with figs.) is a red sandstone monolith (14½ ft high) still standing S. of the church at Gosforth in Cumberland. A fellow-cross of much the same design formerly stood some 7 ft away, but was cut down in 1789 to serve as a sun-dial. Between the two crosses was a horizontal stone, on which was carved the figure of a large sword. The extant shaft, which rises from a rectangular three-stepped base, is circular in section below (40 ins round) but oblong above (6 × 5 ins) and supports a wheel-shaped head (20 ins across). The whole monument is carved to look like a tree: the bole is patterned as if half-covered with bark, and the interlaced lines higher up are suggestive of branches. All four sides, where the trunk has been, so to say, squared, exhibit carvings susceptible of a twofold interpretation, either Scandinavian or Christian. G. Stephens dated them *c.* 680 A.D.; but S. Bugge assigned them to *s.* ix A.D., and C. A. Parker now places them as late as *c.* 950—1050 A.D. The subjects represented run, from bottom to top, as follows: (*a*) *Western series.* Loki bound beneath snake, whose venom drips upon him: Sigyn, his wife, catches venom in cup = Satan bound. Odhin on his horse Sleipnir rides down to Mimir's well at one of the roots of Yggdrasil: Heimdallr the sentinel with the Gjallarhorn keeps back the wolf-serpents Hati and Skǫll = Death on the pale horse overcome by Christ the shepherd, who defies the powers of evil. A wolf-headed monster, the progeny of the wolf Fenrir, attacking the solar wheel = A devil attacking the cross. (*b*) *Southern series.* Odhin riding through the hall of serpents on Nastrand = Christ trampling on Satan. The wolf Fenrir and the Midhgardh-serpent attacking the hart Eikthyrnir = The powers of evil attacking the hart, symbol of Christ. Fenrir as a wolf-headed monster gagged by Thor's sword = Leviathan tamed. Serpent attacking the solar wheel = Devil attacking the cross. (*c*) *Eastern series.* Serpents beneath the feet of Nanna, the faithful wife of Baldr: blind Hǫdhr with a lance of mistletoe stabs Baldr, son of Odhin = The serpent's head bruised by the heel of the woman, Mary Magdalene with her *alábastron*: Longinus the blind soldier with his lance stabs Christ on the cross. Headless monster = Evil subdued. Vidharr, son of Odhin, slays the wolf-serpent Fenrir, whose jaw he rends open with left arm and right foot = The descent of Christ into hell. Fenrir attacking the solar wheel = Devil attacking the cross. (*d*) *Northern series.* Endless interlacing = Symbol of eternity. Odhin on Sleipnir overcome by Fenrir at the end of the world = Death on the pale horse overcome by Christ. Odhin battling with the fire-demon Surtr = Christ as conqueror: Satan cast down from heaven. The solar wheel = the cross. Several of these bilingual interpretations are far from certain. Here it is in point to notice an alternative explanation of the central scene on the eastern face. C. A. Parker comments: 'Baldur the beautiful, or, Odin hanging on the tree self sacrificed.' The latter view, that of the Rev. W. S. Calverley, is based on *Hávamál* 138 f., a remarkable passage translated by H. M. Chadwick *The Cult of Othin* London 1899 p. 72 thus: '138. "I know that I hung full nine nights on the gallows tree (or "windy tree") wounded by the javelin and given to Othin, myself to myself; on that tree, of which no one knows from whose roots it proceeds." 139. "They cheered me (or "assuaged my hunger and thirst") neither with bread nor drink; I looked down and took up runes, took them up crying; from thence I fell again."' Prof. Chadwick *ib.* p. 80 notes: 'Othin is both the person sacrificed and the person to whom the sacrifice is offered. There is no indication that Othin was also the sacrificer or that the sacrifice was voluntary

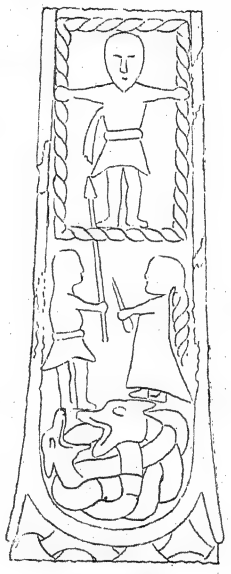


Fig. 196.

blaze of light, the words of comfort whispered by the priest:

> Courage, ye mystics of the god now saved;
> Salvation shall be ours from all our woes[1]!

No less suggestive was the teaching connected with the *taurobolium* and *criobolium*[2]. In all the Zeus-cults of the Mediterranean world the bull and the ram play their part as centres of procreative power[3]. And by this dread baptism in their blood and reception of their vital forces[4] the worshipper (I quote a Roman altar of the fourth century) was 'reborn to life eternal[5].' The devotee of Attis belonged

on the part of the victim.' But, if those Eddic stanzas represent a genuine Norse belief, the sacrifice of Odhin to Odhin on the gallows tree might well be taken as the nearest pagan parallel to the crucifixion of Christ.

[1] Firm. Mat. 22. 1 nocte quadam simulacrum in lectica supinum ponitur et per numeros digestis fletibus plangitur: deinde cum se ficta lamentatione satiaverint, lumen infertur: tunc a sacerdote omnium qui flebant fauces unguentur, quibus perunctis sacerdos hoc lento murmure susurrat: *θαρρεῖτε μύσται τοῦ θεοῦ σεσωσμένου· | ἔσται γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐκ πόνων σωτηρία.* That the allusion is to the rites of Attis appears from Firm. Mat. 3. 1 ff., cp. Damaskios *v. Isid. ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 345 a 5 ff. Bekker *τότε τῇ Ἱεραπόλει ἐγκαθευδήσας ἐδόκουν ὄναρ ὁ Ἄττης γενέσθαι, καί μοι ἐπιτελεῖσθαι παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν τὴν τῶν Ἱλαρίων καλουμένων ἑορτήν· ὅπερ ἐδήλου τὴν ἐξ ᾅδου γεγονυῖαν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν.*

[2] *Supra* i. 717 n. 2, H. Graillot *Le culte de Cybèle Mère des dieux à Rome et dans l'empire romain* Paris 1912 p. 153 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 274 ff.

[3] *Supra* i. 428 ff., 633 ff., 716 ff., 779.

[4] Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Rom.*[2] p. 325: 'eine besondere, nicht völlig aufgeklärte Rolle spielen beim Opfer die Hoden (*vires*) des Stieres' citing *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 510, 3 ff. = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4127, 3 ff. (Lactora in Aquitania) vires esce|pit Eutyche|tis, xiii no. 1751, 10 ff. = Dessau no. 4131, 10 ff. (Lugdunum) vires excepit et a Vaticano trans|tulit, ara et bucranium | suo inpendio consacravit, xiii no. 522, 3 ff. (Lactora) vires tauri, | quo propri(e) | per tauropo|lium pub(lice) fac|tum fecerat, | consacravit, xiii no. 525, 3 ff. = Dessau no. 4129, 3 ff. (Lactora) vires tauri, | quo proprie | per tauropo|lium pub(lice) fact(um) | fecerat, consacravit, xii no. 1567, 20 f. = Dessau no. 4140, 20 f. (Dea Augusta Vocontiorum) loco vires con|ditae. H. Graillot *op. cit.* p. 155 n. 6 adds *Ephem. epigr.* 1899 viii. 118 no. 455 (Liternum) sacerdos | [M]atris deum | [?At]hamas condidit (*sc.* vires) and *Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 6961 f. = Dessau no. 4158 f. (Taurini) viribus | Aeterni | taurobolio | Sempronia | Eutocia and viri[b]us | Aeterni | taurobolio | P. Ulattius | Priscus. So *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 573 = Dessau no. 4157 (altar at Burdigala with ram's head on one side, *hárpe* and Phrygian cap on other side) natalici virib(us) | Valer(ia) Iullina | et Iul(ia) Sancta. Elsewhere the Vires are personified and associated with a variety of water-divinities, *viz.* Neptunus (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 4285 = Dessau no. 3291), Lymphae (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 5648 = Dessau no. 3871), Nymphae (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi no. 1162 = Dessau no. 3870), Fons and (Aqua) Ventina (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* ix no. 3351 = Dessau no. 5781), Deus Magnus Pantheus (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 5798 = Dessau no. 3997), or worshipped on their own account (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* v nos. 1964, 8247, 8248). Their cult apparently implies the belief that running water is the seminal fluid of a deity. See further H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 p. 191 f. and *supra* i. 882 Index ii *s.v.* 'Testicles.'

[5] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 510 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2352 = Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 110 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4152 a marble altar decorated with reliefs (on right side, a pine-tree, from which hang flutes and Phrygian cap, with a ram; on left side, a pine-tree, from which hang timbrel and pipe, with a bull; on back, torches, *patera*, and vessels) and inscribed: Dis | magnis | Matri deum et Attidi Se|xtilius Agesilaus Aedesius |

to the flock of a divine 'Shepherd[1],' and it needed no great stretch of imagination for him to declare:

et ipse Pileatus Christianus est.
'He of the Phrygian Cap is a Christian too[2].'

(η) Attis in relation to the Dioskouroi.

The name *Pileatus*[3] recalls the *pîloi* or 'caps' of the Dioskouroi[4]

v(ir) c(larissimus), causarum non ignobi|lis Africani tribuna|is ora|tor et in consistorio | principum, item magiste|r libellor(um) et cognition(um) | sacrarum, magister epistu|lar(um), magister memoriae, | vicarius praefector(um) per | Hispa[illegible]ias vice s(acra) c(ognoscens), pa|ter patrum dei Solis invi|cti Mithrae, hierofanta | Hecat[illegible]r(um), dei Liberi archi|bucolus, taurobolio | criobolioq(ue) in aeter|num renatus aram sacra|vit dd(ominis) nn(ostris) Valen|te V et Valentiniano | iun(iore) Augg(ustis) conss(ulibus) idib(us) Augustis (=Aug. 13, 376 A.D.).

[1] Attis was *ποιμήν* (schol. Nik. *alex.* 8, Loukian. *amor.* 42), *pastor* (Tertull. *apol.* 15, *ad nat.* 1. 10, Paulin. Nol. *poem. ult.* 79 ff. (lxi. 699 A Migne), *Aegritudo Perdicae* 29 f. (in *Poet. Lat. min.* v. 113 Baehrens)), *αἰπόλος* (Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 9 p. 168 Duncker—Schneidewin), *βουκόλος* (Theokr. 20. 40), *bubulcus* (Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 35).

Cp. the formula *μαθητὴς ποιμένος ἀγνοῦ*, which occurs in the epitaph of Alexandros son of Antonios (216 A.D.) found by Sir W. M. Ramsay at the Phrygian Hierapolis and in its original the epitaph written for himself by Aberkios bishop of Hierapolis (end of *s.* ii), included in his biography by Simeon Metaphrastes (cxv. 1211 ff. Migne), found in a fragmentary condition by Sir W. M. Ramsay at Hierapolis, presented by the Sultan to Pope Leo xiii, and now preserved in the Lateran Museum at Rome. On both inscriptions see Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 339 ff., 1883 iv. 424 ff. no. 36 (cp. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 518 f.), J. B. Lightfoot *The Apostolic Fathers*[2] Part II London 1889 i. 493 ff., G. Ficker 'Der heidnische Charakter der Abercius Inschrift' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1894 p. 87 ff., A. Harnack in *Texte und Untersuchungen* 1895 xii. 4, L. Duchesne in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 1895 xv. 155 ff., A. Dieterich *Die Grabschrift des Aberkios* Leipzig 1896, S. Reinach in the *Revue critique d'Histoire et de Littérature* 1896 xlii. 447 ff., W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2880—2882, H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 pp. 83—85, W. R. Paton 'Note on the Inscription of Abercius' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1906 ii. 93 ff., W. Lüdtke—T. Nissen *Die Grabschrift des Aberkios, ihre Überlieferung und ihr Text* Lipsiae 1910, T. Nissen *S. Abercii vita* Lipsiae 1912, C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 pp. 717—725. As A. Dieterich *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 538 observes, 'bei Aberkios hat man streiten können, ob er Attisdiener oder Christ war.' The former view is held by Ficker, Harnack, Dieterich, Hepding; the latter, by Duchesne, Paton, and Kaufmann.

[2] Aug. *in Io. ev. tract.* 7. 1. 6 (xxxv. 1440 Migne) quia iam non possunt seducere Christianos, ut dent venenum, addunt mellis liquid, ut per id quod dulce est, lateat quod amarum est, et bibatur ad perniciem; usque adeo ut ego noverim aliquo tempore illius Pileati sacerdotem solere dicere: 'et ipse Pileatus Christianus est.' The history of the Ophites (F. Legge *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* Cambridge 1915 ii. 25 ff.) shows how easy it was for Phrygian Christianity to be gravely contaminated with Phrygian paganism (cp. T. Eisele 'Die phrygischen Kulte und ihre Bedeutung für die griechisch-römische Welt' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1909 xxiii. 620 ff.). Synesios in a hymn that betrays Ophitic influence addresses God as at once Father and Son of Himself (*h.* 3. 145 ff. *πατέρων πάντων | πάτερ, αὐτοπάτωρ, | προπάτωρ, ἀπάτωρ, | υἱὲ σεαυτοῦ*); and Synesios shortly afterwards became a bishop of the orthodox church.

[3] A small head of white marble in my possession (figs. 197, 198: height 5⅝ ins.) gives a good idea of the *formosus adulescens* (Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 17, *epit.* 6) wearing his *pileum*.

[4] *Supra* i. 250 fig. 180, 763 n. 4, 765 ff. fig. 554 ff.

and raises the question: In what relation did the Phrygian Attis stand to the Hellenic Kastor and Polydeukes? Was he too in any sense a twin? There is something to be said for the view that he was.

Years ago Haakh pointed out that Roman tombstones from

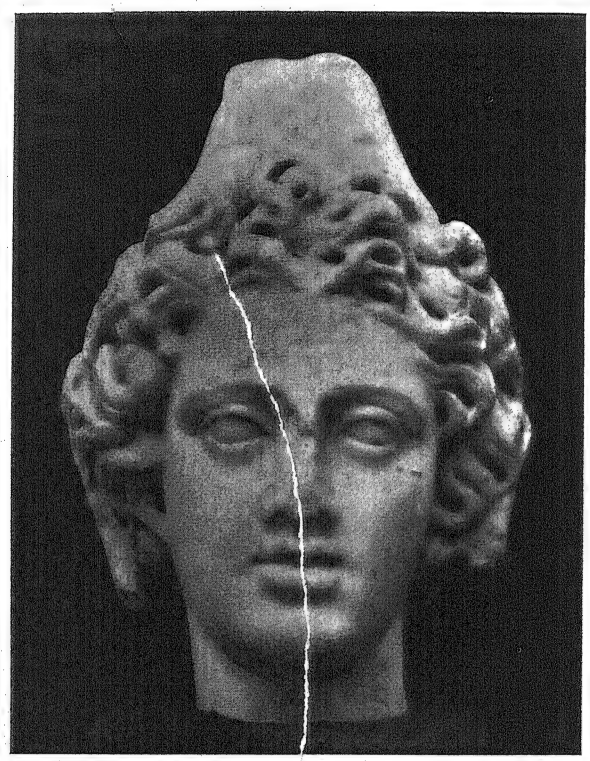


Fig. 197.

districts drained by the Rhine or the Danube not infrequently duplicate the person of Attis (*e.g.* fig. 199), and argued that such monuments go to prove the existence of a Phrygian pair resembling the better known Hellenic and Italian twins[1]. This argument,

[1] Haakh 'die Attisbilder auf römischen Grabdenkmälern' in the *Verh. d. 60. Philologenversamml. in Stuttgart* Stuttgart 1857 pp. 176—186 citing: (1) and (2) Two tombstones found at Rottenburg (K. L. von Urlichs in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1856 xxiii. 49 ff. pls. 1, 2, Haakh *loc. cit.* p. 177 with figs.); (3) A tombstone found near Bonn (K. L. von Urlichs *loc. cit.* 1846 ix. 146 ff. pl. 6, 1856 xxiii. 49, Haakh *loc. cit.* p. 180); (4) A tombstone at Coblenz, on which each Attis has above his head a pair of double axes and an Amazonian shield, below his feet vegetation of some sort (L. Lersch *Centralmuseum rheinländischer Inschriften* Bonn 1842 iii. 63, Haakh *loc. cit.* p. 181 f. with fig.); (5) A tombstone in the castle of Enseck, which shows two Lares in the guise of Attis with Phrygian cap and *pedum* flanking a dog and a

however, is of doubtful value. F. Cumont[1] assumes confusion with Cautes and Cautopates[2]. We have also to reckon with the funerary type of the pensive, torch-bearing Eros common enough in the



Fig. 198.

Graeco-Roman age[3]. Moreover, Attis, as a god reborn, would be a favourite emblem of resurrection and, like Nike in a different setting, peculiarly liable to decorative multiplication. But Haakh has more to urge in support of his Phrygian twins: he appeals to literary as

bay-tree (*Beiträge zur Landeskunde für Oesterreich ob der Enns und Salzburg* Linz 1846 v pl. 3, no. 4, Haakh *loc. cit.* p. 184 f. with fig.). To these should be added: (6) A tombstone from Andernach, on which each Attis has above his head an Amazonian shield (J. Klein in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1884 lxxvii. 14—37 pl. 1 = my fig. 199, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 54 no. 1, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 7684); (7) A tombstone from Bingerbrück, now at Kreuznach (Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 66 no. 1, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 7507). Doubtless other examples could be collected.

[1] F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2251.

[2] *Supra* i. 516 n. 1.

[3] A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1369 f., O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 508 f., *infra* Append. G *sub fin.*

well as to monumental evidence. According to Polybios, Cn. Manlius, when encamped in 189 B.C. on the bank of the river Sangarios, 'was visited by Galloi from Attis and Battakes, priests of the Mother of the gods at Pessinous[1].' The historian's description suggests a double priesthood. The jingling names[2] would suit the priests of twin deities. And both names were traditional. 'Attis the priest,' who carried on a correspondence with Eumenes ii in



Fig. 199.

[1] Polyb. 21. 37. 5.

[2] Cp. the Ἀτταβοκαοί or mystics of the goddess at Pessinous (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* nos. 540, 20 and 541, 7).

163 B.C. and with Attalos ii before and after his accession in 159 B.C.[1], may have been the same Pessinuntine hierarch: he evinces the same anti-Galatian ideas[2]. Another 'Attis the priest,' one out of ten, who are distinguished from the chief priest, is recorded in an inscription from Pessinous of early imperial date[3]. And as to Battakes, Diodoros states that in 102 B.C. 'a certain man named Battakes, priest of the great Mother of the gods, came from Pessinous in Phrygia' to Rome demanding expiation for the defilement of her temple[4]. Plutarch puts it differently: Battakes came 'with a message that the goddess from the temple (*anáktora*) had announced to him the triumphant victory of the Romans' over the Teutones[5]. Haakh contends that Plutarch's *anáktora* is again suggestive of a twin cult, since the Dioskouroi were *Ánaktes*[6]. But the word *anáktoron* is of much wider application, and no stress can be laid on the use of the plural *anáktora*[7]. Nor is Haakh's contention much strengthened by the Herodotean tale of Adrastos and Atys[8]. The former was son of the Phrygian king Gordios iv; the latter, son of the Lydian king Kroisos—unpromising material for a myth concerning twins, even if it be conceded that the episode had no historical foundation[9]. There remains the old Lydian pedigree, which represented Atys and Kotys as sons of Manes[10]. Manes, the fore-

[1] Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 45, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 315.

[2] E. Thraemer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 146.

[3] A. Koerte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 437 ff. no. 63 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 541 Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Ἄττειν ἱερέα | Ἥρᾳ υἱὸν Κυρείνα Δηϊόταρον, ἔνα|τον μετὰ τὸν ἀρχιερέα, τέταρ|τον δὲ Γαλατῶν, κ.τ.λ.

[4] Diod. 36. 6 (p. 65 Dindorf).

[5] Plout. *v. Mar.* 17.

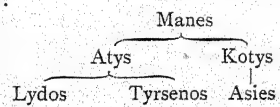
[6] *Supra* i. 107 n. 7.

[7] Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* i. 2. 423 B ff.

[8] Adrestos, son of Gordies son of Mides, having unintentionally slain his brother, was driven out by his father and took refuge with Kroisos, who purified him and received him kindly at his court. Some time afterwards Mysia was devastated by a monstrous boar from the Mysian Mt Olympos. Atys, son of Kroisos, was eager to join the chase. His father, having dreamt that Atys would perish by means of an iron spear, at first would not let him go, but later sent Adrestos as his guardian. Adrestos, aiming with his javelin, missed the boar and slew Atys. Kroisos in deep distress invoked Zeus Καθάρσιος and Ἐπίστιος and Ἑταιρήϊος, but, regarding the accident as the fulfilment of his dream, pardoned Adrestos. Thereupon Adrestos killed himself on the tomb of Atys (Hdt. i. 35—45).

[9] H. Stein on Hdt. i. 43, W. W. How and J. Wells on Hdt. i. 34, E. Meyer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2262, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 286 view the Atys-tale as a doublet of the Attis-myth.

[10] E. Meyer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2262 educes from Hdt. i. 7, i. 94, 4. 45, 7. 74 the following *stemma*:



For later variants see Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* i. 27 f., schol. Plat. *Tim.* 25 B, Steph. Byz. *s.vv.* Ἀκμονία, Δολαντος πεδίον, Μανήσιον.

father of the Lydians, was recognised also by the Phrygians[1]. He seems to have been called Masnes by the logographer Xanthos[2], a Lydian who wrote four books on Lydia in the reign of Artaxerxes i (465—425 B.C.)[3]. Manes later passed as the son of Zeus and Ge[4]. Indeed, an inscription discovered at Oturak by Sir W. M. Ramsay actually identifies him with Zeus[5]. Atys and Kotys may, therefore, have been regarded as *Dióskouroi*, sons of Zeus; and the assonance of their names is, as Dr Rendel Harris has abundantly shown[6], characteristic of divine twins. Nevertheless the whole case is com-

[1] P. Hirsch *Phrygiae de nominibus oppidorum* Regimontii Borussiae 1884 p. 29, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* v. 31 n. 2, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2316.

[2] Xanthos (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 629 Müller) *ap.* Hephaist. *ench.* 1. 7 p. 6, 1 Consbruch and *ap.* Choirobosk. *in* Hephaist. *ench.* 1. 7 p. 199, 5 Consbruch had Μάσνης as the name of a Lydian river. In Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 27 cod. Vat. spells the king's name Μάσνεω; and this may be right, since Dionysios *ib.* 1. 28 goes on to quote Xanthos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 36 Müller).

[3] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1908 i. 428 f.

[4] Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 27.

[5] Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1883 iv. 419 ff. no. 33 *ὁ* [*ἀ*]*θάνατος* Ἐπιτύνχα[*ν*]*ος* Πίου *τιμηθ*(*ε*)*ὶς ὑπὸ* Ἑκά|*της πρώτης, δεύτε*[*ρ*]*ον ὑπὸ* Μάνου Δάου | [Ἡ]λιο-δρόμου Διός, *τρί*|*τον* Φοίβου Ἀρχηγέτο[*υ*] | Χρησμοδότου *ἀ*|*ληθῶς δῶ*|[*ρ*]*ον ἔλαβ*|[*ο*]*ν χρησ*|[*μ*]*ο-δότι*|*ν ἀλη*|[*θε*]*ίας ἐν* | *πατρί*|*δι κὲ* (*ἐ*)*ν ὁ*|[*ρ*]*οις χρ*|[*η*]*σμοδ*|*ότιν* | *νόμους τιθ*(*ε*)*ῖν* (perhaps *τί*(*ε*)*ιν*) *ἐν ὅροις* | [*χ*]*ρησμοδότιν* | [*π*]*ᾶσιν τοῦτο ἔχω δῶ*|[*ρ*]*ον ἐξ ἀθανά*|*των πάντων· κ.τ.λ.* an inscription of 313—314 A.D. from the neighbourhood of Akmoneia accompanied by a series of three reliefs—above, a radiate head; in the middle, the rider-god with a battle-axe over his shoulder (much defaced); below, a bust with hands folded across breast. The altar adorned with these carvings commemorates several members of one family, two at least of whom held office as *ἀρχιερεύς* in some pagan cult. The god Manes Daes (or Daos) Heliodromos Zeus is of mixed origin. Manes was father of Akmon, founder of Akmoneia (Alexandros Polyhistor *frag.* 45 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 233) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀκμονία). Daes (or Daos) might be the singular of the Scythian tribe Δάαι, Δᾶαι, Δάοι, *Dahae* (W. Tomaschek in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1945 f.); Daos, the singular of the nomad Persians called Δάοι by Hdt. 1. 125 (*id. ib.* iv. 2133): other possibilities would be to see in Daes the masculine deity corresponding with the feminine Daeira (*supra* i. 212), or to quote Hesych. δάος· *φῶς*, δᾶδα. *πῦρ, φλόξ, φέγγος, αὐγή. καὶ ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λύκος.* Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1918 vii. 145 and in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1920 xl. 197, 202 adopts the last expedient, takes Δάος to mean 'the Wolf,' and cp. *Lyk*(*ábas*?) *Sózon* on a *quasi*-autonomous copper of Themisonion in Phrygia (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münz.* i. 299 no. 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. civ, 419 pl. 49, 2 *obv.* ΛVK· CΩZΩN Bust of the god, radiate). I prefer to regard Δάος as a Persian ethnic, because Ἡλιοδρόμος is in obvious allusion to the Mithraic Ἡλιοδρόμοι (A. Dieterich *Eine Mithrasliturgie*[2] Leipzig und Berlin 1910 p. 151)—indeed, the titles Δάος Ἡλιοδρόμος Ζεύς would tally with the grades *Perses, Heliodromus, Pater* (*supra* i. 443 n. 1). Cp. also Hesych. Μηδινεύς, *μηδεὺς παραμηδοτιοῦν.* Μηδαπλῶς. *παρὰ δὲ Λυδοῖς ὁ Σεὺς ζεῦσις* (cod.), which M. Schmidt prints as Μηδινεύς· Μηδεύς, *παρὰ* [*μηδοτιοῦν. μηδαπλῶς.*] *παρὰ δὲ Λυδοῖς ὁ Ζεὺς* [*ζεῦσις*]. P. Carolidis *Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen* Strassburg 1913 p. 88 connects (unconvincingly) Μηδεύς, Μηδινεύς with Μίδας.

[6] J. Rendel Harris *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* London 1903 pp. 1 f., 52 f., *id. The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 p. 58 ff.

paratively weak, and, sooner than insist upon it, I would push enquiry in a somewhat different direction.

Whether the Phrygians had in early days a twin-cult corresponding with that of the *Nâsatia* mentioned in the prehistoric (*s.* xiv B.C.) records of Boghaz-Keui[1], we can hardly hope to determine. The appearance of the Dioskouroi or their attributes on coins of Aizanoi[2], Akmoneia[3], Apameia[4], Bria[5], Synnada[6], Temênothyrai[7], and Themisonion (?)[8] is late and of no great significance. I would rather lay stress on the fact that in the Thraco-Phrygian area the Father and the Son, being diverse manifestations of the same god, formed, not indeed divine twins, but at least a divine pair likely to influence or be influenced by any adjacent cult of twins.

(*θ*) The *Kábeiroi* or *Megáloi Theoí*.

The situation is complicated by the variety of names under which the Thraco-Phrygian Father and Son won their way to general recognition. Of *Díos* and *Díos Nŷsos*[9], of *Pápas* and *Áttis*[10], we have already spoken. If we termed the former pair Thracian and the latter Phrygian, that was merely in order to give a rough indication of their range without implying that they were ultimately of diverse origin. And here we must add that the Samothracian Kabeiroi were originally of kindred stock. In common with R. Pettazzoni[11], L. R. Farnell[12], and Miss Harrison[13] I hold that these mys-

[1] *Supra* i. 190 n. 3, 741 n. 4, H. R. Hall in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 21, *id. The Ancient History of the Near East* London 1913 p. 201, J. H. Moulton *Early Zoroastrianism* London 1913 pp. 6, 115, 139, E. Meyer *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* Berlin 1914 p. 58.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 39 pl. 6, 2 (Dioskouroi standing), cp. *ib.* p. xxiv pl. 26, 1 and 4 (horse bearing cap surmounted by star, etc.), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 664.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 7 no. 21 (Dioskouroi standing).

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 74 pl. 10, 1—5 (caps surmounted by stars, in bay-wreath: eagle surmounted by star, flying over maeander-pattern flanked by caps with stars), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 478 pl. 56, 13, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 666.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 109 pl. 13, 9 (Dioskouroi standing with horses), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 668.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 393 pl. 46, 2 (caps surmounted by stars; between them, poppy-head and ear of corn), Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 292 no. 5, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 686.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 410 no. 14 (Dioskouroi standing).

[8] *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 495 pl. 57, 9 (Herakles and Hermes standing; behind Herakles, one of the Dioskouroi standing with his horse). B. V. Head in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 420 pl. 49, 5 and *Hist. num.*[2] p. 687 would recognise in the third figure Lykabas Sozon (?)—a precarious guess.

[9] *Supra* p. 277 ff.

[10] *Supra* p. 292 ff.

[11] R. Pettazzoni 'Le origini dei Kabiri nelle isole del mar tracio' in the *Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei.* Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Serie Quinta. Roma 1909 xii. 635—740 argues for a threefold stratification of the Cabiric cult. (1) In

terious powers were Thracian deities called *Kábeiroi* by Phoenician traders and *Megáloi Theoí* by Hellenic settlers. I further agree with Miss Harrison's acute surmise that their triad included 'one woman the Mother, two males, the Father and the Son—older and younger forms of each other[1].' I take it that Axiokersa was the Mother, Axiokersos the Father, and Axieros the son[2] conceived as a rebirth of the Father. The names bear witness to the vitality of the very ancient axe-cult in the northern islands of the Aegean[3]. *Axiokérsa* appears to mean 'She that is cleft with the Axe,' *Axió-*

prehistoric times the worship of Dionysos-Sabazios with his Satyrs and of Bendis-Hekate with her Maenads spread from Thrace to the neighbouring islands Thasos, Samothrace, Imbros, Lemnos. These two Thracian deities with their respective πρόπολοι formed the indigenous element of the cult in question. (2) Phoenician merchants brought to some of the Thracian islands their own *Kábeiroi* or 'Great Ones,' seven gods serving an eighth named Ešmun (Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 27 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 569 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 38, Damaskios *v. Isid. ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 352 b 11 ff. Bekker). The islanders identified Ešmun with the Thracian Dionysos-Sabazios and the *Kábeiroi* with his πρόπολοι. Hence Dionysos-Sabazios acquired the Phoenician title of Ešmun *Kadmîlos*, and Bendis-Hekate came to be called *Kabeiró*. (3) Hellenic settlers came to Samothrace with the Eleusinian cult of Demeter, Kore, Hades. This trio was installed beside *Kadmîlos*, the resultant quartette being henceforward called by the Phoenician name *Kábeiroi* or its Greek equivalent *Megáloi Theoí*. Finally, the name *Kábeiroi* degenerated into an appellation of the πρόπολοι.

[12] L. R. Farnell 'Kabeiroi' in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1914 vii. 628—632 independently of Pettazzoni suggests the following sequence of events: "Phœnician traders may have found an aboriginal mystery-cult in this remote and inaccessible island [Samothrace]; they may have attached their own descriptive title "Kabeirim," "the mighty ones," to the divinities that they found in the island, because this corresponded to some local divine appellative that the later Greeks translated by the phrase οἱ μεγάλοι θεοί; then, through the spread of Phœnician trade, the Semitic name for the island deities acquired permanent vogue' (*ib.* p. 628). Dr Farnell holds that 'the original Samothracian trio' included, not only an elder and a younger god, later identified with the Dioskouroi, but also a 'female earth-spirit, conceived as earth-mother or earth-bride' and 'subordinate to the male principle of divinity' (*ib.* p. 630).

[13] Miss J. E. Harrison in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1915* p. 76 f.

[1] *Ead. ib.* p. 77.

[2] This does not square with schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 917 cod. Laur. (ed. H. Keil Lipsiae 1854) μυοῦνται δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σαμοθρᾴκῃ τοῖς Καβείροις, ὡς Μνασέας φησί (*frag.* 27 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 154 Müller))· καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν δ' τὸν ἀριθμόν, Ἄξιερος Ἀξιοκέρσα Ἀξιόκερσος· Ἄξιερος μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἡ Δημήτηρ, Ἀξιοκέρσα δὲ ἡ Περσεφόνη, Ἀξιόκερσος δὲ ὁ Ἅιδης· ὁ δὲ προστιθέμενος τέταρτος Κάσμιλος ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐστιν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Διονυσόδωρος (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 84 Müller). R. Pettazzoni, who *loc. cit.* p. 21 f. has a critical discussion of this passage, concludes that the names Ἄξιερος Ἀξιοκέρσα Ἀξιόκερσος, together with their exegesis as Δημήτηρ Περσεφόνη Ἅιδης, are probably not derived from Mnaseas, but from Dionysodoros a grammarian of uncertain date. The author of the explanation, whoever he was, appears to have equated in a purely mechanical way the early Samothracian triad Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos with the late Eleusinian triad Demeter, Persephone, Hades. The equation does not inspire confidence.

[3] I have dealt with the matter in a paper on 'The Cretan Axe-cult outside Crete' in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 194, cp. *supra* i. 109.

kersos 'He that cleaves with the Axe[1],' and *Axieros* the 'Axe-Eros[2]' or 'Axe-spirit[3].' On this showing *Axiokérsa* was an appellative of the Thracian earth-goddess, *Axiókersos* an appellative of the Thracian sky-god, while *Axieros* was the name given to an emanation or rebirth of the latter. The same substratum of primitive Thracian belief probably underlies several of the early Greek theogonies. Thus Hesiod was aware of three primeval powers, Chaos, Gaia, and Eros[4]. Pherekydes of Syros, not only recognised Zeus,

[1] Hesych. κέρσαι· κόψαι, τεμεῖν, κεῖραι, γαμῆσαι (so cod. A. Meineke cj. γαλλίσαι) and κέρσης· γάμος (so cod. M. Schmidt cj. γάλλος). The Hesychian glosses were cited in this connexion by Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 329 n. 3 and after him by L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2526. Other views in R. Pettazzoni *loc. cit.* p. 693.

[2] That the second element in the compound Ἀξί-ερος is none other than Eros (Homeric ἔρος) was perceived by F. G. Welcker *Die Aeschylische Trilogie Prometheus und die Kabirenweihe zu Lemnos* Darmstadt 1824 p. 240 (after N. Fréret), E. Gerhard *Hyperboreische-römische Studien* Berlin 1852 ii. 209, C. Strube *Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis* Leipzig 1870 p. 74. G. F. Unger in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1887 cxxxv. 57 assumes a word meaning 'earth' connected with ἔρα, ἔραζε. O. Crusius *Beiträge zur griechischen Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1886 p. 26 n. 2 divides 'ἀξι-ερός?'

[3] The derivation of ἔρως, ἔρος is much disputed (see *e.g.* Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 152, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 270 f.) and need not concern us. The essential thing is to realise that Eros was the form taken by the soul of the sky-god on the occasion of his rebirth; for the art-type of Eros is the art-type of souls in general. Miss J. E. Harrison hits the nail on the head, when she says: 'Eros is but a specialized form of the Ker; the Erotes are Keres of life, and like the Keres take the form of winged *Eidola*' (Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 631). Eros is therefore the male Harpy (Hesych. ἅρπυν· ἔρωτα. Αἰολεῖς with M. Schmidt *ad loc.*, *et. mag.* p. 148, 33 ff. "Αρπυς· ὁ Ἔρως· ὡς παρὰ Παρθενίῳ ἐν Κριναγόρᾳ, "ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιβὰς Ἅρπυς ἐλῄσατο":—παρὰ τὸ ἁρπάζειν τὰς φρένας) or Erinys (Hesych. ὅρπα· Ἐρινύς). On the relations of Eros to Psyche see L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1877 pp. 53—219, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1370—1372, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi 531—542 and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3237—3256, G. Nicole in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 747—750, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 871 ff., *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 320 ff. The soul of a double-axe might be represented also as a butterfly (*infra* § 3 (c) i (*v*)).

[4] Hes. *theog.* 116 ff. as cited by Plat. *symp.* 178 B, Aristot. *met.* i. 4. 984 b 27 ff., *de Xenoph.* i. 975 a 11 ff., Sext. *adv. math.* 9. 8, Asklepios *in* Aristot. *met.* p. 29, 30 ff. Hayduck, Stob. *ecl.* i. 9. 5 p. 112, 20 ff. Wachsmuth, cp. i. 9. 12 p. 115, 5 ff. Cp. Paus. 9. 27. 2, Theophil. *ad Autol.* 2. 12, schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 26, schol. Theokr. 13. 1, and, though Hesiod is not named, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* i. 664 = Myth. Vat. 2. 35. See further A. Rzach *ad loc.* Similarly Akousilaos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 100 Müller) *ap.* Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* 124 (i. 319, 8 ff. Ruelle), cp. Philodem. περὶ εὐσεβείας 137, 13 p. 61 Gomperz, made Chaos come first, then Erebos and Nyx, from whose union arose Aither, Eros, Metis: Plat. *symp.* 178 C and Stob. *ecl.* i. 9. 12 p. 115, 7 f. Wachsmuth state generally that Akousilaos agreed with Hesiod; schol. Theokr. 13. 1 asserts that, according to Akousilaos, Eros was the son of Nyx and Aither. Sappho *frag.* 132 Bergk[4] *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 26, Eudok. *viol.* 354 held that his parents were Ge and Ouranos. Ibykos *frag.* 31 Bergk[4] *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 26, Eudok. *viol.* 354 is said to have traced the descent of Eros from Chaos; but T. Bergk *ad loc.* points out that cod. Laur. of schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 26 reads Ἴβυκος <.....> ὁ δὲ Ἡσίοδος ἐκ Χάους λέγει τὸν Ἔρωτα, which leaves us in the dark as to Ibykos' view. In Parmenides *frag.* 13

Chthonia, and Eros[1], but in a passage of profound significance declared 'that Zeus had transformed himself into Eros, when about to create' the world[2]. The cosmogonic Eros, as G. F. Schoemann[3] called him, figures also in Orphic literature both early and late[4]: the *Rhapsodies* represent 'delightsome Eros' as contained in and issuing from 'the great body of Zeus[5]'; the *Hymns* make 'Eros' a synonym of 'Bakcheus,' whom they invoke as 'Sire of the gods and Son[6]'—a manifest echo of the old Thracian creed[7].

v. The Double Zeus.

(*a*) Zeus *Didymaîos*.

If now we set the principal types of Father and Son over against the principal types of Twin Brethren, we might fairly expect to find

Diels *ap.* Plat. *symp.* 178 B, Aristot. *met.* 1. 4. 984 b 25 ff., Simpl. *in* Aristot. *phys.* p. 39, 18 *πρώτιστον μὲν Ἔρωτα θεῶν μητίσατο πάντων* the subject of *μητίσατο* is probably *δαίμων ἢ πάντα κυβερνᾷ* (*frag.* 12, 3 Diels). Aët. 2. 7. 1 in H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 336, 12 *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 22. 1ª p. 195, 10 ff. Wachsmuth *ἥντινα καὶ δαίμονα κυβερνῆτιν καὶ κληδοῦχον* (so Fülleborn for *κληροῦχον* F.P.) *ἐπονομάζει, δίκην τε καὶ ἀνάγκην* is supposed by J. Burnet *Early Greek Philosophy* London and Edinburgh 1892 p. 204 to confuse the goddess in question (whom he regards as the Pythagorean Hestia = the Platonic Ananke) with the gate-opening Dike of Parmenides' prologue. But in Hermes Trismeg. *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 49. 44 p. 393, 18 Dike is sister of Ananke; and F. M. Cornford in his very notable book *From Religion to Philosophy* London 1912 p. 214 ff. argues that the goddess throned in the centre is not only Moira, Lachesis, Ananke, and Dike, but Aphrodite to boot. If so, Plout. *amat.* 13 was not far wrong, when he made Aphrodite the subject of *μητίσατο*. Certainly the common Greek tradition, which stretches back to Sappho *frag.* 132 Bergk[4] *ap.* schol. Theokr. 13. 1 (*Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Οὐρανοῦ*, cp. Paus. 9. 27. 3. C. J. Blomfield cj. *Γῆς*. Wilamowitz cj. *Ἀφροδίτης <ἢ Γῆς>*), regarded Eros as the son of Aphrodite. His father is Zeus in Eur. *Hipp.* 534 *Ἔρως, ὁ Διὸς παῖς* (cp. *Ciris* 133 ff. sed malus ille puer, quem nec sua flectere mater | iratum potuit, quem nec pater atque avus idem | Iuppiter, etc.). But the genealogy of Eros was notoriously a bone of contention: see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1071 n. 1, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 488 f.

[1] Max. Tyr. *diss.* 10. 4 Dübner *ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Συρίου τὴν ποίησιν σκόπει, τὸν Ζῆνα καὶ τὴν Χθονίην καὶ τὸν ἐν τούτοις Ἔρωτα, κ.τ.λ. Supra* i. 27 n. 5.

[2] Pherekyd. *frag.* 3 Diels *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* ii. 54, 28 ff. Diehl *καὶ ὁ Φερεκύδης ἔλεγεν εἰς Ἔρωτα μεταβεβλῆσθαι τὸν Δία μέλλοντα δημιουργεῖν, ὅτι δὴ τὸν κόσμον ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων συνιστὰς εἰς ὁμολογίαν καὶ φιλίαν ἤγαγε καὶ ταυτότητα πᾶσιν ἐνέσπειρε καὶ ἕνωσιν τὴν δι' ὅλων διήκουσαν.* See R. Zimmermann in the *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik* 1854 xxiv. 177, O. Kern *De Orphei Epimenidis Pherecydis theogoniis quaestiones criticae* Berolini 1888 p. 95 f., D. Speliotopoulos *Περὶ Φερεκύδου τοῦ Συρίου καὶ τῆς Θεογονίας αὐτοῦ* Athens 1890 p. 47 n. 15.

[3] G. F. Schoemann 'De Cupidine cosmogonico' (Gryphiswaldiae 1852) in his *Opuscula Academica* Berolini 1857 ii. 60—92.

[4] See Append. G.

[5] *Ἔρως πολυτερπής·...ἐν μεγάλῳ Ζηνὸς...σώματι* (Orph. *frag.* 123 Abel cited Append. G).

[6] Orph. *h. triet.* 52. 1, 6, 10 *Βακχεῦ,* | *...θεῶν πάτερ ἠδὲ καὶ υἱέ,* | *...Ἔρως.*

[7] *Supra* pp. 277, 287 f., 292 ff.

the former influenced to some extent by the latter, or the latter by the former:

Father and Son	Twin Brethren
Zeus and Dionysos	Eurytos and Kteatos
Papas and Attis	Otos and Ephialtes
Kabeiroi	Idas and Lynkeus
	Aiolos and Boiotos
	Pelias and Neleus
	Chrysaor and Pegasos
	Podaleirios and Machaon (? Twins)
	Herakles and Iphikles
	Amphion and Zethos
	Iasos and Dardanos
	Eëtion and Polyarches
	Kastor and Polydeukes
	Hypnos and Thanatos

How far is our expectation justified? Zeus is never described as a twin; for his epithet *Didymaîos*[1] merely indicates that he was worshipped along with Apollon at Didyma near Miletos[2]. Macro-

[1] Athen. 477 B *Νίκανδρος δ' ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Αἰτωλικῶν γράφει "ἐν τῇ ἱεροποιίᾳ τοῦ Διδυμαίου Διὸς κισσοῦ σπονδοποιέονται πετάλοισιν, ὅθεν τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐκπώματα κισσύβια φωνέεται."* The same passage is cited by Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 21. 12 and by Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1632, 8 f. (cod. P. of Macrob. omits *Διὸς*. cod. C. of Athen. reads *τῷ διδυμαίῳ κισσοῦ*. Eustath. has *Διὸς Διδυμαίου Διΐ*.).

[2] Kallim. *frag.* 36 Schneider *ap.* Hephaist. *enchir.* 9. 4 p. 30, 17 ff. Consbruch *δαίμονες εὐυμνότατοι Φοῖβέ τε καὶ Ζεῦ, Διδύμων γενάρχαι, et. mag.* p. 272, 45 f. *Φοῖβέ τε καὶ Ζεῦ Διδύμων γενάρχα.* Cp. Ter. Maur. 1885 f. nec non et memini pedibus quater his repetitis | hymnum Battiaden Phoebo cantasse Iovique and Steph. Byz. *s.v. Δίδυμα·... τόπος καὶ μαντεῖον Μιλήτου ἀφιερωμένον Διὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι.*

Other Milesian cults recognised Zeus as *Βουλαῖος* (C. Fredrich in *Milet* ii. 91 ff. no. 12 a, 12 *Βουλαίου τῶιδε παρὰ προπύλωι* in a metrical inscription from the pedestal of a bronze statue of Lichas erected *c.* 200 B.C. in front of the earlier gateway of the Bouleuterion, A. Rehm *ib.* iii. 58 ff. no. 37 c, 43 f. *τῆι τε Ἑστίαι τῆι | Βουλαίαι καὶ τῶι Διὶ τῶι Βουλαίωι* in a psephism, *cp. ib.* iii. 122 n. 1), as *Δουσάρης Σωτήρ* (?) (A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 263 ff. no. 165, 3 f. *[Συλλ]αῖος, ἀδελφὸς βασιλ[έως, ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Ὀβόδα] | ἀνέθηκεν Διὶ Δουρ[σάρηι Σωτῆρι (?)]* the Greek half of a bilingual inscription on a marble base erected in the Delphinion by Syllaios, vizier of the Nabataean king Obodas, probably in January 9 B.C.), as *Νόσιος* (*supra* i. 733 n. 6), as *Σωτήρ* (A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 152 no. 130 *Διὸς Σωτῆρος* on a round altar or base in the Delphinion. This cult seems to have been much in evidence at Didyma: *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2852, 10 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 39, 10 ff. = B. Haussoullier *Études sur l'histoire de Milet et du Didymeion* Paris 1902 p. 194 ff. no. 1, 10 ff. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 214, 10 ff. *βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος* (Seleukos i Nikator rather than Seleukos ii Kallinikos) *Μιλησίων τῆι βουλῆι | καὶ τῶι δήμωι χαίρειν· ἀφεστάλκαμεν εἰς | τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Διδύμοις | τήν τε λυχνίαν τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ποτήρια | χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ εἰς ἀνάθεσιν τοῖς θεοῖς | τοῖς Σωτῆρσι κομίζοντα Πολιάνθην, ἐπι|γραφὰς ἔχοντα κ.τ.λ.*, 43 ff. *κέρας ἐπιγεγραμμένον "Διὶ Σωτῆρι" ἕ[ν,] | ὁλκὴ δραχμαὶ ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα τρεῖς, | τρεῖς ὀβολοί*, A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 200 ff. no. 144 A, 9 f. *[τῶι τε Ἀπόλ]λωνι τῶ[ι Διδυμεῖ καὶ τῶι Διὶ | τῶι Σωτῆρι]* in a treaty with some unknown town, *id. ib.* 233 ff. no. 150, 21 f. *τῶι τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Διδυμεῖ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ(ι) καὶ τῶι Διὶ τῶι | Σωτῆρι*, 112 ff. *νὴ τὸ[ν] | Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν Διδυμέ(α) καὶ τὴν*

bius, it is true, tried to explain *Didymaîos* by the 'twofold' aspect of Apollon, who shines with direct rays in the sun, with reflected rays in the moon[1]; and Lucian held that Didyma was named after the Heavenly 'Twins[2].' But such guesses, whether ancient or modern[3], make shipwreck on the fact that other place-names of south-western Asia Minor (Idyma, Sidyma, Loryma, Kibyma, Olymos) point to a Carian[4], not to a Greek[5], origin. I cannot, therefore, agree with my friend Dr Rendel Harris, when he urges 'that Didyma was an original twin-town[6].'

(β) Zeus duplicated on a gem.

Equally illusory is the monumental evidence that has been produced in support of a twin Zeus. An engraved cornelian of Roman date in the Berlin collection (fig. 200)[7] certainly shows two very similar forms of Zeus seated side by side, each holding a thunderbolt in his right hand and an eagle-sceptre in his left. Above them appears a bearded (?) male head[8]; and beneath them are the letters MVH. This enigmatic design has exercised the ingenuity of archaeologists.



Fig. 200.

Ἑστίαν τὴν Βουλαίαν καὶ τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ | τοὺς ἄλλους θεούς in a treaty of April 180 B.C. (?) with Herakleia on Mt Latmos, cp. *infra* § 9 (h) i), as Τέτιος (at Didyma: see *infra* § 9 (h) i). For the Milesian festival known as Διὸς βοῦς see *supra* i. 717 n. 2, *infra* § 9 (h) i, and B. Haussoullier 'Le culte de Zeus à Didymes, la Βοηγία' in the *Mélanges Henri Weil* Paris 1898 pp. 147—158.

[1] Macrob. *Sat.* i. 17. 64. [2] Loukian. *de astrol.* 23.

[3] See *e.g.* A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* Paris 1880 iii. 231 n. 4.

[4] L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 437.

[5] *Pace* the frequent topographical use of the Greek Δίδυμα, Διδυμαί, Διδύμη, Δίδυμοι, Δίδυμον (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 i. 297 f., A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 15).

[6] Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 p. 318.

[7] Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 121 no. 2608 pl. 23 (= my fig. 200: scale $\frac{2}{1}$), J. J. Winckelmann *Description des pierres gravées du feu Baron de Stosch* Florence 1760 ii Classe no. 42, A. H. F. von Schlichtegroll *Choix des principales Pierres gravées de la collection qui appartenait autrefois au Baron de Stosch et qui se trouve maintenant dans le Cabinet du Roi de Prusse* Nuremberg 1798 (a German ed. was issued under the title *Dactyliotheca Stoschiana*) ii Classe no. 42 pl. 21, E. Gerhard *Prodromus mythologischer Kunsterklärung* (Text to Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.*) München 1828—1844 p. 129 n. 35, *id. Zwei Minerven* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* viii) Berlin 1848 p. 5 n. 13 pl. 1, 5, C. Lenormant *Nouvelle galerie mythologique* (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 p. 47 f. no. 4 pl. 8, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 257 f. Gemmentaf. 3, 6.

[8] Gerhard *Zwei Minerven* p. 5 n. 13 (followed by Overbeck *loc. cit.*) says: 'der oberwärts befindliche anscheinend weibliche Kopf.' Furtwängler *loc. cit.* tacitly corrects him: 'Oben ein undeutlicher bärtiger Kopf.' The blunder was facilitated by the fact

P. D. Lippert pronounced the divine pair to be Iupiter and Iuno[1]! C. Lenormant saw Iupiter in the double *rôle* of *Summus* and *Summanus*[2]. J. J. Winckelmann tried to justify the duplication by citing a copper coin of Smyrna, struck by M. Aurelius, which showed both a standing and a seated Zeus—Aither and Ouranos, he supposed[3]. But this coin (fig. 201)[4], as Montfaucon had already observed[5], merely symbolises an alliance between Smyrna and Laodikeia on the Lykos by a juxtaposition of the Smyrnaean Zeus *Akraîos*[6] seated with the Laodicean Zeus[7]



Fig. 201.

that the hair is crimped or waved. But this was a method of *coiffure* employed by the Romans not only for women (A. Furtwängler in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 221, Steininger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2139) but also on occasion for men—witness the numismatic portraits of Otho (J. J. Bernoulli *Römische Ikonographie* Stuttgart 1891 ii. 7 Münztaf. 1, 5 f.).

[1] P. D. Lippert *Dactyliothec* (Supplement) Dresden, Leipzig 1767—1776 i, 30. On Lippert and his services to archaeology see C. Justi *Winckelmann in Deutschland* Leipzig 1866 i. 361 ff. and Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 414 f. Lippert was perhaps misled by the large nipples of the left-hand figure: but that is merely proof of haste and clumsiness on the part of the gem-engraver.

[2] C. Lenormant *loc. cit.*

[3] J. J. Winckelmann *op. cit.* p. 38, Gerhard *Zwei Minerven* p. 5 n. 13.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 307 pl. 39, 11 (=my fig. 201) rev.: ATTAΛOCCO ΦICTHCTA ICΠATPICI CMVPΛAO *i.e.* Ἄτταλος σοφιστὴς (*sc.* ἀνέθηκε) ταῖς πατρίσι Σμυρ(ναίων) Λαο(δικέων). The Smyrnaean Zeus *Akraîos* is seated to left, with *himátion* wrapped about his legs, holding Nike in his outstretched right hand and leaning his left on a sceptre. Before him stands the Laodicean Zeus to right, with long *chitón* and *himátion*, holding an eagle on his outstretched right hand and a sceptre over his left shoulder. Rasche *Lex. Num.* viii. 1280. Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 324 f. pl. 52, 7 f.

[5] Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1725 Suppl. i. 33 pl. 5 no. 6.

Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 675, iv. 829 records similar alliance-coins of Ephesos and Kyzikos, struck by Antoninus Pius, with the type of two Zeuses joining their right hands and the legend ЄΦЄCIOC KYZIKOC (*sic*). But this is presumably a mistaken interpretation of the type correctly described by W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 60 no. 290 and by W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1774 f. as two youthful male figures (KVZIKOC and ЄΦЄCOC) grasping right hands.

[6] Append. B Lydia.

[7] A similar type of Zeus appears on *quasi*-autonomous and imperial coppers of Laodikeia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. lxxxi, 289 f. pl. 35, 1, 293 f., 296 f.: fig. 202 is from a specimen in my collection. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 300 ff. pl. 37, 1, 3=my fig. 203). Sometimes he is flanked by Hera and Athena in a group intended to recall the Capitoline triad (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 308 pl. 37, 7, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 491 pl. 57, 3, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 266 no. 21 pl. 8, 25=my fig. 204). Another interesting imperial type shows the city-goddess (ΛAO Δ IKЄIA) enthroned to left, with *kálathos*, *chitón*, and *himátion*: in her right hand is a statuette of the Laodicean Zeus, in her left a sceptre; below are two river-gods

standing. E. Gerhard too recognised 'ein Doppelzeus,' whom he at

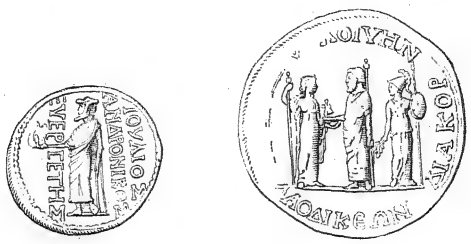


Fig. 202. Fig. 204. Fig. 203.

(ΛVKOC and ΚΑΠΡ OC) with waves (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 268 no. 26 pl. 8, 26 = my fig. 205). A variant makes Laodikeia hold the statuette in her right hand, but a *cornu copiae* in her left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 317 pl. 38, 3). On another specimen Laodikeia, with a *phiale* in her right hand and the statuette in her left, stands between a wolf (ΛVKOC) and a boar (ΚΑΠΡΟC) representing the rivers (F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Zur griechischen und römischen Münzkunde' in the *Revue suisse*



Fig. 205.



Fig. 206.

de numismatique 1908 p. 161, Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 35 f., ii. 785 f.: the latter by an intelligible slip says 'a goat ΚΑΠΡΟC'). On yet another she is enthroned to left, with the statuette in her right hand and a *cornu copiae* in her left, between two standing figures of ΦΡVΓΙΑ and ΚΑΡΙΑ (J. von Schlosser in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1891 p. 1 ff. pl. 1, 1 = my fig. 206, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 317 pl. 38, 2). Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 678 ff.

The temple of Zeus, before which Q. Pomponius Flaccus laid a white marble pavement (G. Weber in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 144 f. no. 1, 13 f. with Ramsay *op. cit.* i. 50 n. 3), has not been identified. At some period before *c.* 150 A.D. the cult of Zeus was amalgamated with that of the Roman emperor in the festival Δεῖα Σεβαστὰ Οἰκουμενικά (E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iii. 2. 233 f. Oxford 1890 no. 605, 5 Δεῖα Σεβαστὰ οἰκουμενικὰ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἀγενείων πυγμ[ήν·] | κ.τ.λ., 11 Δεῖα Σεβαστὰ οἰκουμενικὰ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἀνδρῶν πυγμ[ήν·] | κ.τ.λ., *ib.* iii. 2. 239 f. no. 615, 14 ν Λαδικείᾳ ἀνδρῶν Δεῖα with Ramsay *op. cit.* i. 51, 53 f.).

Ramsay *op. cit.* i. 33, 50 f., F. Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 265 ff., and G. Macdonald in the *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 490 ff. speak of the god as Zeus Λαοδικηνός, *Laodicenus*, and most writers call him Zeus Λαοδικεύς, *Laodicensis*. But I am not aware of any such cult-title. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ii no. 2525 Iovi *Ladico* M. Ulp. Aug. lib. Gracilis

first christened *Meilíchios* and *Epidótes*[1], but later compared with the *Díes Ktésioi* of Athenaios[2]: his first suggestion is improbable, his second impossible. Much more acute was the view of E. H. Toelken, who in the two Zeuses detected the reigning pair, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Verus. The letters MVH may of course, as he suggested, indicate the name of the owner[3]. It is, however, very possible that they are the initials of Marcus, Verus, and Helios—the deity whose cult was specially connected with the Aurelii[4]. If the sun-god is bearded, that perhaps implies that he was identified by the gem-engraver with the preceding emperor, Antoninus Pius. The full official name T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius would be likely enough to provoke such identification,

ex voto is best connected with Mt Ladicus in Gallaecia (De Vit *Onomasticon* iii. 735). If, as seems likely, the coin-types reproduce local statues, we must distinguish this Zeus of Laodikeia from Zeus Ἀσεὶς of the same town (*supra* i. 706).

[1] E. Gerhard *Prodromus mythologischer Kunsterklärung* (Text to Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.*) München 1828—1844 p. 129 n. 35, cp. Plout. *non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicuri decreta* 22 ἀλλὰ ὁ μὲν μέγας ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς πτηνὸν ἅρμα ἐλαύνων κάτω πρῶτος πορεύεται διακοσμῶν πάντα καὶ ἐπιμελούμενος· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων θεῶν ὁ μέν ἐστιν Ἐπιδότης, ὁ δὲ Μειλίχιος, ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξίκακος· κ.τ.λ. But this passage expressly distinguishes Zeus from the gods described as Ἐπιδότης and Μειλίχιος.

The title Ἐπιδότης or Ἐπιδώτης (O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 60 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 932 n. 3) is used of various deities, sometimes as an epithet (*e.g.* Paus. 2. 10. 2 at Sikyon Τῦπος κατακοιμίζων λέοντα, Ἐπιδώτης δὲ ἐπίκλησιν), sometimes as a name (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 526 from the Argive Heraion φιάλα ἃ Ἐπιδώτα, Paus. 2. 27. 6 at Epidauros ἱερὸν θεῶν οὓς Ἐπιδώτας ὀνομάζουσιν, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 133 no. 342 on a rock near the ruins of Pagasai ΕΠΙΔΟ[ΤΑ]ΙΣ = Ἐπιδόταις). As an appellative of Zeus it is attested for Sparta by Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐπιδώτας (so Salmasius for cod. ἐπιδότας)· Ζεὺς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι (cp. Paus. 3. 17. 9 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐκτελοῦντες πρόσταγμα ἐκ Δελφῶν τάς τε εἰκόνας ἐποιήσαντο τὰς χαλκᾶς καὶ δαίμονα τιμῶσιν Ἐπιδώτην (so Ag. Ped. R *pr. man.* Ἐπιδωτὴν Lab. R *corr.* Vb. Ἐπιδότην M. Va.), τὸ ἐπὶ Παυσανίᾳ τοῦ Ἰκεσίου μήνιμα ἀποτρέπειν τὸν Ἐπιδώτην λέγοντες τοῦτον) and perhaps for Mantineia by Paus. 8. 9. 2 Μαντινεῦσι δέ ἐστι καὶ ἄλλα ἱερά, τὸ μὲν Σωτῆρος Διός, τὸ δὲ Ἐπιδώτου (Ἐπιδότου Pc. Vab.) καλουμένου (so Kayser for καλούμενον)· ἐπιδιδόναι γὰρ δὴ ἀγαθὰ αὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις. Since ἐπιδίδωμι properly signifies 'I give a further gift' (*e.g.* Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 163 ff. Διός τοι νόος μέγας κυβερνᾷ | δαίμον' ἀνδρῶν φίλων. | εὔχομαί νιν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοῦτο | δόμεν γέρας ἔπι Βάττου γένει) and so 'a liberal gift' (see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iii. 1577 D ff.), Ἐπιδότης or Ἐπιδώτης must mean 'the Generous Giver.' Cp. Kallim. *h. Zeus* 91 f. Κρονίδη πανυπέρτατε, δῶτορ ἑάων, | δῶτορ ἀπημονίης, and an inscription copied by E. Falkener in the theatre at Termessos beginning ΜΑΡΣΥΑΝ ΤΡΩΙΛΟΣΕΥΣ | ΔΙΟΣΛΩΤΗΡΟΣΕΙΤΑΙΟ, on which C. Henzen remarks: 'Titulus erat fortasse honorarius Marsyae Troili filii. Ζεὺς Δωτὴρ nimis certo in eo legi videtur, quam ut Σωτῆρος emendare liceat' (*Ann. d. Inst.* 1852 xxiv. 176 f.). ΕΙΤΑΙΟ is presumably Ἰδαίου. Cp. Zeus Ἀναδώτης (Append. M *sub fin.*).

[2] *Infra* Append. H.

[3] E. H. Toelken *Erklärendes Verzeichniss der antiken vertieft geschnittenen Steine der Königlich Preussischen Gemmensammlung* Berlin 1835 p. 98 no. iii, 95.

[4] E. Klebs in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2431, *supra* i. 630 n. 6. *Aurelius* would inevitably be associated with Ἥλιος, *Helius*.

for *Aelius* was sometimes spelled *Elius*[1], while *Helius* on occasion appears as *Haelius*[2].

(γ) Zeus *Tetráotos*.

Again, Zeus—like other ancient divinities[3]—is sometimes Janiform. But here each case has to be investigated separately, and we must not assume without more ado that the duplication of features necessarily points to twinhood[4].

There seems to have been a cult of Zeus *Tetráotos*, 'the Four-eared,' in Phrygia[5], just as there was a cult of Apollon *Tetráotos* in Lakonike[6], while *Tetráotos* pure and simple occurs at Gela, apparently as the name of an ancient Sicanian deity (?)[7].

[1] Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 2431, 6122, 6122[a].

[2] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 19138.

[3] See *e.g.* W. H. Roscher's collection of Janiform heads in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 49—55.

[4] Other possibilities with regard to the origin and development of these multiple types are discussed in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 282 ff.

[5] A. Körte in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1897 clix. 408 no. 51 *Shar-öjük* (the stone is broken at the top and damaged in the last line but one) – – – [σὺ]ν γυναι|κὶ κὲ τέκν|οις ὑπὲρ τ|ῶν ἰδίων | Διὶ Τετρα|ώ[τω κατ'] ε|ὐχήν. Körte suggests Τετράωτος, but remarks that this necessitates κατ' εὐχήν, an unusual *formula*.

[6] Zenob. 1. 54 ἄκουε τοῦ τὰ τέσσαρα ὦτα ἔχοντος· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπειθούντων. χρησμὸς γὰρ ἐδόθη Ἐντίμῳ τῷ Κρητὶ καὶ Ἀντιφήμῳ τῷ Ῥοδίῳ φυλάξασθαι τὸν Τετράωτον· ἦν δὲ οὗτος λῃστὴς Φοίνιξ· οἱ δὲ τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἀμελήσαντες ἀπώλοντο. ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ πολλὰ ἰδόντος καὶ πολλὰ ἀκούσαντος, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης φησίν. ἄλλοι δὲ τὴν παροιμίαν παραγγέλλειν τῶν ἀληθευόντων ἀκούειν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀψευδέστερος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὃν τετράχειρα καὶ τετράωτον ἱδρύσαντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὥς φησι Σωσίβιος (*frag.* 11 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 627 Müller)), ὅτι τοιοῦτος ὤφθη τοῖς περὶ Ἀμύκλαν μαχομένοις. Similar statements occur in Diogeneian. 2. 5 and Apostol. 1. 93. Cp. Liban. *or.* 11. 204 (i. 2. 507, 9 ff. Foerster) anent the shape of the new town at Antiocheia on the Orontes ἐκ δὲ ἀψίδων τεττάρων ἀλλήλαις συνηρμοσμένων εἰς τετράγωνον τύπον ὥσπερ ἐξ ὀμφαλοῦ τέτταρες στοῶν συζυγίαι καθ' ἕκαστον τμῆμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τέτανται, οἷον ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος τετράχειρος ἀγάλματι, Hesych. *s.v.* κουρίδιον·... Λάκωνες δὲ κουρίδιον καλοῦσι τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς (so Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 1893 A for καλοῦσι. παρὰ δὲ αὐτοῖς cod.) τετράχειρον Ἀπόλλωνα, *id. s.v.* κυνακίας· ἱμάντες, οἱ ἐκ βύρσης τοῦ σφαγιασθέντος τετράχειρι Ἀπόλλωνι βοὸς ἔπαθλα διδομένου, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 267 (Ἀπόλλωνος) 38 τετραχείρου, H. J. W. Tillyard in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905–1906 xii. 378 f. no. 44, 1 f.=*Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 259, 1 f. (slab with carved pediment from the precinct of Artemis *Orthia*) ἱρεὺς σεῖο, Μάκαιρα, κᾳ[σιγνήτου] | τετράχειρος μῶαν [νικήσας ἄν]|θετο Καλλικράτης. κ.τ.λ. See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 398 f.

[7] Entimos and Antiphemos, the founders of Gela (Hdt. 7. 153, Thouk. 6. 4, Athen. 297 F), consulted the Pythia (Diod. 8. 23, Aristainetos (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 319 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γέλα, *et. mag.* p. 225, 1 ff., cp. schol. Pind. *Ol.* 2. 16) and were bidden *inter alia* to beware of τὸν Τετράωτον (*supra* n. 6). They became embroiled with the Sikanoi (Artemon of Pergamon *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 341 f. Müller) *ap.* schol. Pind. *Ol.* 2. 16), and Antiphemos, having sacked the Sicanian town of Omphake, carried off to Gela an image made by Daidalos (Paus. 8. 46. 2, 9. 40. 4). Since Janiform deities other than Ianus were not unknown in southern Sicily (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 186 Syracuse no. 283, G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 150 pl. 11, 4), it

(δ) The Celtic Janiform god.

Silver *statêres* struck by the Celts far up the Danube valley, in imitation of the fine tetradrachms issued by Philippos ii of Makedonia (figs. 207, 208)[1], sometimes transform the head of Zeus into that

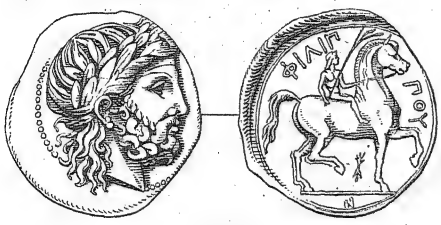


Fig. 207.



Fig. 208.

of a two-faced bearded god resembling Ianus (figs. 209, 210)[2]. Again,

may be conjectured that this Sicanian image was ὁ Τετράωτος, later rationalised into a Phoenician freebooter (*supra* n. 6).

[1] I illustrate two specimens in my collection: (1) Fig. 207=obv. Head of Zeus, laureate, to right; rev. ΦΙΛΙΠ ΠΟΥ Youth on horseback to right, carrying palm-branch. In the field a thunderbolt, probably the mint-mark of Pella. In the exergue Ν. (2) Fig. 208=obv. Head of Zeus, with olive-wreath and olive-berries, to right; rev. ΦΙΛΙΠ ΠΟΥ Bearded Macedonian horseman, in short *chitón*, *chlamýs*, and *kausía*, raising his right hand. In the field forepart of winged horse, probably the mint-mark of Lampsakos, and bow. See also Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 44 pl. 22, 18, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 223 fig. 136, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* pp. 153, 155 pl. 7, 29 and 39, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 93, 96 f., 104 f. Münztaf. 1, 21, G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 79 pl. 2, 11, *id. A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 pp. 164, 171, 176 f., 261 pl. 7, 1, *id. Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 80 ff. pl. 5, 44.

[2] E. Muret—M. A. Chabouillet *Catalogue des monnaies gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris 1889 p. 235 nos. 9897—9899, H. de la Tour *Atlas de monnaies gauloises* Paris 1892 no. 9899 pl. 51 (=my fig. 209) in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, E. Fiala *Collection Ernst Prinz zu Windisch-Grätz* Prag 1895—1897 no. 2891, R. Forrer *Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donaulande* Strassburg 1908 pp. 167, 169 fig. 328 pl. 36 found in the district of Tolna, Hungary, and now in the Forrer collection, M. Dessewffy *Barbár Pénzei* Budapest 1910 p. 40 no. 814 pl. 33 (I owe this reference to the kindness of my friend Mr G. F. Hill), R. Ratto *Catalogo di una grande collezione di un distinto numismatico straniero* Milano 1912 p. 16 no. 169 pl. 3. Fig. 210 is from a specimen of mine, referred to Pannonia (?): obv. Janiform bearded head; rev. Horseman, with plumed helmet, to right. In front of the horse's nose is Π, the last remains of the legend ΦΙΛΙΠ ΠΟΥ. Weight 189 grains.

gold *statêres* and quarter-*statêres* struck by the Mediomatrici, whose



Fig. 209.

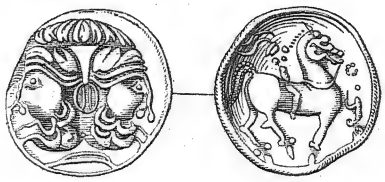


Fig. 210.

chief town was Divodurum (Mettis, *Metz*) on the Moselle, have for obverse type a beardless Janiform head (figs. 211—213)[1]. And coppers

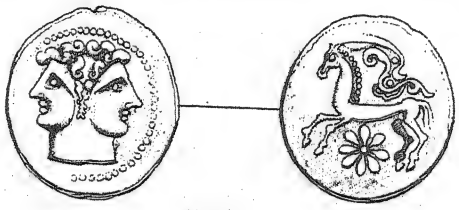


Fig. 211.



Fig. 212.

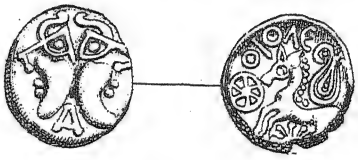


Fig. 213.

issued by Cunobelinus at Camulodunum (*Colchester*) have on one side a similar Janiform head, on the other a sow seated beneath an oak(?)-tree (fig. 214)[2]. This may be taken to imply that the Danubian, Rhenic, and British Celts recognised a god facing both ways. Such a god might appear in Roman dress as the Ianus *Geminus*[3] of

[1] E. Muret—M. A. Chabouillet *op. cit.* p. 207 nos. 8933 ff., H. de la Tour *op. cit.* nos. 8933, 8937, 8944 pl. 36 (=my figs. 211—213), R. Forrer *op. cit.* p. 346 fig. 543.

[2] Sir J. Evans *The Coins of the Ancient Britons* London 1864 p. 344 ff. pl. 13, 1 (=my fig. 214).

[3] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 5092 *a*=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3319 (found near Wolfsberg at the foot of Mt. Saualpe in Carinthia, now at Klagenfurt) Iano Ge|mino etc. See further *infra* p. 338 n. 3 *fin.*

Noricum, the Ianus *Pater*[1], Ianus *Augustus*[2], Ianus *Pater Augustus*[3] of Dalmatia, the Ianus *Vaeosus*[4] of Gallia Narbonensis. Indeed, the memory of this dicephalous deity lingered on through the middle ages into modern times. Geoffrey of Monmouth, who died in 1154 A.D., describes the burial of King Lear by his daughter Cordelia in the following terms[5]:



Fig. 214.

'But Cordeilla, now mistress of the helm of state, buried her father in a certain underground chamber, which he had bidden to be made beneath the river Sora within the town of Legecestria. Now this underground chamber had been founded in honour of the two-faced Janus. And here, when the day of celebration came round, all the workmen of the town used to begin the work that would occupy them throughout the year.'

Geoffrey professes to be translating literally from a very ancient manuscript in the Welsh tongue lent to him by Walter, archdeacon of Oxford[6]. And it must be admitted[7] that the extant chronicle in Old Welsh attributed to Tysilio, bishop of Wales (*s.* vii A.D.)[8], agrees closely with Geoffrey's account:

[1] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 2881 (Corinium (*Karin*)) Iano Pat[ri] | etc., no. 3030 (Flanona (*Fianona*)) Iano | Patri.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 2969 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3321 (Aenona (*Nona*)) Iano Aug. | etc.

[3] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3158 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3320 (brought from Salonae (*Salona*) (?) to *Padua*, and now at *Este*) Iano Patri | Aug. etc.

[4] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xii no. 1065 (*Cadenet* near Iulia Apta (*Apt*)) Iano Vaeo|so etc.

[5] Galfredus Monumetensis *hist. reg. Brit.* 2. 14 Cordeilla vero regni gubernaculum adepta sepelivit patrem in quodam subterraneo, quod sub Sora fluvio intra Legecestriam fieri praeceperat (*praecepit* ed. Ascensii). erat autem subterraneum illud conditum in honorem bifrontis Jani. ibi omnes operarii urbis adveniente solemnitate diei (I should prefer to read *dei*) opera, quae per annum acturi erant, incipiebant.

[6] Galfredus Monumetensis *hist. reg. Brit.* 1. 1, cp. 11. 1, 12. 20. For a discussion of these passages see San-Marte's ed. pp. xiii—xx ('Gottfrieds Quellen').

[7] W. M. Flinders Petrie 'Neglected British History' in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 1917 viii argues that the Brut Tysilio is really the original from which Geoffrey was drawing. See further an important *critique* of this paper in *The Cambridge Review* 1918 xxxix. 363 f. by [Dr] M. R. J[ames].

[8] The text is printed by W. Owen *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* London 1801 ii. 81—390. I give the translation by P. Roberts *The Chronicle of the Kings of Britain* London 1811 p. 44f. *Id. ib.* p. 354 well compares the description given by Giraldus Cambrensis *itin. Cambr.* 1. 2 (p. 349 of Sir R. C. Hoare's trans. in Bell's reprint 1905) of the festival of St. Almedha as celebrated on Aug. 1, Lammas Day (one of the four cross-quarter days—Roodmas, Lammas, Martinmas, Candlemas: see *infra* p. 326 n. 4), near Aberhodni: 'You may see men or girls, now in the church, now in the churchyard, now in the dance, which is led round the churchyard with a song, on a sudden falling on the ground as in a trance, then jumping up as in a frenzy, and representing with their hands and feet, before the people, whatever work they have unlawfully done on feast days; you may see one man put his hand to the plough, and another, as it were, goad on the oxen, mitigating their sense of labour, by the usual rude song: one man imitating

Cordalia now took the sovereignty of Britain into her own hands. Lear was buried in a cavern formed below the River Soar at Leicester, and which had been magnificently constructed in honour of the God Bifrons. Here likewise all the artificers of the kingdom were assembled annually, to work at what trade soever they were to pursue, to the end of the year from that time.

Sir John Rhŷs comments: 'This seems to mean that Llyr as a Celtic Dis was a god of beginnings, and that he had, like the Dis of the Gauls, more than one face, which naturally led him to be identified with the Roman Janus. The town of Leicester seems to have been a great centre of this cult, and only one thing is wanting; but it is a very important thing, namely, the discovery on the spot of some relic of antiquity inscribed with some such words as *Deo Jano Liro Sacrum*[1].' Recently Miss M. A. Murray in an article of exceptional interest[2] has called attention to the fact that the devil worshipped by the witches of southern France as late as the seventeenth century was Janiform[3], and has made it probable that at the 'Sabbaths' held on the four cross-quarter days[4] he was represented by a man with a double mask[5].

(ε) Iupiter *Ambisagrus* and Iupiter *Dianus*.

Zeus and Iupiter were seldom, if ever, Janiform in classical art. In 1843 E. Braun published a bifrontal head in the Palazzo Spada

the profession of a shoemaker; another, that of a tanner. Now you may see a girl with a distaff, drawing out the thread, and winding it again on the spindle; another walking, and arranging the threads for the web; another, as it were, throwing the shuttle, and seeming to weave. On being brought into the church, and led up to the altar with their oblations, you will be astonished to see them suddenly awakened, and coming to themselves.' P. Roberts *ib.* p. 354 further cites the ceremony known (*c.* 1750) as 'riding the Franchises': 'Upon this occasion the artizans of a corporation went in procession, and those of each trade exhibited a kind of booth, or shop, on a car, in which there was one or more working at the trade.'

[1] Sir J. Rhŷs *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* Oxford 1891 p. 131 f. *Id. ib.* p. 131 derives *Leicester* from *Leir-Cestre*: on which, however, see J. B. Johnston *The Place-names of England and Wales* London 1915 p. 342.

[2] M. A. Murray 'Organisations of Witches in Great Britain' in *Folk-Lore* 1917 xxviii. 228 ff.

[3] P. de Lancre *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais Anges et Demons* Paris 1612 p. 72 'Ianette d'Abadie de Siboro agee de 16. ans, dict qu'il auoit vn visage deuant, & vn visage derriere la teste, comme on peint le Dieu Ianus,' *ib.* p. 132 f. 'elle dict qu'elle y vid le Diable en forme d'homme noir & hideux, auec six cornes en la teste, parfois huict, & vne grande queuë derriere, vn visage deuant & vn autre derriere la teste, comme on peint le dieu Ianus.' Cp. *ib.* p. 72 'D'autres qu'il est comme vn grand bouc, ayant deux cornes deuant & deux en derriere:... & vne grande queuë au derriere, & vne forme de visage au dessoubs: duquel visage il ne profere aucune parole, ains luy sert pour le donner à baiser à ceux que bon luy semble, honorant certains sorciers ou sorcieres plus les vns que les autres.'

[4] Roodmas or Holy Cross Day (May 3, originally April 30?), Lammas (Aug. 1), Hallowmas (Oct. 31), Candlemas (Feb. 2). On the Celtic May—November year see the literature cited by Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful i. 223 n. 1 f.

[5] Cp. *infra* § 3 (a) v (o) *fin.*

at Rome (pl. xx)[1], which he took to be a representation of Zeus in his celestial and chthonian characters, the former mild, the latter stern. Braun was followed by J. Overbeck[2]. But E. Gerhard, when confronted with the head, failed to detect any such distinction[3]. And K. F. Hermann[4], P. W. Forchhammer[5], K. O. Müller[6], W. H. Roscher[7], were all inclined to think that the sculptor meant to portray, not a Janiform Zeus, but Ianus himself. However, Braun was able to support his contention by quoting from P. Pedrusi (fig. 215)[8] a silver coin of Geta, struck in 211 A.D., which certainly shows a beardless(?)[9] two-faced god—presumably Iupiter[10]—holding a thunderbolt in his left hand and a reversed spear in his right. Forchhammer observed that the attributes are those of Iupiter *Conservator*, and suggested that this god was fused with Ianus *Conservator* in a unique numismatic type commemorating the double rule of Geta and Caracalla[11]. I should explain the type somewhat

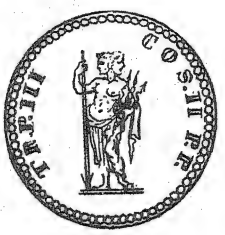


Fig. 215.

[1] E. Braun *Antike Marmorwerke zum ersten Male bekannt gemacht* Erste und zweite Decade Leipzig 1843 p. 4 no. 3 pl. 3[a] and pl. 3[b] (combined in my pl. xx). The double head is about life-size and broken off at the neck. We cannot therefore be sure whether it came from a statue or from a herm. In the Palazzo Spada it is set on an ancient, but single, herm, which does not belong to it. Both noses are damaged, and restored in the drawing.

[2] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 91 f. Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* i. 9 no. 32 remark that, of the two faces, the one here figured on the right is more like Zeus, the one here figured on the left more like Poseidon.

[3] See E. Braun *op. cit.* p. 4. E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1850 viii. 137 n. 6 is non-committal.

[4] K. F. Hermann in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1844 i. 335.

[5] P. W. Forchhammer in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 1844 ii. 1074—1077.

[6] K. O. Müller *Handbuch der Archaeologie der Kunst*[3] Stuttgart 1878 p. 669 § 407 n. 2.

[7] W. H. Roscher in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 50 f.

[8] P. Pedrusi *I Cesari in argento da Adriano sino a' Caracalla, e Geta Raccolti nel Farnese museo E pubblicati colle loro congrue Interpretazioni* Parma 1703 iii. 365—367 pl. 24 no. 16 fig. (=my fig. 215).

[9] E. Braun *op. cit.* inset on pl. 3[b] = *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 367 fig. 2 shows apparently a beardless + a bearded face, but is a very inexact reproduction of Pedrusi's figure.

[10] P. Pedrusi *loc. cit.* interprets the type as a two-faced Ianus regarding at once the past and the future. Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iv. 274 no. 197 says: 'Janus? ou Jupiter à double tête' etc. J. Khell *Ad numismata imperatorum Romanorum aurea et argentea a Vaillantio edita, a Cl. Baldinio aucta ex solius Austriæ utriusque, iisque aliquibus Museis Subplementum a Julio Caes. ad Comnenos se porrigens* Vindobonæ 1767 p. 131, describing a similar piece (Cohen *op. cit.*[2] iv. 274 n. 1), has: 'Juppiter seminudus stans d. hastam præpilatam inversam, s. fulmen.' See also *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 276.

[11] P. W. Forchhammer *loc. cit.* A silver coin of Pertinax, with reverse of Ianus half-draped standing, spear in right hand, is inscribed IANO CONSERVAT (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 505 f., 512, Suppl. iii. 70, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 392 no. 17).

differently. A remarkable inscription engraved on a small altar found at Aquileia records the worship of Iupiter *Optimus Maximus Co(nservator) et Ambisagrus*[1]. The last title is commonly regarded as quite obscure[2]. But in view of our coin it becomes transparently simple. *Ambisagrus* is vulgar Latin for *Ambisacrus*[3] and means 'Sacred on both sides[4].' It implies that the Iupiter in question was a god resembling the two-faced Ianus. Accordingly, we are not surprised to discover that in the same town Aquileia there was a cult of Iupiter *Dianus*[5]—an ancient form of Ianus identified with the later Iupiter. It is hardly accidental that this Janiform Iupiter occurs in a district which was permeated with Celtic influences.

(ζ) Iupiter and Ianus in the Salian Hymn.

The *rapprochement* between Ianus on the one hand and Zeus or Iupiter on the other is attested, not only by Augustine[6] and Proklos[7] in the fifth century A.D., but also—to all appearance—by a Salian hymn which is one of the very oldest specimens of the Latin language[8].

[1] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 790.

[2] M. Ihm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1799 ('Zweifelhaft, ob Name eines Gottes... Man könnte eher an einen Beinamen des Iuppiter denken'), *Thes. Ling. Lat.* i. 1851, 47 ('*vix recte intellegitur*').

[3] Cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 3571 = E. Diehl *Vulgärlateinische Inschriften* Bonn 1910 p. 42 no. 456 (Tibur) Erchul | sagrum (= *Herculi sacrum*). T. Mommsen in *Corp. inscr. Lat.* v. 1179 prints 'Iupiter optimus maximus co(nservator) et Ambisager.' But the termination *-sagrus* is supported by [S]AKPOS in the second line of the famous inscription from the Roman Forum (D. Comparetti *Iscrizione arcaica del Foro Romano* Firenze—Roma 1900 p. 8 with plate. Bibliography by Sir J. E. Sandys in *A Companion to Latin Studies*[2] Cambridge 1913 p. 731).

[4] Cp. Ov. *fast.* i. 95 tunc sacer ancipiti mirandus imagine Ianus | etc. A similar formation is the compound *Am(p)sanctus*, on which see the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* i. 2017, 50 ff. and P. Lejay in the *Rev. Philol.* N.S. 1917 xli. 185 ff.

[5] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 783 (found at Aquileia in 1817) IOVI | DIANÓ · | C · HERRE|-N · NIVS · | CANDIDVS | V · S · L · M. The name of the dedicator is misread as C · HERRE|-NONIVS by G. Orti Manara in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1839 p. 130, Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5622. See further T. Birt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1003, *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 372 n. 1, *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 277, 288 f. (with correction *ib.* p. 462), Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 382, Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 113 n. 3.

[6] Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 9 has a discussion 'de Iovis potestate atque eiusdem cum Iano comparatione.' *Id. ib.* 7. 10 raises the question 'an Iani et Iovis recta discretio sit.'

[7] Proklos begins and ends a *quasi*-Orphic hymn to Hekate and Ianus with the lines: χαῖρε, θεῶν μῆτερ, πολυώνυμε, καλλιγένεθλε· | χαῖρ', Ἑκάτη προθυραία, μεγασθενές· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς | χαῖρ', Ἴανε προπάτορ, Ζεῦ ἄφθιτε· χαῖρ', ὕπατε Ζεῦ (Prokl. *h.* 6. 1 ff., 13 ff. in E. Abel *Orphica* Lipsiae—Pragae 1885 p. 281).

[8] Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 7. 26 in multis verbis in quo[d] antiqui dicebant S, postea dicunt R, ut in carmine Saliorum sunt haec: 'cozeulodorieso. omnia vero adpatula coemisse. ian cusianes duonus ceruses. dunus Ianusue uet pom melios eum recum' * * * I give the text as printed by the latest editors, G. Götz and F. Schöll (1910). Within the last forty years numerous critics have attempted to rewrite this puzzling passage.

(1) H. Jordan *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache* Berlin 1879 pp. 152, 223 f. proposes the following Saturnian lines:

o Zeúl adóriésis—†ómniaueroad
patúlcius clusívius—Iánus cusiánus's
duonu' cérus es duonu' Iánus—prómeliós es récum

where *o Zeúl=o Sol* and *adórié(n)sis* is adjectival.

(2) L. Havet *De Saturnio Latinorum versu* Paris 1880 pp. 243 ff., 249 ff., 410 gives:

Cozevi, adoriose, †omnia vero ad; patulti, oenus es; jancus, Jan(e), es;
dvonus Cerus es; †dun; Janus †vevet; po meliose im recum...

with the interpretation: *Consivi, adoriose, ...tod; Patulti, unus es; janitor, Jane, es; bonus Cerus es; .....Janus.....; potissimum, meliorem eum regum....*

(3) T. Bergk *Kleine philologische Schriften* Halle a. S. 1884 i. 477 ff. ('De carminum Saliarium reliquiis'=*Indices lectionum...in academia Marburgensi*...MDCCCXLVII... MDCCCXLVIII) had suggested:

(*a*) Ozeul adosiose...
(*b*) ...omína vero ád Patúlcie mísse
Iánitós Iánes: duonús cerus és, Iánes.
(*c*) dúonus Iánus aúctet, pó meliósem récum...

where *Ozeul* (*Oozeul?*) etc.=*Sol adoriose; omína* etc.=*precationes vero admitte, Patulcie Ianitor Iane: bonus creator es, Iane*; and *dúonus* etc.=*bonus Ianus auctet, quo meliorem regum* (*nullum terra vidit Saturnia unquam*).

(4) E. Bährens in his edition (Lipsiae 1886) of the *Poet. Lat. min.* vi. 30 *frag.* 3 prints:

Ozeúl, o dómine, es ómnium
patér! Patúlci, Cloési,
es iáneús, ianés *es*!
duonús cerús es oénus,
promélios déuom récum.

At the end of the third line Bährens has added *es*. After the fourth line he has suppressed *Ianusue uet* as a variant on the third line transcribed 'ex uetusto codice.' The fifth line he takes to mean: *maximus dominorum caelestium*.

(5) C. M. Zander *Carminis Saliaris reliquiae* Lundæ 1888 pp. 1—4, 16—29, 39—53 defends the following text and translation:

O Zaúl, adorĭese ómnĭa!
Vero^{m} ád pătlă cŏĕmís es iáneús, Iánes.
Dvonus Cĕrus és, dvonus Iánus.
Veueĭs promérios próme diŭs e*n*úm recón*de*.

=O sol oriens inuade omnia! | Portarum ad patulos aditus comis es ianitor, Iane. | Bonus Genius es, bonus Ianus. | Vivis (dat. plur.), (optime) *promeritus, prome dies et reconde.*

(6) B. Maurenbrecher 'Carminum Saliarium reliquiae' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1894 xxi. 332—335 *frags.* 2 and 3:

2. O Zol, adoriso omnia—verod Patulci cosmis;
Es Sancus Ianis duonus,—Cerus es duonus Ianus.
3. Potissimum meliosum recum.

The third word in *frag.* 2 is either *adorīso=adorīris* or *adorĭso=adoreris*. The fragment is rendered: *O Sol*, (qui) *ad omnia vadis* (surgis), *re vera comis Patulci*: | *es bonus Sancus Ianius, es bonus Cerus*, (es) *Ianus*. *Frag.* 3 describes Ianus as most powerful of the gods (*meliores reges*).

(7) T. Birt in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii Ergänzungsheft ('Sprach man avrum oder aurum?') pp. 162, 193—197:

Conzéviós hordésios óptimos máximos Iános
Patulcós geminós seiánes cúsianés, duonus cérus es,
Duonus Iánus réxque óptimus méliosúm récum.

Conzéviós=Consevius; *hordésios* is an adjective formed from *hordeum*; *seiánes* is con-

nected with *Seia, Fructiseia*, the goddess of sowing; *cúsianés=curianus* (cp. *Curiatius, Quirinus*).

(8) G. Hempl 'The Salian Hymn to Janus' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 1900 xxxi. 182—188 would restore the lines with (*a*) stressed or (*b*) quantitative scansion:

(*a*) cocéulōd oriĕso · ómnia uĕrōd pátula cóemis ·
es iános cūsiátios · duónos céros es [*or* és] ·
duónos iános uéniet · potíssimos meliósom rĕcom ·

(*b*) co|ceulōd | oriē|so · omnia | uērōd | patula | coemis ·
es | iānos | cūsi|ātios | · duonos | ceros es ·
du|onos iā|nos ueni|et · poti|mos meli|ōsom | rēcom ·

Here *coceulōd=cucūlō, oriēso=oriēre, coemis=comis* ('bring together, bring about, make, arrange'), *cūsiātios=cūriātius*. Hempl translates: 'Come forth with the cuckoo! Truly all things dost thou make open. | Thou art Janus Curiatius, the good creator art thou. | Good Janus is coming, the chief of the superior rulers.'

(9) T. von Grienberger 'Die Fragmente saliarischer Verse bei Varro und Scaurus' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1910 xxvii. 205—223 recognises two sentences:

co zēulōd oriēs oomina ueruād patulāco ĕmisse;
iān cerus iān es, duonus cerus es, duonus iānusue et pom-melios eum recum!

=cum diluculo oriens exta apud portam patulam accipe! | Iane creator, Iane es; bonus creator es, bonus Ianusve, et multo melior (optimus) *illorum regum!* Thus **zeulom* is for **diĕu-lo-m*, a derivative of **diĕu-* ('sky, sky-god, day'); *ueruād patulāco* is for *ueroād *pătŭlād-cō*, substantive (Italic masc. *uŏro-*, 'door') and adjective in ablative case governed by the postposition *-co* ('at, by'); *ĕmisse* is the second person singular of the imperative of **ĕmissere* (a frequentative or intensive form of *ĕmĕre* in its older sense 'to take') governing *oomina* the accusative plural of *ōmen* (not for *osmen*, 'omen,' but a by-form of *omentum*, 'entrails'); *pom-melios* is for **pót-melios* from **póte-melios* ('much better').

To these nine reconstructions I am tempted to add a tenth. For convenience' sake I print the traditional text side by side with my reading of it:

cozeulodorieso.	io, Zeu Loidorie, io.
omnia vero adpatula coemisse.	omnia vera da patula, Camise.
ian cusianes duonus ceruses.	Ianus Ian es; duonus Cerus es,
dunus Ianus	duonus Ianus,
ue uet pom melios eum recum.	vel veterum promerios recum.

'Ho, Festal Iupiter, ho! | Fling wide all the doors, god of the Archway. | Thou art Ianus Ian; thou art the good Creator, | good Ianus, | foremost, an thou wilt, of ancient kings.' To justify text and translation I would urge the following points. W. M. Lindsay *The Latin Language* Oxford 1894 p. 5 suggested *O zeu=ὦ Ζεῦ*: the Grecism *Zeu* was perhaps due to the Greek appearance of *Loidorie*. Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*² p. 444 connects *loidos*, the archaic form of *ludus*, with λοίδορος, λοιδορεῖν, as do Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 273 and Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 586: hence *Loidorie*='god of the *Ludi*.' T. von Grienberger (*supra* (9)) pointed out that *uŏro-* is the Italic word for 'door.' Kamise was the sister and wife of Ianos, when he first came to Italy (Drakon of Kerkyra περὶ λίθων (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 402 f. Müller) *ap.* Athen. 692 D—F: cp. Demophilos (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 86 Müller) *ap.* Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 2 p. 66, 7 ff. Wünsch Καμασήνην, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 330 Camasenae (*v.l.* Camesenae)). Or, Cameses and Ianus were two indigenous rulers, who divided Italy between them (Protarchos of Tralleis (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 485 Müller) followed by Hyg. *frag.* 6 Peter *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 7. 19 cum Camese (Camase cod. G. camasene ('alterum *e* ex corr.') cod. A.)). Both versions are best explained by the assumption that Ianus himself had an old cult-title *Cameses* or *Camises* meaning 'god of the Archway' (cp. *camera, caminus*, and the group of words, including the German *Himmel*, discussed by Prellwitz *op. cit.*² p. 206, Walde *op. cit.*² p. 120, Boisacq *op. cit.* p. 401 f.). Fest. p. 205 *a* 19 ff. Müller, p. 222, 30 ff. Lindsay *promeriom* (promeriom cod. W., promerion cod. Y., promorion cod. X.

(η) Ianus and Iupiter on coins.

It is, moreover, borne out by numismatic evidence. The Roman *as* from *c.* 338 B.C. onwards[1], both in its original form as a pound of bronze (figs. 216—218)[2] and in its subsequent reductions (figs. 219—230)[3], had for obverse design the head of Ianus, while the corresponding *semis*, both early (figs. 231, 232)[4] and late (figs. 233—236)[5], had that of Iupiter. Similarly in the Romano-Campanian series of the half-century *c.* 290 to *c.* 240 B.C. silver didrachms (figs. 237—239)[6] and drachms, struck at Capua (?) in the name of Rome[7], showed a beardless head of Ianus on the obverse, and on the reverse Iupiter with thunderbolt and sceptre in a four-horse chariot driven by Victory. Thus within and without Rome itself Ianus was associated with Iupiter as senior with junior deity.

J. J. Scaliger cj. promerito, F. Lindemann cj. promeritom, E. Bährens cj. promedion (=promelion)) praecipuum, praeter caeteros meritum aut promedium, hoc est participat (E. Thewrewk de Ponor cj. participatum, J. J. Scaliger cj. participem, C. O. Müller cj. pro *μορίῳ* hoc est particula); ut (aut cod. W.) pro indiviso dicimus. I take *promerios* to be cognate with the Greek *πρόμος* and the Umbrian *promum* (=Latin *primum*): for the suffix cp. G. Goetz *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* Lipsiae 1888 ii. 124, 34 *Lucerius*, Ζεύς, and such names as *Numerius*, *Valerius*.

Mr J. Whatmough, whom I consulted on the matter, proposes *Ieu* as vocative (di̯eu > Ieu > Iou > Iu-piter) and would be rid of rhotacism. On this showing the original (corrupted in Varro's text by Grecism and rhotacism) might have run:

io, Ieu Loidosie, io.
omnia vera da patula, Camese.
Ianos Ian es; duenos Ceros es,
duenos Ianos,
vel vetesom promesios recom.

[1] See now H. A. Grueber in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i p. xix ff.

[2] Fig. 216 is from a specimen in my collection (weight 265·35 grammes). Figs. 217 and 218 are from specimens in the Fitzwilliam Museum (weights 256·75 and 255·75 grammes respectively).

[3] Fig. 219=E. J. Haeberlin *Aes grave* Frankfurt a. M. 1910 p. 105 Tafelband pl. 43, 7 (weight 134·98 grammes). Fig. 220=*Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 17 pl. 10, 2 (weight 106·594 grammes). Fig. 221 is from a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum (weight 76·15 grammes). Fig. 222=*Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 18 pl. 10, 3 (weight 67·456 grammes). Figs. 223—230 are from specimens of mine (weights 53·15, 35·8, 18·36, 12·66, 11·64, 8·13 and 11·75, 12·69 grammes).

[4] Fig. 231 is from a specimen of mine (weight 139·65 grammes). Fig. 232 is from one in the Fitzwilliam Museum (weight 112·9 grammes).

[5] Figs. 233—236 are from specimens in my collection (weights 17·76, 16·14, 7·42, 3·4 grammes). Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 18 pl. 10, 4 (weight 45·877 grammes), *ib.* i. 31 pl. 12, 10 (weight 20·412 grammes), *ib.* i. 54 pl. 16, 3 (weight 14·645 grammes), *ib.* i. 96 pl. 22, 4 (weight 10·692 grammes), *ib.* i. 152 pl. 28, 7 (weight 7·841 grammes), *ib.* i. 300 pl. 37, 9 (weight 6·221 grammes).

[6] Figs. 237—239 are from specimens in my collection (weights 6·51, 6·15, 5·98 grammes).

[7] H. A. Grueber in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 116 ff. See also G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 pp. 25, 35.

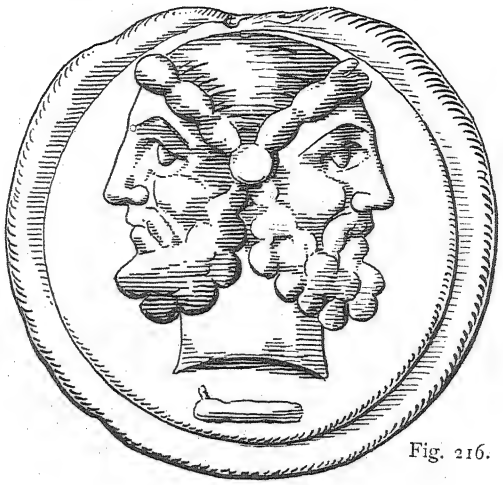


Fig. 216.

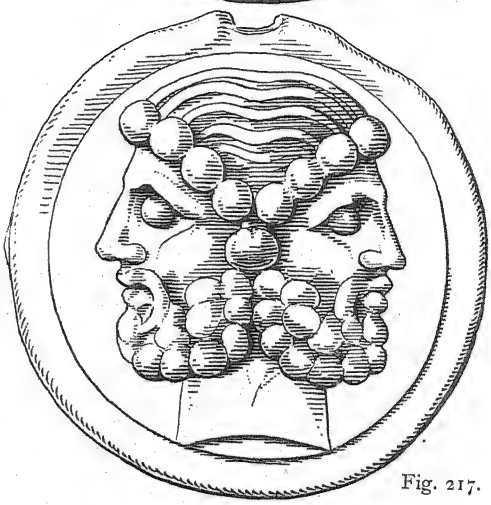


Fig. 217.

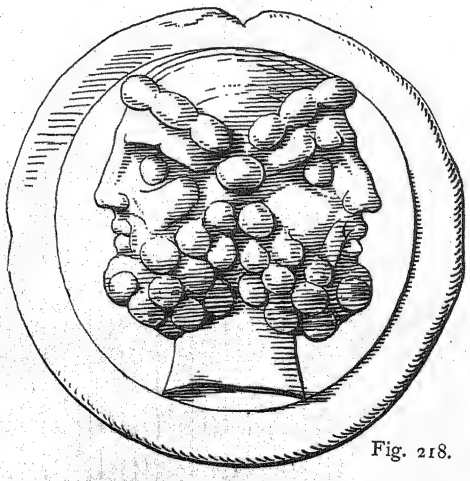


Fig. 218.

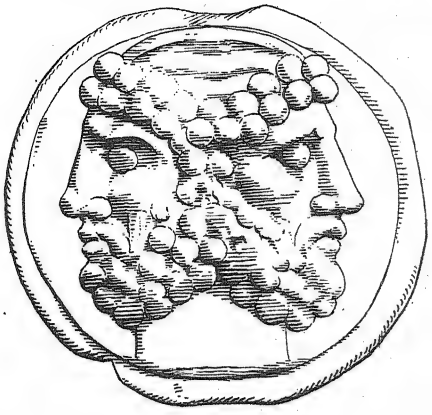


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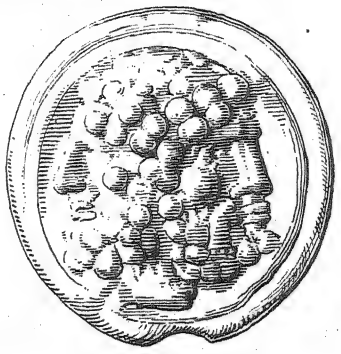


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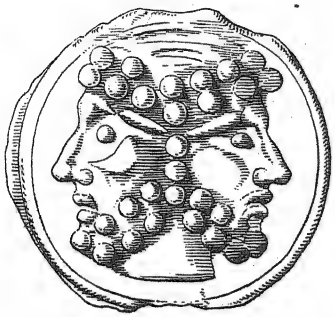


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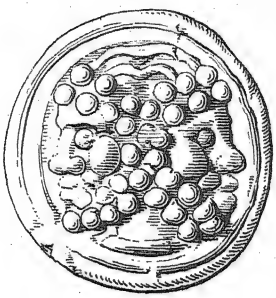


Fig. 222.



Fig. 223.

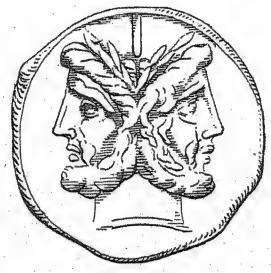


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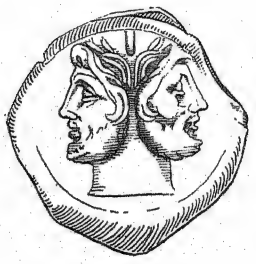


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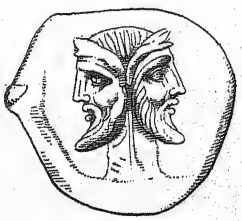


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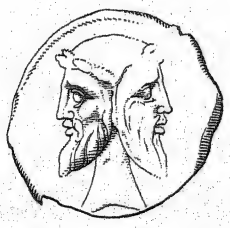


Fig. 227.



Fig. 228.



Fig. 229.



Fig. 230.



Fig. 231.



Fig. 232.



Fig. 233.



Fig. 234.



Fig. 235.



Fig. 236.



Fig. 237.

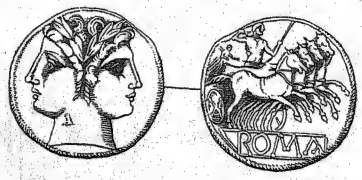


Fig. 238.



Fig. 239.

(θ) Ianus an older Iupiter.

But the relations subsisting between Ianus and Iupiter call for clearer statement and closer definition.

Ianus was commonly recognised as the oldest god of Italy. Juvenal addresses Ianus *Pater* as 'most ancient of the gods[1].' Herodian speaks of him as the 'most ancient indigenous god of Italy[2].' Prokopios says: 'This Ianus was the first of the ancient gods, whom the Romans in their language termed *Penates*[3].' With regard to his essential character there was less agreement. According to Varro, some authorities identified him with the sky, others with the universe[4]. Varro himself appears to have shared the latter opinion[5]. But M. Valerius Messalla, consul in 53 B.C. and an augur of fifty-five years' standing, began a treatise on Ianus with the following words[6]:

> He who fashions all things and rules them too has linked together, on the one hand water and earth, heavy elements slipping downwards into the abyss, on the other hand fire and air, light elements escaping upwards into space, by means of the sky put round about them: thus the great potency of the sky has bound together two unlike forces.

This extract, for the preservation of which we are indebted to the erudition of Macrobius, enables us to see how a philosophic mind might pass from a belief in Ianus as the sky to a belief in Ianus as the universe[7]. Others equated him with the air[8], or with chaos[9] the

[1] Iuv. 6. 393 f. dic mihi nunc, quaeso, dic, antiquissime divum, | respondes his, Iane Pater?

[2] Herodian. 1. 16. 1 *σέβουσι δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς θεὸν ἀρχαιότατον τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιχώριον ἀναφέροντες· κ.τ.λ.*

[3] Prokop. *de bell. Goth.* 1. 25 *ὁ δὲ Ἴανος οὗτος πρῶτος μὲν ἦν τῶν ἀρχαίων θεῶν, οὓς δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι γλώσσῃ τῇ σφετέρᾳ Πένατες* (*πένατες* cod. K. *πένητας* cod. L. M. Krašeninnikov cj. *Πενάτας*) *ἐκάλουν. κ.τ.λ.*

[4] Varro *ap.* Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 28 ut in superioribus initium fecimus a caelo, cum diximus de Iano, quem alii caelum, alii dixerunt esse mundum.

[5] Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 7 f. Cp. *ib.* 7. 16 et Ianus est mundus et Iuppiter.

[6] M. Messalla *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 9. 14. On Messalla see further M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1898 i. 397 f.

[7] See also Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 29 cited *infra* p. 336 n. 10, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 610 alii Ianum mundum accipiunt, etc.

[8] Gavius Bassus *ap.* Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 2 p. 65, 7 ff. Wünsch *ὁ δὲ Γάβιος Βάσσος ἐν τῷ περὶ θεῶν δαίμονα αὐτὸν εἶναι νομίζει τεταγμένον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐχὰς ἀναφέρεσθαι τοῖς κρείττοσι· κ.τ.λ.* (cp. Gavius Bassus *de dis frag.* 9 Funaioli *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 9. 13), interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 610 alii Ianum aerem credunt, etc.

[9] Ov. *fast.* 1. 103 (quoted by Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 2 p. 66, 11 f. Wünsch) me Chaos antiqui—nam sum res prisca—vocabant. Cp. Paul. ex Fest. p. 52, 11 ff. Müller, p. 45, 20 ff. Lindsay Chaos... ex eo et *χάσκειν* Graeci, et nos hiare dicimus. unde Ianus detracta aspiratione nominatur id, quod fuerit omnium primum; cui primo supplicabant velut parenti, etc.

yawning void[1]. Others, under the influence of Orphism[2], saw in him 'a power that controls the two Bears and sends divine souls to join the lunar dance[3].' And of course the solar mythologists of the republic[4] and the empire[5] claimed him for their own. Another natural extension of meaning transformed the sky-god into a time-god[6]. He was god of the day[7]. He was god of the months[8]. He was god of the seasons[9]. He was god of the year[10]. He was god of eternity,

[1] *Infra* Append. G *med.*

[2] Cp. Prokl. *h.* 6 (*supra* p. 328 n. 7).

[3] Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (who died in 384 A.D.: see M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur* München 1904 iv. 1. 128 f.) *ap.* Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 2 p. 65, 20 ff. Wünsch ὁ δὲ Πραιτέξτατος ὁ ἱεροφάντης, ὁ Σωπάτρῳ τε τῷ τελεστῇ καὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ αὐτοκράτωρι συλλαβὼν ἐπὶ τῷ πολισμῷ τῆς εὐδαίμονος ταύτης πόλεως, δύναμιν αὐτὸν εἶναί τινα βούλεται ἐφ' ἑκατέρας Ἄρκτου τεταγμένην καὶ τὰς θειοτέρας ψυχὰς ἐπὶ τὸν σεληνιακὸν χορὸν ἀποπέμπειν.

[4] Lutatius (Q. Lutatius Catulus, not his learned slave Lutatius Daphnis: see M. Schanz *op. cit.*[2] München 1898 i. 136) *ap.* Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 2 p. 65, 15 ff. Wünsch ὅ γε μὴν Λουτάτιος (*Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 127 Peter) Ἥλιον παρὰ τὸ ἑκατέρας πύλης ἄρχειν, ἀνατολῆς ἴσως καὶ δύσεως.

[5] Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 9. 9 Ianum quidam solem demonstrari volunt, etc., 1. 17. 42 unde nos quoque Ianum patrem vocamus, solem sub hac appellatione venerantes, cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 29 cited *infra* n. 10.

[6] Nemes. *cyneg.* 104 Ianus, temporis auctor. Cp. *infra* n. 8.

[7] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 607 nam alii eum diei dominum [vel auctorem] volunt, in quo ortus est et occasus, Myth. Vat. 3. 4. 9 a nonnullis diei dicitur deus, bifronsque propter ortum et occasum pingitur.

[8] Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 9. 16 Iunonium, quasi non solum mensis Ianuarii sed mensium omnium ingressus tenentem; in ditione autem Iunonis sunt omnes Kalendae, unde et Varro libro quinto Rerum divinarum scribit Iano duodecim aras pro totidem mensibus dedicatas, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 2 p. 65, 3 ff. Wünsch Φοντήϊος (so C. Wachsmuth for φροντήϊος: see further Kappelmacher in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 2842, and for Ianus on coins of the *gens Fonteia infra* § 3 (a) v (o)) δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἔφορον αὐτὸν οἴεται τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου τυγχάνειν, καὶ ταύτῃ δωδεκάβωμον εἶναι τὸν αὐτοῦ ναὸν κατὰ τὸν τῶν μηνῶν ἀριθμόν.

[9] Ov. *fast.* 1. 125 praesideo foribus caeli cum mitibus Horis, Lucan. 5. 5 f. instabatque dies (*sc.* Jan. 1) qui dat nova nomina fastis | quique colit primus ducentem tempora Ianum, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 607 = Myth. Vat. 3. 4. 9 cited *infra* n. 10.

[10] Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 29 incipiamus ergo solemniter ab Iano et nos patre, quem quidam ex vobis mundum, annum alii solemve esse prodidere nonnulli, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 607 alii anni totius (*sc.* dominum volunt), quem in quattuor tempora constat esse divisum. anni autem esse deum illa res probat, quod ab eo prima pars anni nominatur = Myth. Vat. 3. 4. 9 quem tamen alii totius anni dominum volunt, quem in quatuor tempora constat esse divisum, ideoque eundem quadrifrontem pingunt. anni autem eum esse dominum res illa probat, quod ab eo prima pars anni, id est Januarius nominatur. Cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 33 aut per significationem anni temporis = Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 1 ὥσπερ τὸν ἐνιαυτόν = Souid. *s.v.* Ἰανουάριος· ...ὥσπερ τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, Ov. *fast.* 1. 65 Iane biceps, anni tacite labentis origo, Mart. *ep.* 10. 28. 1 annorum nitidique sator pulcherrime mundi, Luxor. 506. 1 (*Poet. Lat. min.* iv. 415 Baehrens) lucifer annorum et saeclis, o Iane (so E. Baehrens for *seclissollane* cod. S. N. Heinsius cj. *saeclis, Sol, Iane*), secundus.

Ausonius even uses *Iani* in the sense of *anni* (Auson. *lib. de fastis concl.* 1. 7 p. 194 Peiper tu quoque venturos per longum consere Ianos, *epist.* 24. 13 p. 269 Peiper vive, vale et totidem venturos consere Ianos, | etc.).

being either the father of Aion[1] or Aion's very self[2]. Now if we assume—as, I think, we are justified in assuming—that Ianus, like Iupiter[3], was, to begin with, simply the divine Sky, we can understand, not only all the foregoing attempts to interpret him in terms of space and time, but also the very remarkable description of him as 'god of gods' contained in an extant fragment of the Salian hymn[4].

[1] Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 1 p. 64, 6 ff. Wünsch Λογγῖνος δὲ Αἰωνάριον αὐτὸν ἑρμηνεῦσαι βιάζεται ὡσεὶ τοῦ Αἰῶνος πατέρα=Souid. *s.v.* 'Ιανουάριος·...ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Λογγῖνος Αἰωνάριον αὐτὸν ἑρμηνεῦσαι βιάζεται, ὡσανεὶ Αἰῶνος πατέρα. Cp. Tzetz. *posthom.* 770 ff. δωδεκάτη μὲν ἔην μηνὸς Θαργηλιῶνος, | τόν ῥ' Αἰωνάριον κικλήσκει μὲν Λογγῖνος, | 'Ιανουάριον δ' ἀνέρες πάντες καλέουσι. On Cassius Longinus (*c.* 220—273 A.D.) see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[3] München 1898 p. 756 ff., Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*[2] Cambridge 1906 i. 338 f.

[2] Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 1 p. 64, 12 ff. ὅθεν ὁ Μεσσαλᾶς (*supra* p. 335) τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Αἰῶνα νομίζει· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πέμπτης τοῦ μηνὸς τούτου (*sc.* Jan. 5) ἑορτὴν Αἰῶνος ἐπετέλουν οἱ πάλαι. Cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 33 et aevi esse deum indicent. *Supra* i. 192 n. 1.

[3] *Supra* i. 3 n. 2, 6 n. 3, 10 f. See further *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 260 ff.

[4] Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 7. 27 ab eadem voce canite, pro quo in Saliari versu scriptum est cante, hoc versu: 'divum empta cante, divum deo supplicante.' The line thus printed by G. Götz and F. Schöll (1910) requires emendation. In the first half of it T. Bergk cj. *em pa*, E. Bährens *parentem*, S. Linde *Ianem patrem*, B. Maurenbrecher *patrem*: in the second half Grotefend cj. *supplicate*, C. O. Müller *supplice cante*. The most satisfactory reading is that of E. Bährens (*Poet. Lat. min.* vi. 29): diuóm paréntem cánte, | diuóm deo súpplicáte. Cp. Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 9. 14 Saliorum quoque antiquissimis carminibus deorum deus canitur (*sc.* Ianus), 1. 9. 16 cur Geminum invocemus, supra iam diximus: Patrem, quasi deorum deum, etc., and Paul. ex Fest. p. 52, 12 f. Müller, p. 45, 24 Lindsay cited *supra* p. 335 n. 9.

Fortunately doubt does not extend to the words *divom deo* (*pace* C. M. Zander *Carminis Saliaris reliquiae* Lundæ 1888 p. 54 ff.), and we may take it as certain that Ianus was styled 'god of gods.' My friend Mr W. Warde Fowler, who has given us two of the best books in existence on the religion of Rome, comments: 'The phrase "Deorum" or "Divum deus" is indeed remarkable, and unparalleled in Roman worship; but no one acquainted with Roman or Italian ritual will for a moment suspect it of meaning "God of gods" in either a Christian or metaphysical sense' (*The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 p. 140). H. Jordan *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache* Berlin 1879 p. 222 renders 'der Gott aus der Zahl der ungezählten Himmlischen,' comparing the epic δῖα θεάων [Ennius *ann. frag.* 51 Baehrens sancta dearum, Verg. *Aen.* 4. 576 sancte deorum]. S. Linde *De Iano summo Romanorum deo* Lundae 1891 p. 27 ff. argues that we have here a common Indo-European phrase for 'greatest of the gods': he cites the Sanskrit locution *devó devā́-nām* ('god of gods'), the Old Persian *khshâyathiya khshâyathiyânâm* ('king of kings'), the Greek βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, and such passages as Aisch. *suppl.* 524 ff. ἄναξ ἀνάκτων, μακάρων | μακάρτατε καὶ τελέων τε|λειότατον κράτος, ὄλβιε Ζεῦ, *Pers.* 666 δέσποτα δεσπότου φάνηθι (*sc.* Dareios, master of our master Xerxes), 675 δυνάτα δυνάτα (so cod. M. with schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ δυνάστα. δυνάστα δυνάστα cett. M. Haupt cj. δυνάστα δυναστᾶν. S. Linde cj. δυνάτα δυνατᾶν), Plaut. *capt.* 825 regum rex regalior, *Trin.* 309 victor victorum cluet, Hor. *epist.* 1. 1. 107 rex denique regum. The fact is, these cumulative expressions are found, not merely with adjectives in the superlative (Soph. *O. T.* 334 ὦ κακῶν κάκιστε, Hor. *sat.* 1. 3. 136 magnorum maxime regum: other examples in R. Kühner—B. Gerth *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* Hannover—Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 21, 339) or even in the positive degree (Soph. *O. C.* 1237 f. ἵνα πρόπαντα | κακὰ κακῶν ξυνοικεῖ: other examples in Kühner—Gerth *locc. citt.*), but also with substantives (O. Riemann—H. Goelzer *Grammaire comparée du grec et du*

His title *Matutinus*[1] too acquires fresh point, and we can appreciate to the full the lines of Horace:

> Sire of the morning (do I call thee right,
> Or hear'st thou Janus' name with more delight?)
> Who introducest, so the gods ordain,
> Life's various tasks, inaugurate my strain[2].

Moreover, the Roman conception of Ianus thus falls into line with that of the Etruscans, who, as Varro admits[3], took him to be the sky pure and simple. Finally, this view of Ianus is borne out by the most probable etymology of his name. Corresponding with the series

Diviana[4] *Diana*[5] *Iana*[6]

latin Syntax Paris 1897 p. 123 n. 5 quote Eur. *Andr.* 520 ff. καὶ γὰρ ἀνοία | μεγάλη λείπειν ἐχθροὺς ἐχθρῶν, | ἐξὸν κτείνειν [Plat. *Tim.* 41 A θεοὶ θεῶν, ὧν ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς πατήρ τε ἔργων, on which I have said my say in *The Metaphysical Basis of Plato's Ethics* Cambridge 1895 p. 92 ff.]). If Ianus was the animate Sky, there was special justification for the phrase: the living abode of all celestial beings might well be termed *divum deus*.

[1] The epithet is transferred from Ianus to Iupiter, or rather to Domitian occupying the place of Iupiter (see *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 314), by Mart. *ep.* 4. 8. 11 f. gressu timet ire licenti | ad matutinum nostra Thalia Iovem. There is, of course, a connotation of sobriety and seriousness, cp. Mart. *ep.* 13. 2. 10.

[2] Hor. *sat.* 2. 6. 20 ff.

[3] Varro *frag.* 134 Funaioli *ap.* Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 2 p. 64, 18 ff. Wünsch ὁ δὲ Βάρρων ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν θείων πραγμάτων φησὶν αὐτὸν (*sc.* τὸν Ἰανόν) παρὰ Θούσκοις οὐρανὸν λέγεσθαι καὶ ἔφορον πάσης πράξεως καὶ Ποπάνωνα (ποπάωνα cod. B.) διὰ τὸ ἐν ταῖς Καλένδαις ἀναφέρεσθαι πόπανα.

W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen* Stuttgart 1880 iv. 24 ff. identified the *ani* of the first marginal region marked on the bronze liver found near Piacenza in 1877 (*ib.* pl. 1) with the *Ianus* mentioned among the deities of the first region (*ib.* pl. 5) by Mart. Cap. 45—an identification corroborated by the equivalence of *uni* in the second marginal region of the liver (*ib.* pl. 5) to *Iuno* among the deities of the second region (*ib.* pl. 5) in Mart. Cap. 46. Deecke (*ib.* p. 25 n. 22 *a*) further observed the occurrence of the name in A. Fabretti *Corpus inscriptionum Italicarum* Aug. Taurinorum 1867 no. 2279, 3 pl. 42 ⋊∃⋀⌇ : ⌇⋀A = *ani* : *tineri*, where Ianus (*ani*) is associated with Iupiter (*tina*), and in the same connexion cited, not only Plutarch's derivation of the river Ἄννιων (the *Anio*) from an Etruscan king Ἄννιος, the father of Σαλία mother of Σάλιος the eponym of the *Salii* (Aristeides of Miletos *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 322 Müller) and Alexander Polyhistor *frag.* 26 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 230 Müller) *ap.* Plout. *parall. Gr. et Rom.* 40), but also the Etruscan gentile name *ani*, *ane*, *anie*, *aneie*, *anei* (C. O. Müller *Die Etrusker* Stuttgart 1877 ii. 470 ff.) and the Latin *Anius*, later *Annius* (see now E. Klebs in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2261). C. Thulin *Die Götter des Martianus Capella und der Bronzeleber von Piacenza* Gieszen 1906 p. 22 f. in the main accepts Deecke's results, and adds: '"Anlautendes j fällt im Etruskischen, mit Ausnahme des volaterranischen Dialektes, ab" (Pauli, Bezz. Beitr. xxv 1899, S. 218); beibehalten ist es z. B. in der Inschrift Not. d. Scav. 1892 S. 261 ..iane.., wo vielleicht auch der Gott gemeint ist.'

Perhaps the puzzling *Anigemius* of Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5771 = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 5157 (Noricum) genio | Anigemio | cultores | eius | v. s. l. m. should be regarded as an Etruscan form of the Ianus *Geminus* worshipped in the same district (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 5092 *a* (Noricum), *supra* p. 324 n. 3).

[4] Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 68 hanc ut Solem Apollinem quidam Dianam vocant; Apollinis vocabulum graecum [alterum], alterum latinum et hinc quod luna in altitudinem et

we have the series

**Divianus* *Dianus*[1] *Ianus.*

latitudinem simul e<a>t (so C. Schoppe for *et*), Diviana, appellata. Cp. Varr. *frag.* 103 Funaioli *ap.* Prob. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 31 p. 354 f. Lion Varro etiam in Logistorico, quem inscripsit Mesalla de valitudine (*leg.* Messalla de valetudine), ait: 'antiquos agrestes venandi peritos, cum plurimum in silvis agerent, quod veluti Diana duce ad investigandas feras solas et devias silvas peterent, Devianam appellasse deam, mox Dianam, quod intellegerent eandem esse, quae diem nascentibus daret,' Isid. *orig.* 8. 11. 56 Dianam autem vocatam quasi Duanam, quod luna die ac noctu appareat = Myth. Vat. 1. 112 Diana etiam eadem est, quasi Duana, quia luna et die et nocte appareat.

F. Solmsen *Studien zur lateinischen Lautgeschichte* Strassburg 1894 p. 112 notes that *Diviana* as the oldest form of *Diana* is supported by W. Deecke's interpretation of *Tiv* as an Etrusco-Roman moon-goddess (in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1011). [On the convex side of the Piacenza liver are the inscriptions *usils* = 'solis' and *tivs* = 'lunae': see further W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen* Stuttgart 1880 pp. 7 ff., 82, C. Thulin *Die Götter des Martianus Capella und der Bronzeleber von Piacenza* Gieszen 1906 p. 15.]

[5] G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 325 f. shows that this form of the name was pronounced first *Dīana* (Plaut. *Bacch.* 312, Ennius *ann. frag.* 79 Baehrens, *Alcmeo frag.* 3, 7 Ribbeck[3], [Verg. *Aen.* 1. 499 with Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 498 sane Dianam veteres ideo melius producebant, quia sub divo dea sit, venandi gratia]), then *Dĭana* (the oldest example of this, the usual, scansion is Lucil. *sat.* 3 *frag.* 72, 3 Baehrens) or *Deana* (in vulgar inscriptions of imperial date: *e.g.* Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 111, 1, 3184, 9, 3244, 1, 3265, 1, 3276, 1, 3430, 11, 3536, 6, 3915, 2, 4045, 1, 4281, 2, 7099, 1, 8065, 3, 8745 (menologium rusticum Colotianum) *bis* (Aug. and Nov.), 9241, 1).

[6] P. Nigidius Figulus (*c.* 98–45 B.C.) identified Ianus with Apollo and Iana with Diana (*frag.* 42 Funaioli *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 9. 8 pronuntiavit Nigidius Apollinem Ianum esse Dianamque Ianam, adposita *d* littera, quae saepe *i* litterae causa decoris adponitur, *reditur redhibetur redintegratur* et similia). And M. Terentius Varro, his contemporary (116—27 B.C.), represented the country folk as speaking of *Iana*, when they meant 'the moon' (Varr. *rer. rust.* 1. 37. 3 Tremelius, Numquam rure audisti, inquit, octavo Ianam (so G. Merula in the ed. princ. 1472, for *lanam*) lunam et crescentem et contra senescentem, et quae crescente luna fieri oporteret, [et] tamen quaedam melius fieri post octavum (so H. Keil for *octauo*) Ianam (so G. Merula for *lanam*) lunam quam ante?). Tertullian (*c.* 150—*c.* 230 A.D.) mentions Iana as a goddess of arches (Tert. *ad nat.* 2. 15 et diva Arquis est Iana (so D. Godefroy for *lana* cod.)). Orosius (417–418 A.D.) speaks of the *Dianium* on the Aventine as *Ianium* (Oros. *hist.* 5. 12. 6 Flaccus duobus filiis armatis cinctus, comitante etiam Graccho togato brevemque gladium sub sinistra occultante, quamvis et praeconem frustra praemisisset, qui servos ad libertatem vocaret, Ianium (K. Zangemeister cj. *Dianium*) tamquam arcem occupavit).

G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 326 and in his *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 247 n. 2 is hyper-sceptical.

[1] *Supra* p. 328 n. 5. The quantity of the *i* in *Dianus* is unknown.

The word occurs as a *cognomen* in *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 730 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4211 (Rome) deo Soli invicto | Mytrae, felix Messala, | cum omnes sacratos, Catel|lus et Dianus posuerunt. Cp. L. A. Muratori *Novus thesaurus veterum inscriptionum* Mediolani 1740 iii. 1666 no. 14 P. Diani (= Dianius) P. f. | Fab. Nig. | ossa, Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 341 (Rome) M. Perperna | Aeschinus | emit ol. iii de Diani (= Dianii?) Erote, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi no. 2089 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1296 (near *Perugia*) Memmius Sallustius | Salvinus Dianius v(ir) s(pectabilis) | basilicam sanctorum | angelorum fecit, in | qua sepelliri non licet.

Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat.* ed. 1884 iii. 99 cites *Vita S. Cæsar. Arelat.* apud Surium: 'Dæmonium, quod rustici Dianum vocant.' But the *Vita* as printed by L. Surius *De probatis sanctorum historiis* Coloniae Agrippinae 1579 iv. 943—953 contains no such

Ianus, therefore, can be legitimately connected with *dīus* (for *dĭu̯ŏs*), a word familiar to us in the phrase *sub dīo*[1], 'under the open sky[2].'

(*ι*) Zan an older Zeus.

In short, I conceive that Ianus and Iupiter were the sky-gods worshipped by two successive *strata* in the population of Italy. Ianus, it would appear, belonged to the older stock[3]—which, for want

passage. The reference should be corrected to the *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Augusti vi. 79 (*Vita* 2. 2. 15) Quodam alio tempore, dum dioceses visitaret, & ad castellum quod Luco [le Luc, castrum diœcesis Forujuliensis ad Carauniam fluviolum, *inquit Mabillonius*] dicitur, venimus; erat ibi matrona quædam Eucheria (*al.* Euthyria) nomine, quæ ancillam suam offerens ante pedes ejus prostravit: pro qua ut Domino supplicaret, lacrymabiliter exorabat. Ille autem causam perscrutans, ut erat Vir Deo plenus, & in omnibus perscrutantissimus, quid infirmitatis haberet, interrogavit. Dixerunt: Dæmonium, quod rustici Dianam appellant: quæ sic affligitur, ut pæne omnibus noctibus assidue cædatur, & sæpe etiam in ecclesiam ducitur inter duos viros ut maneat: & sic flagris diabolicis occultè fatigatur, ut vox continua ipsius audiatur; & eis, qui sibi adhærent, respondere penitus non possit. Etc. The Bollandists had the story from J. Mabillon *Acta Sanctorum ordinis s. Benedicti*[2] Venetiis 1733 Saec. i Append. pp. 659—677. But Mabillon *op. cit.* Lutetiæ Parisiorum 1668 i. 673 (*Vita* 2. 14) reads 'DIANAM.'

[1] On *sub dīō*, *sub dīū*, *sub dīvō* see F. Solmsen *Studien zur lateinischen Lautgeschichte* Strassburg 1894 p. 113 f., who concludes that the original form *sub dīō* (from *dīum*) became *sub dīū* under the influence of *dīū* ('by day') and *sub dīvō* under that of *dīvos* (just as *subdīalis* passed into *subdīvalis*).

[2] Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 374 advocates a very different derivation: '**Jānus** "altitalischer Gott des Sonnenlaufs."... *Jānus* ist trotz *Diānus* C. J. L. v, 783 die ursprgl. Form (s. Stolz HG. 1, 305), während *Jana* "Mondgöttin" allerdings nur vulgäre Entstellung aus *Diana* ist (Wissowa *Rel.* 198 a 6). *Jānus* (*o*- und *u*-St.) ist nach Wissowa N. Jbb. 1, 164, Schulze Eigenn. 474 f. "der personifizierte Torbogen," ******jānos*, wovon **jānitor** "Pförtner" direkt, dagegen **jānua** "Tür" durch Vermittlung des Gottesnamens abgeleitet ist, als die Stätte seines göttlichen Wirkens. ******jānos* zu ai. *yā́na-ḥ* "Bahn," *yā́na-m* "Gang, Vehikel,"... Idg. *****i̯ē-/i̯ō- möglicherweise in got. *jēr* "Jahr" usw., s. *hornus*).'

My friend Dr P. Giles, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, tells me (Dec. 14, 1917) that in his opinion the view given in the text is right. If so, Walde is here for once on the wrong tack.

[3] My friend and colleague Sir W. Ridgeway in *The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1901 i. 231 ff., in his paper *Who were the Romans?* (extr. from the *Proceedings of the British Academy* iii) London 1907 p. 1 ff., and in Sir J. E. Sandys *A Companion to Latin Studies*[2] Cambridge 1913 p. 20 ff. argues that the main aboriginal element in the population of upper and central Italy was formed by the Ligurians, who were closely related on the one hand to the Illyrians, on the other to the Iberians, and spoke a language destined to develope into classical Latin; also, that these Ligurians were conquered by the Sabines, an Umbro-Sabellian tribe, who were closely related to the Keltoi and represented the Indo-European *Q*, not by *C* or *Q*, but by *P*; finally, that at Rome the plebeians were Ligurians, the patricians Sabines, the latter having adopted the language of the former. In accordance with these views Sir W. Ridgeway *Who were the Romans?* p. 11 f. asserts: (1) that Ianus was a Sabine god, whose worship was introduced to Rome by Numa the Sabine (Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 165, Liv. 1. 19); (2) that his priest was originally the *flamen Dialis*, whose title *Dia*-lis betrays his connexion with *Dia*-nus (Ianus); and (3) that his cult was partially fused with that of Iupiter, 'who was already in possession of Rome,' the fusion being perhaps symbolised by the double male face of Ianus.

of a better name, I should term Illyrian[1]—and was retained by the incoming Latins, despite the fact that their own Iupiter was a god of essentially similar character. Further, I should be prepared to find that, corresponding with Dianus (Ianus) and Diana (Iana) the ancient sky-god and his consort of the Italian peninsula, there was a similar divine pair of kindred origin on the opposite side of the Adriatic. And here we are struck by the fact that the name Dianus (Ianus) occurs both as an *o*-stem (*Ianus*) and as an *i*-stem (*Ian*)[2] in the Salian hymn. In our search for a Greek equivalent we naturally turn to the scanty remains of Doric literature and to Doric inscriptions, coins, etc., since the Dorians, as Sir W. Ridgeway rightly insists, were *ab origine* an Illyrian tribe[3]. Now the phonetic counterpart of the Salian *Ian* is *Zān*, which R. Meister[4] has proved to be no hyperdorism for *Zēn*[5] but a genuine Doric form attested by all dialect-sources[6]. *Ianus* or *Ian* was equated with *Zán* by

I am not here concerned to controvert the main lines of Sir W. Ridgeway's ethnology (which, however, I do not accept), but merely its application to the particular case of Ianus. To his contentions I reply:—(1) Neither Varro nor Livy states that Ianus was a Sabine god, whose worship was introduced by Numa. What Varro (or rather L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi *frag.* 9 Peter *ap.* Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 165) and Livy (1. 19) say is that Numa introduced the custom of keeping the gate of Ianus always open in war-time—a very different matter. (2) Our most competent etymologist, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 231, refers *Diālis*, not to *Diānus*, but to *Diēspiter*, the old nominative of *Iupiter*, and cites convincingly the forms *aequi-diālis*, *noven-diālis*. (3) If the double face of Ianus implies the fusion of two gods, are we to explain in the same way the double face of Hermes? of Boreas? of Argos? and of all other Janiform deities from Babylonia to Britain? And what of deities with three heads, or four? We must obviously rest our case on some more comprehensive principle.

[1] See now the succinct and well-documented account of G. Dottin *Les anciens peuples de l'Europe* Paris 1916 pp. 151—156 ('Les Illyriens').

[2] For the nom. *Ian* see *supra* p. 328 n. 8 (9) and (10). The abl. *Iane* is specially noticed by Tertull. *ad nat.* 2. 12 (Saturnus) exceptus ab Iano sive Iane, ut Salii vocant =*id. apol.* 10 (Saturnus) exceptus a Iano, vel Iane, ut Salii volunt (*carmen Saliare frag.* 12 Baehrens).

[3] Sir W. Ridgeway 'Who were the Dorians?' in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* Oxford 1907 pp. 295—308. See too C. H. Hawes 'Some Dorian descendants?' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1909—1910 xvi. 258—280.

[4] R. Meister 'über die Namen: "Διώνη, Ζήν, Ζᾶν"' in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 pp. 199—202.

[5] G. Meyer *Griechische Grammatik*[3] Leipzig 1896 p. 420 f., E. Boisacq *Les dialectes doriens* Paris—Liége 1891 pp. 44, 152 f., *id. Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 308, H. Ehrlich *Zur indogermanischen Sprachgeschichte* Königsberg 1910 p. 42 f., K. Brugmann—A. Thumb *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 p. 260 n. 1.

[6] It will be convenient here to collect the evidence, which can be adduced for Ζάν, Ζᾶνός, κ.τ.λ.:

Nom. sing. Ζάν Aristoph. *av.* 570 *βροντάτω νῦν ὁ μέγας Ζάν* (cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 436, 17 f. *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ζὰν Ζανὸς κατὰ τὸ "βροντάτω μέγας Ζάν"*), *Anth. Pal.* 7. 746 (Pythagoras) *ὧδε μέγας κεῖται Ζάν* (ζᾶν A.L_2. ζὰν P^{1M}), *ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν* (to the variants given *supra* i. 158 n. 2 add Chrysost. *hom.* 3. 1 (lxii. 676 Migne) *ἐνταῦθα Ζὰν κεῖται, ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσι*, Cramer

anecd. Paris. ii. 236, 18 f. ἐνθάδε κατάκειται θανὼν Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσι, *Chronicon Paschale* 44 c (i. 80 Dindorf) ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσιν, and the remarkable line added in the margin of *Anth. Pal.* 7. 746 by L_2 χ ὧδε μεγασ κειται βοῦσ ὃν δία κικλήσκουσι), Hesych. Ζάν (so W. Dindorf for Ζᾶν cod.)· Ζεύς.

Σδάν (?) in an Eteocretan inscription, in Ionic lettering of the beginning of *s.* iv B.C., found by R. C. Bosanquet in June 1904 on the altar-hill of Praisos (R. S. Conway 'A Third Eteocretan Fragment' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1903—1904 x. 117 line 8 ΞΙΡΕΡΦΙΝΣΔΑΝ, *ib.* p. 122 '*-φιν* looks like the same Homeric case-suffix; if so, the following *sdan* might be some case of the name of *Ianus* or *Diana*,—if initial *dz-* was treated in Eteocretan as in Greek'). The importance of this fragment was pointed out to me by Mr J. Whatmough.

Τάν on coins of Hierapytna and Polyrhenion (*supra* i. 149 n. 1 figs. 113, 114, i. 655 n. 2). Cp. schol. Bern. Lucan. 8. 872 mentiuntur Cretenses, sicut de aliis conpluribus, ita de Iove, eum apud se et defunctum esse et sepultum, adque in fidem mendacii ostendunt tumulum et lapidem sub hac inscriptione ΤΛΝ·ΚΡΟΝΟ·Ϋ (H. Usener cj. ΖΑΝ·ΚΡΟΝΟΥ) [id est Iuppiter Saturni].

Δάν in Boiotia (Herodian. περὶ μονήρους λέξεως 6, 16 (ii. 911, 9 Lentz) = Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1387, 29, cp. *in Il.* p. 114, 4, all cited *infra* p. 344 n. 0).

Acc. sing. Ζᾶνα Kallim. *frag.* 86, 2 Schneider *ap.* Plout. *de plac. phil.* 1. 7 τὸν πάλαι χάλκεον (R. Bentley, followed by O. Schneider, cj. Παγχαῖον) ὁ πλάσας Ζᾶνα (*sc.* Euhemeros) and schol. *in* Tzetz. *alleg. Il.* 4 in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* iii. 380, 15 f. τὸν πάλαι χάλκειον ὁ πλάσας ζανα (*sic*) = P. Matranga *Anecdota Graeca* Romae 1850 ii. 609, 11 τὸν πάλαι χάλκιον ὁ πλάσας Ζᾶνα, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 58. 2 (Antipatros) καὶ τὸν ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ Ζᾶνα (ζᾶνα P. Ζῆνα Pl.) κατηυγασάμην.

Τᾶνα (?) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2555, 11 f. (Hierapytna) ΟΜΝΥΩΤΑΝ ΕΣΤΙΑΝΚΑΙΤΑΝΑΟΡΑΤΡΙΟΝΚΑΗΙΝΑ | ΔΙΚΤΑΙΟΝΚΑΙ ΗΡΑΝ = ὀμνύω τὰν Ἑστίαν καὶ Τᾶνα Ὁράτριον κα(ὶ Τᾶ)να | Δικταῖον καὶ Ἥραν. But F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 311 f. no. 5039, 11 f. reads ὀμνύω τὰν Ἑστίαν καὶ Τῆνα Ὁράτριον κα̣ὶ Τ̣ῆ̣να | Δικταῖον καὶ Ἥραν, cp. P. Deiters in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1901 lvi. 587—595 (the text is known from transcripts only: cod. Vatic. 1759 and cod. Lat. Monac. 743 καὶ τὰν ἀοράτριον (ἀοράτιον Vatic. 1759) κληῖδα καὶ Δικταῖον, cod. Ambros. D 436 ΚΑΙ ΙΗΝΑ ΟΡΑΤΡΙΟΝ ΚΓ'ΑΝΙ or ΚΑΓ'ΗΙ, the *schedae Ursini* as printed in the Appendix of A. Augustinus *De legibus et senatus consultis* Paris 1584 καὶ τὴν ἀοράτριον ΚΑΛΕΝΙ, the *schedae Ursini* as given by Gruter *Inscr. ant. tot. orb. Rom.* ii. 505 no. 2 ΚΑΙ·ΤΟΝ·ΑΟΡΑΤΡΙΟΝ·ΚΑΛΕΝΙ (ΚΑΠΝΙ. *Urs. sch.*) ΔΙΚΤΑΙΟΝ.).

Gen. sing. Ζανός Eur. *Hipp.* 62 Ζανὸς γένεθλον (*sc.* Artemis), 69 Ζανὸς (so C. G. Cobet, A. Nauck, W. Dindorf, though codd. M.V.P. and Eustath. *in Il.* p. 436, 28 read Ζηνὸς) πολύχρυσον οἶκον, *Cretes frag.* 472, 1 f. Nauck² τέκνον Εὐρώπας | καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Ζανός (*sc.* Minos: *supra* i. 648 n. 1), Philoxenos of Kythera *frag.* 3, 10 f. Bergk⁴, 3, 10 f. Hiller—Crusius, *ap.* Athen. 643 B ἃ Ζανὸς (so J. Schweighäuser for ἀζανός) καλέοντι (so most MSS. καλέοντο B. A. Meineke cj. καλεῦντι) | τρώγματ' (so A.B. τρώγματα P.V.L.), Lykan (*quis?*) *frag. mel. adesp.* 30 Hiller—Crusius *ap.* Herodian. περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων 23 (ii. 642, 17 f. Lentz) κλῦθί μοι Ζανός τε κούρη, Kerkidas of Megalopolis or Crete (?) *frag.* 2, 5 f. Hiller—Crusius *ap.* Diog. Laert. 6. 77 ἧς γὰρ ἀλαθέως | Διογένης

Ζανὸς γόνος οὐράνιός τε κύων, Aristot. *frag.* 199 Rose Ζανὸς πύργον (cp. Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 199, 3 Diehl ὁ Ζανὸς πύργος, ii. 106, 22 Diehl Ζανὸς πύργον ἢ Ζανὸς φυλακήν : *supra* i. 303 n. 6), Theokr. 7. 93 Ζηνὸς (so codd. k. 9. Ζανὸς vulg.) ἐπὶ θρόνον, 18. 19 Ζανός τοι θυγάτηρ (*sc.* Helene), *ep.* 20. 1 τὸν τῶ (so G. H. Schaefer for τοῦ) Ζανὸς (ζᾶνος c.) ...νιόν (*sc.* Herakles), *Anth. Pal.* 6. 219. 10 (Antipatros) Ζανὸς (ζηνὸσ $A^{ar.}$ Pl.) ἐλαστρηθεὶς γυιοπαγεῖ νιφάδι (cited by Souid. and Zonar. *lex. s.v.* ἐλαστρηθείς, also by Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* iv. 215, 27 f.), 13. 10. 2 (Kallimachos) ποτί τε Ζανὸς (so R. Bentley for ζηνος) ἱκνεῦμαι λιμενοσκόπω (Kallim. *frag.* 114 Schneider), *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 492 [Z]ανὸ[s|'E]λευθερί[ου?]|κ.τ.λ. (*sc.* Hadrian : *supra* p. 97 f. n. o), Loukian. *tragoedopod.* 91 ff. τὰν δ' 'Ωκεανοῦ παρὰ παγαῖς | Ζανὸς (so J. Gavel for Ζηνὸς) παμάκοιτιν 'Ολυμπίου | λευκώλενον εὐρέσι κόλποις | "Ηραν ἐτιθήνατο Τηθύς.

Dat. sing. Ζανί — Lykan (*quis?*) *frag. mel. adesp.* 31 Hiller—Crusius *ap.* Herodian. περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων 23 (ii. 642, 17 f. Lentz) Ζανί τ' ἐλευθερίῳ, cp. archaising inscriptions from Sparta addressed to Antoninus Pius as Ζανὶ 'Ελευθερίοι 'Αντωνείνοι Σωτῆρι (*supra* p. 101 n. 1), *Anth. Pal.* 6. 221. 9 f. (Leonidas) οἱ δ' ἀπαθεῖς ἔργον τόδ' ἐυγραφὲς ἀκρολοφίτᾳ | Ζανὶ (J. G. Schneider cj. Πανὶ. H. Stadtmüller cj. Ζηνὶ on account of 11 εἵατο σωτῆρα Ζῆν' ἐπικεκλόμενοι), 9. 577. 3 f. (Ptolemaios) παρ' αὐτῷ | Ζανὶ (Ζηνὶ Medic.) θεοτρεφέος (so W. Dindorf for θεοτροφίης cod. θεοτροφέος Medic. διοτρεφέος Pl. διοτροφέος Synes. *ad Paeon.* 311 D), 12. 66. 2 (anonymous) Ζανὶ γὰρ οὐ μάχομαι, 14. 123. 14 (Metrodoros) ῥέζετε δ' Οὐδαίῳ Ζανὶ (*sc.* Plouton) θυηπολίην, an epigram in Diod. 11. 14 (quoted *supra* p. 231 n. 7).

Nom. plur. Ζᾶνες — Paus. 5. 21. 2 πρὸς δὲ τῇ κρηπῖδι ἀγάλματα Διὸς ἀνάκειται χαλκᾶ.... καλοῦνται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ζᾶνες (ζᾶνες with η over ᾶ Pa.).

Acc. plur. Ζᾶνας — Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 7. 6 ff. veteres nullum animal sacrum in finibus suis esse patiebantur, sed abigebant ad fines deorum quibus sacrum esset: animas vero sacratorum hominum, quos Zanas Graeci (*zanas Graeci* A. B. G. P. M 1. 2. 3. P 5. 6. 7. (P 2. has *zanan* with *s* above it. S. has a *lacuna* before *Graeci*) ζώανας *Graeci* vi. *Graeci* ζωάνας c—b. L. Caelius Rhodiginus *Lectionum antiquarum* 12. 11 (ed. 1599 (Hanoviæ) p. 546 f.) cj. ξόανας (for ξόανα !). F. Liebrecht in *Philologus* 1865 xxii. 709 f. cj. ζωγάνας, cp. Athen. 639 c, Dion Chrys. *or.* 4 p. 161 f. Reiske. L. Jan *ad loc.* cj. ἀναθήματα. J. Bernays in *Hermes* 1875 ix. 127 f. kept *zanas*, but thought that Macrobius had misconceived the meaning of the *Zânes* at Olympia. See further *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 412, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 304.) vocant, dis debitas aestimabant. quemadmodum igitur quod sacrum ad deos ipsos mitti non poterat a se tamen dimittere non dubitabant, sic animas, quas sacras in caelum mitti posse arbitrati sunt (cp. the function of Ianus *supra* p. 336 n. 3), viduatas corpore quam primum ire illo voluerunt. disputat de hoc more etiam Trebatius religionum libro nono (on C. Trebatius Testa *vide* M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*^{2} München 1898 i. 395), cuius exemplum, ne sim prolixus, omisi. cui cordi est legere, satis habeat et auctorem et voluminis ordinem esse monstratum.

Cp. also Ζανίδες — Hesych. Ζανίδες· ἡγεμονίδες. J. Alberti *ad loc.* thought of Ζανιάδες, 'daughters of Zeus' (cp. 'Ηλιάδες κ.τ.λ.), or Ζανίτιδες. M. Schmidt *ad loc.* cj. Ζιτανίδες=Τιτανίδες (?). But, if Hadrian was called Ζανός and Antoninus Pius Ζανί, Roman empresses in general may well have been dubbed Ζανίδες by some time-serving poetaster.

Ζάνωνος — *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 1307, 3—6=Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 617 no. 4245, 403 on *amphora*-handles from Rhodes Ζάνωνος.

A. F. Pott (1833)[1], H. L. Ahrens (1843)[2], G. Legerlotz (1858)[3], C. Petersen (1870)[4], H. Usener (1900)[5]; and the equation has not been successfully challenged by any later critic. The cult of Zan can be traced most clearly in Crete, where he bore the title *Mégas*, 'the Great' Zan,—a natural appellative of the sky-god. Thus Euripides in his *Cretans* speaks of Minos as

'Child of Europa and of Zan the Great[6].'

Aristophanes appears to be poking fun at the same Euripidean play, when in his *Birds* he makes Euelpides ejaculate:

'So now let him thunder, Zan the Great[7]!'

According to the Greek grammarians, Ζάν was used by the later Aeolians and by the later Ionians: Herodian. *περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* 6, 14 ff. (ii. 911, 7 ff. Lentz) *ὅτι δὲ ποικίλως εἴρηται ὑπὸ παλαιῶν ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἀγνοῶ. καὶ γὰρ Δὶς καὶ Ζῆν καὶ Δῆν καὶ Ζάς* (so K. Lehrs for *Ζεύς*. He further suggests inserting *καὶ Ζάν*, cp. Aristoph. *av.* 570), *καὶ Ζῆς παρὰ Φερεκύδει* (so K. Lehrs for *Φερεκύδῃ*) *κατὰ κίνησιν ἰδίαν, καὶ* (so K. Lehrs for *κίνησίν τινα*) *ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Δεὺς καὶ Δάν* = Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1387, 27 ff. *καὶ ὅτι πολλαῖς εὐθείαις παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ποικίλλεται. Δὶς γάρ, οὗ γενικὴ Διός· καὶ Ζῆν καὶ Ζὰν καὶ Ζὰς καὶ Ζῆς παρὰ Φερεκύδῃ καὶ Βοιωτικῶς Ζεὺς* (H. L. Ahrens cj. *Δεὺς*) *καὶ Δάν*, cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 114, 3 ff. *συνηθέστερον γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ἢ περ ὁ Ζὰν καὶ ὁ Ζῆν καὶ ὁ Δὶς καὶ ὁ Δὰν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα κεῖνται παρὰ τῷ παλαιῷ τεχνικῷ* (*sc.* Herodian.), Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας* 14 (i. 394, 26 ff. Lentz) *Δάν* (so C. A. Lobeck for *Ἄν*)· *οὕτως* (so A. Lentz for *κύριον*) *εἴρηται ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ὁ Ζεύς* (so A. Lentz cp. Herodian. *περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* 6, 17 cited *supra*), *Ζάν* (added by A. Lentz from Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1387, 28, *in Il.* p. 114, 3 cited *supra* and from Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* iii. 237, 26 cited *infra*)· *οὕτω γὰρ εἴρηται ὁ θεὸς ὑπὸ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων Αἰολῶν· καὶ ἔτι οἱ μεταγενέστεροι Ἴωνες διὰ τοῦ ᾱ Ζάν ὁμοίως τῷ Λυκᾶνι "κλῦθί μοι Ζανός τε κούρη Ζανί τ' ἐλευθερίῳ,"* Herodian. *περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων* 3 (ii. 642, 13 ff. Lentz) = I. A. C. 'Anecdota Barocciana' in *The Philological Museum* Cambridge 1833 ii. 413 = Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* iii. 237, 23 ff. *ἰστέον ὅτι τοῦ Ζήν Ζηνός ἐφύλαξαν οἱ παλαιοὶ Ἴωνες τὴν κλίσιν οἷον "ἐπεὶ δ' ἴσχε Ζηνὸς ὑψηρέφης δόμοις ζάρῃς"* (J. A. Cramer cj. *ἐπεὶ δ' ἴσχε Ζηνὸς ὑψηρεφέοι* (or *ὑψηρεφέαι*) *δόμον Ἄρης*—a faulty hexameter. T. Bergk[4] *frag. adesp.* 78 cj. *ἐπὶ δ' ἴαχε | Ζηνὸς ὑψερεφὴς δόμος | ζαχρειές*, cp. Nik. *ther.* 290)· *μεταγενέστεροι Αἰολεῖς ἔτρεψαν Ζανός καὶ Ζάν· καὶ ἔτι μεταγενέστεροι οἱ Ἴωνες διὰ τοῦ ᾱ* (A. Lentz added this *ᾱ*) *Ζάν ὁμοίως* (H. L. Ahrens inserted this *ὁμοίως*) *τῷ Λυκᾶνι* (so A. Lentz for *Λύκανι*) *"κλῦθί μοι Ζανός τε κούρη Ζανί τ' ἐλευθερίῳ"* (so H. L. Ahrens for *κλῦθι μοι Ζανός τε κουρηξαντελευθεριω* cod. But see *supra s.vv.* Ζανός, Ζανί). *πάλιν ἄπορον πῶς παρ' Ἴωσι τὸ η̄ εἰς ᾱ* (so H. L. Ahrens for *τὸ ᾱ εἰς η̄*) *τέτραπται· τὸ ἐναντίον τὸ ᾱ εἰς η̄ τρέπουσι, τὸ γὰρ* (A. Lentz inserts here the *γὰρ* which in the MS. stands between *τὸ* and *ἐναντίον*) *Ζανός Ζηνός εἰρήκασι· λέγω δὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἔτρεψαν, ἀλλ' ἐμιμήσαντο μεταγενεστέρους Αἰολεῖς.*

[1] A. F. Pott *Etymologische Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der indogermanischen Sprachen* Lemgo 1833 i. 99.

[2] H. L. Ahrens *De dialecto Dorica* Gottingae 1843 p. 139.

[3] G. Legerlotz 'Die wurzel *dīv* oder *dyu* (brennen, leuchten) im griechischen' in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1858 vii. 290—310, especially p. 300. A. Kuhn 'Ζεύς, Ζην-, Jân-us' *ib.* 1858 vii. 79 f. and H. Grassmann *ib.* 1862 xi. 8 related *Ianus* to *Zēn*.

[4] C. Petersen *Das Zwölfgöttersystem* Berlin 1870 p. 68.

[5] H. Usener 'Zwillingsbildung' in the *Strena Helbigiana* Lipsiae 1900 p. 321 (= *id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 341).

[6] Eur. *Cretes frag.* 472; 1 f. Nauck[2] (*supra* p. 342 *s.v.* Ζανός).

[7] Aristoph. *av.* 570 (*supra* p. 341 n. 6 *s.v.* Ζάν).

Again, the famous tomb in Crete was inscribed with an epitaph which, according to the best attested version, ran:

'Here lies Great Zan, whom men call Zeus[1].'

If the cult of the Cretan Zeus resembled that of Adonis or Tammuz[2] and in historical times involved an annual festival, at which the god was killed and eaten in the form of a bull[3], there is point in the curious variant of his epitaph:

'Here lies a Great Ox, whom men call Zeus[4].'

The votaries of the Cretan Zeus actually ate of the Great Ox as part of their mystic rites. When, therefore, the watchman in the *Agamemnon* exclaims—

'For the rest I'm silent: a Great Ox hath come
Upon my tongue[5],'

he was, I take it, simply repeating a *formula*[6] of the Cretan mysteries that had passed into a proverb for sworn secrecy.

[1] *Anth. Pal.* 7. 746 Pythagoras (*supra* p. 341 n. 6 *s.v.* Ζάν) = Kyrill. Al. *c. Iulian.* 10. 342 (lxxvi. 1028 Migne) *ὧδε μέγας κεῖται Ζᾶν* (*leg.* Ζὰν) *ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν.*

[2] *Supra* i. 645 f. [3] *Supra* i. 651 ff., 659 ff., 675, cp. i. 468 n. 8.

[4] *Ὧδε μέγας κεῖται βοῦς, ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσι* (*supra* p. 341 n. 6 *s.v.* Ζάν).

[5] Aisch. *Ag.* 36 f. *τὰ δ' ἄλλα σιγῶ· βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ μέγας | βέβηκεν.* The current explanations are, as every scholar knows, unsatisfactory. See A. Sidgwick, A. W. Verrall, F. H. M. Blaydes, W. Headlam, etc. *ad loc.* Cp. Menand. *ἁλιεῖς frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 74 Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 549 c *παχὺς γὰρ ὑς ἔκειτ' ἐπὶ στόμα.*

[6] I seize this opportunity of attempting to explain another mystic *formula*, which has come down to us in two versions:

(1) Firm. Mat. 18. 1 habent enim propria signa, propria responsa, quae illis in istorum sacrilegiorum coetibus diaboli tradidit disciplina. in quodam templo, ut in interioribus partibus homo moriturus (A. Dieterich *Eine Mithrasliturgie*[2] Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 103: 'der in sakramentalem Sinne sterben soll.' C. A. Lobeck cj. *oraturus*. C. Bursian, followed by C. Halm, cj. *introiturus*) possit admitti, dicit: 'de tympano manducavi, de cymbalo bibi, et religionis secreta perdidici,' quod Graeco sermone dicitur: *ἐκ τυμπάνου βέβρωκα, ἐκ κυμβάλου πέπωκα, γέγονα μύστης Ἄττεως.*

(2) Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 15. 3 p. 13, 10 ff. Stählin *τὰ σύμβολα τῆς μυήσεως ταύτης* (for context see *supra* i. 392 n. 5)... "*ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον· ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον· ἐκερνοφόρησα· ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν.*" Cp. schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 497 c *ἐτελεῖτο δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Δηοῖ καὶ Κόρῃ, ὅτι ταύτην μὲν Πλούτων ἁρπάξειε, Δηοῖ δὲ μιγείη Ζιεύς· ἐν οἷς πολλὰ μὲν ἐπράττετο αἰσχρά, ἐλέγετο δὲ πρὸς τῶν μυουμένων ταῦτα "ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον, ἐκερνοφόρησα"* (*κέρνος δὲ τὸ λίκνον ἤγουν τὸ πτύον ἐστίν* [but see L. Couve in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 822 ff.]), "*ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυον*" *καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.*

Now the timbrel was made from the stretched hide (*supra* i. 650 n. 2: add Eur. *Hel.* 1347, *Bacch.* 513, Hesych. *s.v. τύμπανα*, Phot. *lex. s.v. τύμπανον*, Souid. *s.v. τύμπανον*, *et. mag.* p. 771, 43 f., Zonar. *lex. s.v. τύμπανον*, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1783, 42 f., *et. Gud.* p. 537, 40) of a bull (Ov. *fast.* 4. 342, Nonn. *Dion.* 10. 390 f., 14. 351, 20. 307: cp. the account of Indian drums in Souid. *s.v. τύμπανα*), which was probably credited with the powers of the living animal (in Opp. *cyneg.* 3. 282 ff. we are told that a *τύμπανον* of wolf's-skin will silence other *τύμπανα*, because the dead wolf is feared by the dead sheep!). Hence I should conjecture that to eat food out of the timbrel was a civilised surrogate for the earlier practice of eating the bull raw (*supra* i. 659 ff., 695). The mystic thereby became one with his god (*supra* i. 650, 673).

But why must he drink from a cymbal? Nonnos states that Mystis, the Sidonian Bacchant, who instructed Dionysos and devised the Dionysiac equipment, fastened bronze bowls to her naked breasts (Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 125 f. *καὶ φιάλας* (Count de Marcellus cj. *φάλλους sic*) *γυμνοῖσιν ἐπὶ* (H. Koechly cj. *γυμνοῖσι περὶ*) *στέρνοισι καθάψαι* | *χαλκείας* (Count de Marcellus cj. *χαλκείους*) *ἐνόησε*), and that, when the god first came to Athens, the women there put bowls over their mailed breasts (Nonn. *Dion.* 47. 9 f. *φιάλας* (Count de Marcellus cj. *φάλλους sic*) *δὲ σιδηροφόρων διὰ μαζῶν* | *στήθεσι μυστιπόλοισιν ἀνεζώννυντο γυναῖκες*). The custom has given rise to discussion (F. Creuzer *Dionysus sive commentatio academica de rerum Bacchicarum Orphicarumque originibus et causis* Heidelberg 1809 i. 63, K. Schwenck *Sinnbilder der alten völker* Frankfurt 1851 p. 39, R. Koehler *Über die Dionysiaka des Nonnus von Panopolis* Halle 1853 p. 19 n. 2, O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1868 p. 177). E. Maass *Orpheus* München 1895 p. 119 n. 167 shrewdly surmises that these bowls were the cymbals from which the mystics drank. I would support his conjecture by pointing out that in Kypros a breast-shaped cup was known both as *μαστός* (Athen. 487 B ΜΑΣΤΟΣ. *Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Κυρηναῖος* (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 469 Müller), *ὡς Πάμφιλός φησι, Παφίους τὸ ποτήριον οὕτως καλεῖν*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1258, 59 f. *ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἴσως καὶ μασθάλης, κύλιξ τις παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς. καὶ παρὰ Παφίοις δὲ μασθὸς ποτήριον, σύστομον, ὡς εἰκός, ἐξ οὗ ἐβδάλλετο τρόπον τινὰ ὡς ἐκ μασθοῦ τὸ πινόμενον*) and as *κύμβα* (Athen. 482 E *κύμβα ποτήριον Ἀπολλόδωρος* (*frag.* 245 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 469 Müller)) *Παφίοις*, 483 A *Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐτυμολογιῶν* (*frag.* 189 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 463 Müller)) *Παφίους τὸ ποτήριον καλεῖν κύμβα* (*κύμβαν* cod. C.)). Its usage spread from the Levant to Greece, for a cup called *μαστός* is, not only mentioned by grammarians (Poll. 6. 95 *μαστούς*, Hesych. *s.v. μαστός· ποτήριον*), but also recorded among articles of silver in the temple-inventories of Delos (T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 1 ff. no. 15 C 44 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*^{2} no. 588, 44 f. *μαστὸς ἐπ' ἄρ|χοντος Τλησιμένου* (= 216 B.C.), *ἱεράζοντος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Σωτέλου*, 93 *μαστοὶ* Δ Ι) and Oropos (B. I. Leonardos in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1889 p. 2 ff. no. 26, 11 *μαστὸς ἱερὸς* ΠΕ *ἄλλος ἱερὸς* oBS *ἄλλος ἱερὸς* oA, and in lines 13, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30 *bis*, 31, 32, 33, 45, 52, 56, 57, 62, 65, 66, 68 *bis*, 70, 72, cp. 14 *μασαστίον* (*sic*) *ἱερὸν* MΞ *ἄλλο ἱερὸν* ΛCS *ἄλλο ἱερὸν* MS, 15 *μαστίον Ἀριστοκρίτης* KHS, 21 *μαστίον ἀπὸ τῶν περισμημάτων* ΛH, 56 *μαστία* B *ἀπὸ τῶν ἐ(π)ανθέτων ἄγοντα ἀνὰ* Ι•Ι See further B. Keil 'Ein Silberinventar des Amphiaraos von Oropos' in *Hermes* 1890 xxv. 598—623). Sundry specimens in *terra cotta* have come down to us (*e.g.* (*a*) A. P. di Cesnola *Salaminia* London 1882 p. 251 f. pl. 19, 11, Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* p. 455 pl. 150, 20, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* i. 2. 155 no. C 801 pl. 4: (*b*) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 209 f. nos. B 375—B 377, E. Pottier in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1625 fig. 4856 a black-figured *mastós* in room E of the Louvre: (*c*) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 392 f. nos. D 9 and D 10 a pair of *mastoi* by Sotades (?)), which appear to have been evolved from a feeding-bottle in the shape of the mother's breast. No doubt the Greeks, like other peoples (H. Ploss—M. Bartels *Das Weib*^{10} Leipzig 1913 i. 376 fig. 252), struck by the similarity of breast and bowl, made such vases for purely secular purposes. But religious significance is sometimes probable (Plin. *nat. hist.* 33. 81 Minervae templum habet Lindos insulae Rhodiorum, in quo Helena sacravit calicem ex electro; adicit historia, mammae suae mensura. C. Blinkenberg *Die lindische Tempelchronik* Bonn 1915 p. 15 comments: 'Die art dieses geschenkes ist durch die auf die kleine Ilias (Schol. Aristoph. Lysistr. 155, vgl. Ed. pr. [= C. Blinkenberg 'La chronique du temple lindien' in the *Bulletin de l'académie royale des sciences et des lettres de Danemark* 1912 nos 5—6] s. 119) zurückgehende erzählung von der rettung Helenas bestimmt. Die notiz des Plinius stammt aus der reisebeschreibung des C. Licinius Mucianus, der um 60 n. Chr. den Orient bereist und auch Lindos besucht hatte (s. Ed. pr. s. 118 und 124 ff.) und von den besuchten örtlichkeiten allerlei kuriositäten berichtete. Wolters meint (Süddeutsche Monatshefte 1913), die stiftung des bechers sei erst nach der zeit unserer chronik erfunden; da aber Mucianus sich ausdrücklich auf eine literarische quelle beruft ("adicit historia"), war die

Again, if the death of Zan the Great was, like that of Tammuz, the subject of a yearly lamentation, we cannot but recall Plutarch's account[1] of the voice which bade the pilot Thamous bear the mysterious tidings

'Pan the Great is dead[2].'

Are we to conclude that this singular tale was ultimately based on the ritual of Zan? The locality of the alleged occurrence is worth considering. The unknown voice came from the direction of Paxoi, a couple of small islands, now called *Paxo* and *Antipaxo*, off the mouth of the Thesprotian river Acheron, which flows through the Acherusian Lake to the sea. Thamous was to make his announcement

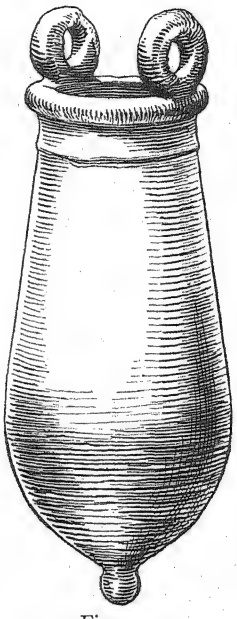


Fig. 240.



Fig. 241.

geschichte vielmehr von einem anderen, von Timachidas nicht gekannten oder beiseite gelassenen lokalhistoriker oder mythographen erzählt.' The theme is embroidered in D. G. Rossetti's *Troy Town*) and sometimes certain (Apul. *met.* 11. 10 idem gerebat et aureum vasculum in modum papillae rutundatum de quo lacte libabat, with W. Drexler's remarks in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 502 f. Fig. 240 is a breast-shaped *situla* of bronze from Egypt, now in my possession, which may serve to illustrate the Isiac milk-bowl. On St Agatha of Catania as successor of the Bona Dea see J. E. Wessely *Ikonographie Gottes und der Heiligen* Leipzig 1874 p. 54 f., H. Ploss—M. Bartels *op. cit.*[10] i. 372 f.). I am therefore disposed to conclude that drinking from the cymbal was regarded as tantamount to drinking from the breast of the goddess—a ritual act which made the mystic her very child (cp. *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 416 f. fig. 4). A goat-*rhytón* (*supra* i. 108) is substituted for the cymbal on an engraved cornelian at Florence, which represents a Bacchant milking her own breast into the vessel (A. F. Gori *Museum Florentinum* Gemmae antiquae ex thesauro Mediceo et privatorum dactyliothecis Florentiae exhibitae tab. CC Florentiae 1731 i. 160 pl. 84 no. 10=my fig. 241, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 43, no. 84, 10 pl. 40, R. E. Raspe *Catalogue raisonné d'une collection générale de pierres gravées antiques et modernes moulées en pâtes de couleurs...par J. Tassie* London 1791 no. 4695. The stone measures 16×12$^{mm.}$ and is not demonstrably postclassical. Gori took the subject to be 'vel Ino, vel Autonoë, vel Agave, vel Hippa' as nurse of Bakchos (*supra* i. 395 n. 3: the name should be Hipta, according to O. Kern in *Hermes* 1914 xlix. 480); but the identification is quite arbitrary).

[1] Plout. *de def. or.* 17 cited by Euseb. *praep. ev.* 5. 17. 4 ff.

[2] Plout. *de def. or.* 17 Πὰν (ὁ πὰν cod. Ambr.) ὁ μέγας τέθνηκε and later ὁ μέγας Πὰν τέθνηκεν, Euseb. *praep. ev.* 5. 17. 6 Πὰν ὁ μέγας τέθνηκεν, 5. 17. 8 Πὰν ὁ μέγας τέθνηκεν.

'over against Palodes,' a muddy lake at the outlet of which stood the town Bouthroton or Bouthrotos[1]. Neither place had anything whatever to do with Pan. Both may be readily connected with Zan. For at the Acherusian Lake was the tomb of Plouton, which the author of the Clementine *Homilies* expressly compares with the tomb of Zeus in Crete[2]. And a copper coin of Bouthroton, struck when the town had become a Roman colony, has for obverse type the head of Zeus wearing a wreath of oak, for reverse an ox[3]. Other coppers of the same town show either a standing ox or an ox-head[4]. The ox indeed played a part in the foundation-legends both of Boucheta (Bouchetos, Boucheton, Bouchetion) near the mouth of the Acheron[5] and of Bouthroton too[6], being comparable on the one hand with Europa's bull, on the other with

[1] Strab. 324, Ptol. 3. 14. 4, cp. Appian. *de bell. civ.* 5. 55. See further E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1084 f. and H. Kiepert *Formae orbis antiqui* Berlin 1894 Map 15 (inset of 'Corcyra Insula').

[2] Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 23 (ii. 192 Migne) ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἀσελγοῦς Διός, τοῦ μυθικοῦ (μυθού *sic* O.), τοῦ ὁμοίως τὴν θυγατέρα Μῆτιν καταπιόντος, ἐν Κρήτῃ θεωρεῖται τάφος· καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀχερουσίᾳ δὲ λίμνῃ Πλούτωνος. Rohde *Psyche*[2,3] i. 134 n. 1, followed by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1501 n. 2 and others, refers the passage wrongly to the less famous Acherusian Lake near Hermione (Paus. 2. 35. 10).

[3] Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 139 no. 30, cp. D. Sestini *Descrizione d' alcune medaglie Greche del Museo del Signore Carlo d' Ottavio Fontana di Trieste* Firenze 1822 p. 35 no. 1 (obv. P. DASSIDIVS. CORNELI.. caput Jovis laureatum, rev. bos gradiens Æ. 3), no. 2 (obv. P. DASSIDIVS CORNELIVS caput Iovis laureatum, rev. bos gradiens Æ. 2 p.), *id. Descrizione delle medaglie antiche Greche del Museo Hedervariano dalla Liburnia fino a tutte le isole dell' arcipelago* Parte Europea Firenze 1830 ii. 24 no. 2 (obv. P. DASSIDIVS. CORNELIVS. caput Jovis laureatum, rev. bos gradiens Æ. 3 p.), J. de Witte *Description des médailles et des antiquités du cabinet de M. l'abbé H. G.* [=Greppo de Montellier] Paris 1856 no. 566.

[4] Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 139 f. nos. 31 (ox), 32 (ox), 33 (ox-head), 39 (ox-head), 40 (ox).

[5] Philostephanos *frag.* 9 a (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 30 Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* Βούχετα· ...πόλις ἐστι τῆς Ἠπείρου...ἣν Φιλοστέφανος (Φιλόχωρος *sic* cod. Heidelberg.) ἐν τοῖς Ἠπειρωτικοῖς ὠνομάσθαι φησὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν Θέμιν ἐπὶ βοὸς ὀχουμένην ἐλθεῖν ἐκεῖσε κατὰ τὸν Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμόν = Souid. *s.vv.* Βούχετα and Θέμιν (in both passages reading Φιλόχορος for Φιλοστέφανος) = *et. mag.* p. 210, 34 ff. (reading Φιλόχορος and διὰ τὸ τὴν Λητῶ ἤτοι Θέμιν κ.τ.λ.) = Favorin. *lex.* p. 385, 31 ff. (reading Φιλοστέφανος ἐν τοῖς Φιλιππικοῖς *sic*).

[6] Teukros of Kyzikos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 508 Müller) *ap. et. mag.* p. 210, 21 ff. Βουτρωτὸς ἢ Βουθρωτός, πόλις τῆς Ἠπείρου, ὥς φησι Τεῦκρος ὁ Κυζικηνός, ὅτι Ἕλένου ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος εἰς τὴν Ἤπειρον παραγενομένου, θύοντος δὲ ἐπιβατήρια, ἡ βοῦς οὐ καιρίαν λαβοῦσα τομὴν φεύγει καὶ κόλπον τινὰ τῆς Ἠπείρου διανηξαμένη εἰς γῆν ἐξέρχεται, καὶ καταπεσοῦσα ἀπέθανεν. ὁ δὲ Ἕλενος, συμβόλῳ θείῳ χρησάμενος, κτίζει πόλιν, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβάντος Βουτρωτὸν αὐτὴν ὠνόμασε, cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Βουθρωτός· χερρόνησος περὶ Κέρκυραν. ἔστι καὶ πόλις. ἐκλήθη δ' οἱ μέν φασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ, οἱ δὲ μυθεύονται ὅτι Ἕλένῳ ἐκ Τροίας πλέοντι ἐς ἐσπέρην, θύσαντι ἀποβατήρια ἐν Ἠπείρῳ, τὸ θῦμα ἡ βοῦς ἀποδράσασα ἐκ τοῦ βουπλήγος ᾧχετο φεύγουσα διὰ τοῦ μεταξὺ πόντου· καὶ εἰς τὸν χέρσον ἐμβᾶσα (καὶ γὰρ τρῶμα ἐν τῇ δειρῇ εἶχεν) αὐτοῦ ἤριπε καὶ ἔθανε· καὶ κληδόνι ὁ Ἕλενος χρῆται, ἵνα ἔθηκε Βουθρωτὸν ὄνομα, ὥς φησι Τεῦκρος ὁ Κυζικηνός.

the cow of Ilos at Troy[1] or the 'Adiounian bull' in Crete[2]. It seems likely enough that in this district, peopled with Illyrian tribes[3], which had pushed their way from north to south[4] and were partially Hellenised by contact with their neighbours, *Zeús* represents *Zán*—a name reappearing in the *Zânes* of Olympia[5]. When *Zán* had dropped out of popular parlance, a story involving his half-forgotten name might well become attached to *Pán*. Epitherses, who told the tale, was a grammarian of Nikaia in Bithynia living in the reign of Tiberius[6]; and coins of Nikaia, struck by Marcus Aurelius[7], Caracalla[8], Macrinus[9], Elagabalos[10], Severus Alexander[11], Maximinus[12], Gordianus iii[13], Philippus ii[14], Trebonianus Gallus[15], and Gallienus[16], make much of Pan[17]. Moreover, the Orphic Theogony of Hellanikos had long since identified Zeus with Pan[18], misled by what seemed an obvious etymology[19]. On the whole, therefore, it may be inferred that Plutarch's story really does postulate as its original source the liturgy of Zan the Great[20].

[1] *Supra* i. 468 n. 9.

[2] *Supra* i. 468 n. 8, 635. See further G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 138 ff. ('Cattle in Foundation-Myths').

[3] A. Philippson in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2722.

[4] A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 142 f., G. Dottin *Les anciens peuples de l'Europe* Paris 1916 pp. 152 f., 155.

[5] *Supra* p. 343 *s.v.* Zâνες.

[6] L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 221.

[7] Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 418 f. nos. 153 pl. 70, 19, 155 pl. 70, 20, 156 pl. 70, 21, 157 pl. 70, 22.

[8] *Eid. ib.* i. 454 no. 444 pl. 78, 26.

[9] *Eid. ib.* i. 467 no. 544 pl. 81, 14.

[10] *Eid. ib.* i. 469 no. 561.

[11] *Eid. ib.* i. 474 nos. 593 pl. 82, 21, 594.

[12] *Eid. ib.* i. 480 nos. 640 pl. 83, 28, 641, 642 pl. 83, 29.

[13] *Eid. ib.* i. 487 no. 697 pl. 84, 32.

[14] *Eid. ib.* i. 492 no. 739 pl. 85, 25.

[15] *Eid. ib.* i. 496 no. 770.

[16] *Eid. ib.* i. 506 no. 838 pl. 87, 32.

[17] See further F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 26, 28 ff. pl. B', 17 (M. Aurelius), 18 (M. Aurelius), 19 (Macrinus), 20 (Maximinus), 21 (Caracalla), W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1368.

[18] *Infra* Append. G. Cp. Orph. *h. Ap.* 34. 24 ff., Apollod. *frag.* 44 *b* (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 649 Müller) *ap.* Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* i. 16 (ii. 174 n. Lion), Cornut. *theol.* 27 p. 49, 4 ff. Lang. See also W. H. Roscher 'Pan als Allgott' in the *Festschrift für Johannes Overbeck* Leipzig 1893 pp. 56—72 and in his *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1405, A. Jeremias *ib.* v. 69.

[19] Πάν = πᾶν!

[20] I regret that I find myself unable to accept the admirably ingenious hypothesis put forward by S. Reinach ('La mort du grand Pan' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1907 xxxi. 5—19 = *id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1908 iii. 1—15), according to which the words heard off Paxos were ΘΑΜΟΥΣ ΘΑΜΟΥΣ ΘΑΜΟΥΣ ΠΑΝΜΕΓΑΣ ΤΕΘΝΗΚΕ, 'Tammuz, Tammuz, Tammuz the Almighty is dead.' But (*a*) it is highly improbable that the Syrian god would have been lamented as Θαμοῦς on the north-west coast of Greece—he would almost certainly have been called Ἄδωνις. And (*b*), as Reinach himself points out, the precise epithet *παντμέγας* is not known to occur as a divine appellative except in a Byzantine (first half of *s.* xii A.D.) description of Zeus (Theod. Prodr. *Rhod. et Dos.* 8. 116 ὦ πάμμεγα Ζεῦ). See further G. A. Gerhard 'Der Tod des grossen Pan' in the

The same may be said of the ritual chant at Dodona, where the Peleiades are reported to have sung :

> Zeus was, Zeus is, Zeus shall be : O Great Zeus !
> Earth sends up fruits ; so hymn ye Mother Earth[1].

The epithet '*Great* Zeus' inclines me to suspect that here too Zeus had displaced Zan. M. Mayer's notion that the older name of the god (**Djan*, *Zán*) has survived in the modern *Jánina*[2] is, I fear, a simple mirage[3]. But it is tempting to seek, with R. Meister, the female counterpart of *Zán* in **Díaina*[4] or **Diáne*[5], the weak forms corresponding with the strong form *Diṓne*[6].

Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1915 Abh. v, *id.* 'Nochmals zum Tod des grossen Pan' in the *Wiener Studien* 1916 xxxviii. 343—376.

[1] Paus. 10. 12. 10 τὰς Πελειάδας (so F. Sylburg for Πελιάδας codd.) δὲ Φημονόης τε ἔτι προτέρας γενέσθαι λέγουσι, καὶ ᾆσαι γυναικῶν πρώτας τάδε τὰ ἔπη· Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἐστί (ἔστιν codd. Pc. M. Vb. Vn. In cod. La. the *ν* is erased), Ζεὺς ἔσσεται (so cod. Pa. ἔσεται codd. cett.)· ὦ μεγάλε Ζεῦ. | Γᾶ καρποὺς ἀνιεῖ (so codd. Pd. Ag. ἀνιεί cod. Pc. ἀνίει codd. cett.), διὸ κλῄζετε ματέρα (so L. Dindorf for μητέρα codd.) Γαῖαν.

[2] M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 83 n. 71.

[3] See W. M. Leake *Travels in Northern Greece* London 1835 iv. 130 'Τὰ Ἰωάννινα, as the name of this city occurs in the Byzantine history, and is still written by ecclesiastics, is corrupted in the vulgar idiom to Ἰάννινα, Ἰάνενα, Γιάνενα, or more frequently Γιάννινα, from whence the Italian form Giannina. The ordinary pronunciation conforms to the vulgar spelling, and may be nearly represented in English by Yánnina; but the better educated not only adhere to the orthography derived from the name Ἰωάννης, but preserve also the sound of the omega in vocal utterance.' This paragraph was penned while Leake was staying at 'Ioánnina' in July, 1809.

[4] Apollod. *ap.* schol. *Od.* 3. 91 ὡς καὶ ἡ Ἥρα Διαίνη (διαίνη codd. H.Q. διόνη cod. M. P. Buttmann cj. Διώνη). C. A. Lobeck *Pathologiae sermonis Graeci prolegomena* Lipsiae 1843 p. 32 n. 27 and K. W. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* ii. 1595 c accept Buttmann's Διώνη. W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 i. 296 are less positive : 'Διαίνη, f. viell. Διώνη,' etc. C. T. Angermann in the *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik* ed. by G. Curtius Leipzig 1868 i. 59 n. 1 defends Διαίνη : 'Sed quidni Dodonaei Διαίνη, quam formam regularem esse cognovimus, servari (*sic*) potuerint?' Finally, R. Meister in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 p. 201 says : 'Dass der Scholiast oder seine Quelle Διαίνη mit -η schrieb statt Δίαινα mit dem allein berechtigten -ᾰ, ist ein Fehler, den bereits Welcker, Gr. Götterlehre 1, 353 ["Διαίνη (Δίαινα)"] corrigirt hat.'

[5] See *infra* n. 6, and cp. the formation of εὐδιανός (Pind. *Ol.* 9. 146 f. ψυχρᾶν... εὐδιανὸν φάρμακον αὐρᾶν. In *Pyth.* 5. 10 J. G. J. Hermann and A. Boeckh read εὐδιανὸς for εὐδίαν ὃς κ.τ.λ. with J. G. Schneider, who cited εὐδιανὴν from the cod. Voss. of Plat. *legg.* 919 A εὐδιεινὴν γαλήνην—see Steph. *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iii. 2224 B).

[6] R. Meister 'über die Namen : "Διώνη, Ζήν, Ζᾶν"' in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 p. 200 ff. : 'Wir finden auf griechischem Boden die starke Form dieses *-en-*Stammes vertreten mit *o*-Färbung des Suffixvocals in *dii̯-ōn-* : *Δίων, Διώνη, und mit *e*-Färbung in *di̯-ēn-* : Ζήν. *Δίων, Διώνη waren die altdodonäischen Himmelsgötter; für den Namen *Δίων trat später Ζεὺς Νάιος ein, der Name Διώνη erhielt sich. Neben diesen beiden starken Stammformen *Δίων und Ζήν lassen sich im Griechischen zwei schwache Stammformen nachweisen : (1) *di̯-ăn-* (d.i. urspr. *dii̯-n̥-* vor Vocalen und vor *s*) in Δίαινα, (2) *di̯-ăn-* (d.i. urspr. *di̯-n̥-*, ebenso vor Vocalen und vor *s*) in Ζᾶν-, dem Ausgangspunkt für die Neubildung des Flexionssystems Ζᾶν, Ζᾶνός.... Ein zweite Bildung von diesem schwachen Stamm *di̯-ăn-* würden wir in διαίνω "befeuchte" vor uns

In *Zás*, the form of *Zeús* used by Pherekydes of Syros[1] and declined as *Zás, Zántos*, etc., by later Greek scholars[2], P. Kretschmer

haben, wenn die alten Etymologen Recht haben sollten, dieses Verbum trotz der abweichenden Bedeutung mit dem Namen des Himmels und des Himmelsgottes zusammenzubringen, vgl. z. B. Eustath. zu Hom. Il. 21, 202 p. 1231, 28: *ἰστέον ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς ἤτοι ἀέρος τὸ διαίνω παρῆκται, καὶ δηλοῖ τὸ ὑγραίνειν καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν διαβρέχειν*; Et. M. 266, 56: *διαίνω .. κυρίως τὸ ἐκ Διὸς βρέχεσθαι*. Die Bezeichnung des epeirotischen Himmelsgottes als *Ζεὺς Νάιος* "der feuchte, regenspendende Zeus" hebt dasselbe als Eigenschaft des Himmelsgottes hervor, was, wenn wirklich *διαίνω* stammverwandt mit **Δίων* (richtiger dann **δίων* zu schreiben) sein sollte, das Verbum herausheben würde als Thätigkeit des Himmels; was den Bedeutungsübergang anlangt, könnte man mit **δίων* "Himmel": *διαίνω* "befeuchte" etwa vergleichen den von *αἰθήρ*: *αἰθρέω* (=*χειμάζω*).... Von der Existenz der Form **Διᾱ́ν* liegt eine unsichere Spur vor. Zu Theokrit 15, 106 giebt nämlich der gute cod. p die Lesart *Κύπρι Διαναία*, wo die übrigen Handschriften *Διωναία* oder *Διωναίη* haben, und Ahrens (Philol. XXIII, 1866, S. 208 f. =Kl. Schr. 1, 421) erklärte nachträglich *Διαναία* für die echte Lesart, unter dem Ausdruck seines Bedauerns sie nicht in den Text seiner Ausgabe aufgenommen zu haben. Ist dieser Lesart zu vertrauen, so haben wir für die epeirotische Himmelsgöttin drei Namensformen überliefert: *Διώνη, Δίαινα* und *Διᾱ́νη*, denen der starke, der schwache und der aus dem schwachen neu gebildete Stamm zu Grunde liegen.'

[1] Pherekyd. *frag.* 1 Diels *ap.* Diog. Laert. 1. 119 *σῴζεται δὲ τοῦ Συρίου τό τε βιβλίον ὃ συνέγραψεν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· "Ζὰς* (*ζὰς* codd. B. P[1]. *ζεὺς* codd. F. P[2].) *μὲν καὶ Χρόνος ἦσαν ἀεὶ καὶ Χθονίη· Χθονίη δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο Γῇ, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῇ Ζὰς* (*ζεὺς* codd. F. P[2].) *γῆν γέρας διδοῖ,"* κ.τ.λ., cp. Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 124 b (i. 321, 3 f. Ruelle) *Φερεκύδης δὲ ὁ Σύριος Ζᾶντα* (*leg.* *Ζάντα*) *μὲν εἶναι ἀεὶ καὶ Χρόνον καὶ Χθονίαν τὰς τρεῖς πρώτας ἀρχάς* κ.τ.λ. (cod. A. has *ζᾶντα μὲνεναι ἀει καὶ χρόνον sic*).

Pherekyd. *frag.* 2 Diels *ap.* B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *Greek Papyri, Series II New Classical Fragments* Oxford 1897 no. 11 (a papyrus of *s.* iii A.D.) *Col.* 1, 12 ff. pl. 4 ΤΟ|ΤΕ ΖΑϹ ΠΟΙΕΙ ΦΑΡΟϹ ΜΕ|ΓΑ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΟΝ κ.τ.λ. = Clem. Al. *strom.* 6. 2 p. 429, 1 Stählin *Φερεκύδης ὁ Σύριος λέγει· "Ζὰς* (*ζὰς* cod. L. O. Stählin reads *Ζᾶς*) *ποιεῖ φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ καλὸν"* κ.τ.λ.

Herodian. *περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* 6, 16 (ii. 911, 8 f. Lentz) = Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1387, 28 cited *supra* p. 344 n. o.

[2] Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας* 14 (i. 399, 18 Lentz) *Ζάς Ζάντος ὁ Ζεύς*, 15 (i. 410, 19 Lentz) *Ζάς Ζάντος*, Herodian. *περὶ ὀνομάτων* (ii. 617, 37 Lentz) = Choirobosk. *in* Theodos. *can. masc.* 1 (i. 125, 34 Hilgard) *ὁ Ζάς*, Herodian. *περὶ ὀνομάτων* (ii. 633, 15 and 19 f. Lentz) = Choirobosk. *in* Theodos. *can. neut.* 4 (i. 348, 31 and 37 Hilgard) *Ζάς...Ζάς Ζαντός* (*ἔστι δὲ ὄνομα κύριον ὁ Ζάς* (so cod. C. *ὁ Ζεύς* cod. V.)), Herodian. *περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων* 3 (ii. 635, 26 Lentz) = Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* iv. 334, 28 *Ζάς* (so J. A. Cramer for *Ζεῦ* cod.) *Ζάντος*, Herodian. *περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων* (ii. 648, 32 Lentz) = Choirobosk. *in* Theodos. *can. proleg.* (i. 116, 10 Hilgard) *Ζάς Ζαντός* (*σημαίνει δὲ τὸν Δία*), Herodian. *περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων* (ii. 649, 3 Lentz) = Choirobosk. *in* Theodos. *can. proleg.* (i. 116, 22 Hilgard) *Ζάς*, Herodian. *περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων* (ii. 658, 28 f. Lentz) = Choirobosk. *in* Theodos. *can. masc.* 1 (i. 132, 6 ff. Hilgard) *ἔστι γὰρ Ζάς Ζαντός καὶ Πρᾶς Πραντός· καὶ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀποβολῇ τῆς* $\overline{\text{τος}}$ *ποιοῦσι τὴν κλητικήν, οὐδὲ γὰρ λέγομεν ὦ Ζάν καὶ ὦ Πράν, ἀλλ' ὦ Ζάς καὶ ὦ Πράς ὁμοφώνως τῇ εὐθείᾳ*, Herodian. *περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων* (ii. 674, 24 f. Lentz) = Choirobosk. *in* Theodos. *can. masc.* 10 (i. 214, 10 Hilgard) *Ζάς Ζαντός*, Herodian. *περὶ μετοχῶν* 3 (ii. 784 n. on line 19 Lentz) = Choirobosk. *epim. in psalm.* 50, 22 *Ζάς*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 436, 19 ff. *οὕτω καὶ Ζὰς ὁ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐτυμολογίαν, δηλοῦσιν οἱ παλαιοί. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὀξύνεται ὁ Ζὰς καὶ τὸ* $\overline{\text{ντ}}$ *ἔχει ἐν τῇ γενικῇ δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ παραδόντος ὅτι, καθὰ Πρὰς Πράντος ὄνομα ποταμοῦ καὶ πόλεως, καὶ Φθὰς Φθάντος κύριον παροξυνόμενον μετοχικῶς ἐν τῇ γενικῇ κατὰ τὸ φὰς φάντος, οὕτω καὶ Ζὰς Ζάντος, ὃ σημαίνει τὸν Δία* (the reference is to Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας* 14 cited above).

detects yet another name comparable with that of *Ianus*[1]. And it should be noticed that *Diïas* and *Dïas*, the immediate precursors of *Zás*, have been handed down to us as variants of the name borne by one of the Titans[2], whose relation to the Cretan Zeus or Zagreus we have already considered[3]. Indeed, according to one of the Greek etymological lexicons, Zeus himself was called *Dïas*[4]—a remark which has not attracted the attention that it deserves. We may therefore with some confidence point to the series

Diïas *Dïas* *Zás*

as a Greek equivalent of the Latin[5]

**Divianus* *Dianus* *Ianus*.

[1] P. Kretschmer in O. Kern *De Orphei Epimenidis Pherecydis theogoniis quaestiones criticae* Berolini 1888 p. 93 n. 64: 'Graeci ex antiquissimis temporibus duo habebant summi dei nomina, quae non radicibus, sed suffixis inter se differebant: Ζεύς ex *Ζ-ηυ-ς et Ζᾶνς ex *Ζ-ᾱν-ς (cf. lat. Iānus, Abl. Iane) exortum; quae hoc modo flectebantur:

I Ζεύς	II Ζᾶνς	Plur. Ζᾶνες (eliac.)
Ζῆν	Ζᾶνα (cf. cret. Τᾶνα)	
Διϝός	Ζᾱνός	
Διϝί	Ζᾱνί (cf. lac. Ζανί)	

Ex Ζῆν et Ζᾶνα compluribus in dialectis novus accusativus Ζῆνα (cf. cret. Δῆνα, Τῆνα, Τπῆνα; Pind. Ζῆνα) mixtus est, a quo aliorum quoque casuum nova flexio (gen. Ζηνός, dat. Ζηνί, nom. Ζής) proficiscebatur.—In ionica autem dialecto cum -ᾱνς in -ᾱς et ᾱ in η transiret, altera (II) flexio ita mutanda erat:

Ζᾶς (Pherecyd.)
Ζῆνα, Ζηνός, Ζηνί } Homer.

Ergo Ζᾶς apud Pherecydem exspectanda atque postulanda est forma, Ζής—si ab eo scripta est—per analogiam ficta. Alia autem flexio quae apud illum scriptorem inveniri videtur: Ζᾶς Ζάντα (non Ζᾶντα!) Ζάντος Ζάντι exemplo participiorum ut βᾶς βάντα βάντος βάντι adducta est.'

After this we can hardly maintain with Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1100 n. 1 that the Pherecydean Ζάς was 'Freie Erfindung,' though we may well suppose with him *ib.* pp. 427, 1114 n. 1 that Pherekydes saw in the name an allusion to the 'life' of the world (*supra* i. 11 n. 5, 28 n. 8, 29 n. 4, 31 n. 3, 196 f.).

[2] Choirobosk. περὶ ὀρθογραφίας in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 192, 13 ff. Δίας· διὰ τοῦ ι γράφεται· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς δράκοντος γενικῆς γίνεται δρακοντίας, οὕτως καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Διὸς γενικῆς γίνεται Διΐας, καὶ κατὰ κρῖσιν (*leg.* κρᾶσιν) τῶν δύο ιι εἰς ἓν ι μακρὸν Δίας=*et. mag.* p. 271, 3 ff. Δίας· ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ δράκων δράκοντος, δρακοντίας, οὕτω καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς γίνεται Διΐας· καὶ κράσει, Δίας. ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ Δίας καὶ Θείας (Θείας καὶ Δίας cod. V.) διὰ τοῦ NT κλίνονται· τὸ δὲ Θεΐας καὶ Διΐας (Δεΐας cod. V.), ἰσοσυλλάβως, cp. *ib.* p. 270, 10 ff. Δίας· ὁ ἥρως, εἷς τῶν Τιτάνων. παρὰ τὴν Διὸς γενικήν, Δίας. ἢ εἷς τῶν Πελοπιδῶν. γίνεται παρὰ τὸ Δέος, Δεΐας· καὶ ἐν συναλοιφῇ, Δείας, διὰ τῆς ΕΙ διφθόγγου· ὁ δέος ἐμποιῶν=*et. Gud.* p. 144, 54 ff. = Favorin. *lex.* p. 492, 13 ff. On the various mythical persons etc. named Δίας see H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1011 f. and P. Natorp in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2446, G. Wissowa *ib.* v. 345.

[3] *Supra* i. 398 f., 647, 654 ff.

[4] *Et. Gud.* p. 144, 57 ff. Δίας· ὁ Ζεύς, δι' οὗ ζῶμεν, παρὰ τὸ διαίνειν, τουτ' ἔστι πλύνειν τὴν γῆν. ἢ παρὰ τὸ δεῖν, ὅ ἐστι συνέχειν καὶ δεσμεύειν τὸ σύμπαν αἰσθητόν. ἢ παρὰ τὸ ζῆν.

[5] *Supra* p. 339.

Diŏne[1], the name habitually given to the goddess of Dodona, implies that her partner was known as *Dīōn*[2] or **Zōn*. *Dīōn* as the god's name was presumably ousted by *Zeús*. Servius, however, tells the story of an early Laconian King *Dion*, who entertained first Apollo and then Liber Pater[3]. Since the Spartan kings were priests of Zeus[4], it is just possible that their forbears played the part and bore the name of Zeus himself. Be that as it may, the simultaneous existence of the parallel forms *Zân* and **Zôn* is by no means without analogy. It would even appear that both forms have persisted in Crete down to modern times. The peasant of Anogeia still ejaculates 'God *Zânos*!' or 'Hear me, god *Zônos*![5]'

It will be convenient to summarise in tabular form the names here discussed and the equations proposed :

Latin		Greek		Modern Greek
**Divianus*	*Diviana*	Διίας		
Dianus	*Diana*	Δίας	*Δίαινα, *Διάνη	
Ianus	*Iana*	Ζᾱ́ς		
Ian		Ζᾱ́ν		Ζᾶνος
		Δίων	Διώνη	Ζῶνος

I hold, then, that there was an ancient Illyrian (?) sky-god, who appears on the west of the Adriatic as Ianus, on the east as Zan. Throughout the historical period Ianus was more and more eclipsed by Iupiter : at an early date Zan was practically superseded by Zeus. Nevertheless Ianus was still accorded a foremost place in the prayers and invocations of the Romans[6], while Zan was never wholly forgotten by the Greeks.

If we are to understand the outward expression given by both peoples to the cult of this great deity, we must keep in mind the fact that he was *ab origine* the divine Sky and nothing more[7].

[1] Διώνη is scanned with ῐ in *h. Ap.* 93 (ὅσσαι ἄριστα ἔσαν, Διώνη τε Ῥείη τε where T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes rightly retain the manuscript reading as against F. A. Wolf's cj. ἔασι), with ῐ in *Il.* 5. 370, 381, Hes. *theog.* 17, 353, Eur. *Hel.* 1098, *Antigone frag.* 177, 1 Nauck[2], *alib.* Cp. *Dĭana* and *Dĭana* (*supra* p. 339 n. 5).

[2] *Supra* p. 350 n. 6.

[3] Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 8. 30 Dion rex Laconiae fuit, qui habuit uxorem Iphiteam (G. Thilo cj. *Amphitheam*) Prognai filiam, etc. These names should find a place in P. Poralla *Prosopographie der Lakedaimonier bis auf die Zeit Alexanders des Grossen* Breslau 1913.

[4] *Supra* i. 8.

[5] *Supra* i. 163.

[6] See *e.g.* W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 39, Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 103 f., W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 pp. 282, 287, *id. The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 pp. 126, 140.

[7] *Supra* p. 337 ff.

Accordingly the Greeks did not at first carve him a statue or even construct him a temple.

> Why, where's the need of Temple, when the walls
> O' the world are that?[1]

The Persians on their mountain heights worshipped 'the whole circle of the sky[2],' offering sacrifice to him whom they called in the accusative case **Diân*[3]. And in like manner the Cretans honoured Zan on a mountain-top, expressly identifying him with the sky-god Zeus[4]. So far as we know, Zan was not figured forth by any anthropomorphic image. At most he was represented by the divine bull annually eaten of his worshippers[5]. The tomb of Zan was indeed, for those who could receive it, the tomb of 'a Great Ox[6].' A parallel to the Cretan sacrament may be found in a Paris papyrus already quoted[7]: 'Zeus went up into the mountain with a golden calf and a silver knife. To all he gave a share.' The cult of this aniconic god appealed to the Pythagoreans. Pythagoras himself is said to have written the epitaph of Zan[8], and his followers speak of 'the tower of Zan' or 'the watch-tower of Zan' as the very centre of the universe[9]. It is not till Zan has been definitely ousted by Zeus that we hear of 'bronze images of Zeus...called *Zânes*[10].'

(κ) Ianus represented as Vault or Archway.

In the Italian area the representation of the sky-god was developed along different lines. Since the sky itself was conceived as resting on four pillars[11], the primitive effigy of Ianus, the divine Sky, was a vault resting on four supports, in short an archway. It needs an effort of imagination on our part to realise that the arch of Ianus was no mere attribute or emblem of a sky-god, but an actual copy of the animate sky. And excellent scholars, like my friend Mr Warde Fowler, will no doubt continue to assert that the

[1] R. Browning *Epilogue* to *Dramatis Personæ* Third Speaker 11. 1 f.
[2] *Supra* i. 9 f., 338 n. 2.
[3] *Supra* i. 781.
[4] *Supra* i. 158 n. 2, 646, ii. 341 n. 6 *s.v.* Ζάν, 345.
[5] *Supra* i. 650, 662 ff., 673, 695.
[6] *Supra* p. 345.
[7] *Supra* i. 581.
[8] *Supra* i. 158 n. 2, 646, ii. 341 n. 6 *s.v.* Ζάν, 345.
[9] *Supra* i. 303, ii. 36, 52, 341 n. 6 *s.v.* Ζανός.

Possibly Zan was at one time worshipped in Samos, the original home of Pythagoras. The name Σάμος, which means 'height' (Strab. 346, 457), recalls at once Σάμη or Σάμος (*Samo*) in Kephallenia; Σάμος, later Σαμία or Σαμικόν, in Triphylia; Σάμος or Σαμοθράκη; Σάμος in Karia; etc. A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 54 f. (cp. *ib.* pp. 65, 88 f., 113, 115 f., 135 f.) regards this whole group of names as belonging by rights to the Leleges, who were driven eastwards by the advance of the Illyrians (*ib.* p. 142).

[10] *Supra* pp. 341 n. 6 *s.v.* Ζᾶνες, 349.
[11] *Supra* p. 140 ff.

famous gateway at the north-western end of the Forum Romanum was 'a symbolic entrance to the heart of the city[1].' But the early Roman cared little for symbols. What he wanted was to have the god he worshipped present in his midst. So, if the god he worshipped was the shining vault of heaven, he must needs have a glittering *simulacrum* of it continually before him. W. Deecke in 1876 had already got a glimpse of the truth, when he urged that Ianus denoted the sky as an arch or vault[2]; L. Preller and H. Jordan in 1881 admitted that the simple arch stood for the heavenly vault[3]; and S. Linde in 1891, while improving on his predecessors' etymology, still upheld their opinion that the vaulted archway of Ianus was but an image of the sky[4]. I agree with this view, which seems to me strongly supported by the fact that the Romans used the self-same word on the one hand of the god (*Ianus*), on the other of his arch (*ianus*).

The archway of Ianus in all probability forms part of the background carved on one of the well-known balustrades in the Forum (fig. 242)[5]. The emperor (Trajan?) is here seen standing with his suite on the *rostra* in front of the old *curia*; and the adjoining gateway, a simple round-headed arch between two Corinthian columns supporting a horizontal entablature, was identified by

[1] W. Warde Fowler *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 p. 126. Cp. B. R. Burchett *Janus in Roman Life and Cult* Menasha, Wisconsin 1918 p. 37 f. ('the symbolical entrance-way,' 'the symbolical entrance,' 'the one symbolical gate').

[2] W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen* Stuttgart 1876 ii. 125: 'Ianus bezeichnete also den Himmel als „Bogen, Gewölbe" und wurde so Name des Himmels-, nicht des Sonnengottes. So knüpft sich auch die Einführung seines Dienstes in Rom an den Bau des Ianus geminus auf dem Forum' etc.

[3] Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*[3] i. 168: 'daher der einfache Bogen, ianus, eigentlich ein offener Durchgang (transitio pervia, Cic. N. D. II, 27) das Symbol des himmlischen Gewölbes und seines Pförtners Janus, des himmlischen Lichtgottes wurde.'

[4] S. Linde *De Iano summo Romanorum deo* Lundae 1891 p. 18: 'Ianum caelum repraesentasse forma quoque templi eius indicat, quod arcus vel fornix erat—quae fornix imago caeli mihi videtur fuisse, ut pro caelo et germanice *Himmelsgewölbe* et suethice *himlahvalf* dicitur. Recte igitur, opinor, Deecke (Etr. Forsch. II p. 125 sq.) Ianum esse *deum caeli* statuit. Falso tamen putat Ianum idem atque transitum esse et etiam per se a principio fornicem vel arcum significasse, nam fornix vel arcus est imago sola caeli* [*Cfr Preller, Röm. Myth.[3] I. p. 168], non ipsa interpretatio nominis Iani.'

[5] E. Brizio in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1872 xliv. 314 f., *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 47 (a photograph, from which my illustration is drawn), H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 i. 2. 219 ff. pl. 4 (p. 224 'einen nicht sicher bestimmbaren Bogen'), C. Huelsen *The Roman Forum* trans. J. B. Carter Rome 1906 p. 97 ff. fig. 44 (cp. p. 102 'an arch which has not been identified, and which was probably destroyed in the alterations by Severus'), Mrs A. Strong *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* London 1907 p. 151 ff. pl. 45 (p. 155 'an arch which archaeologists have not yet named'), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 278 f.

E. Brizio and P. Rosa[1] with the *ianus* at the entrance of the Forum[2].

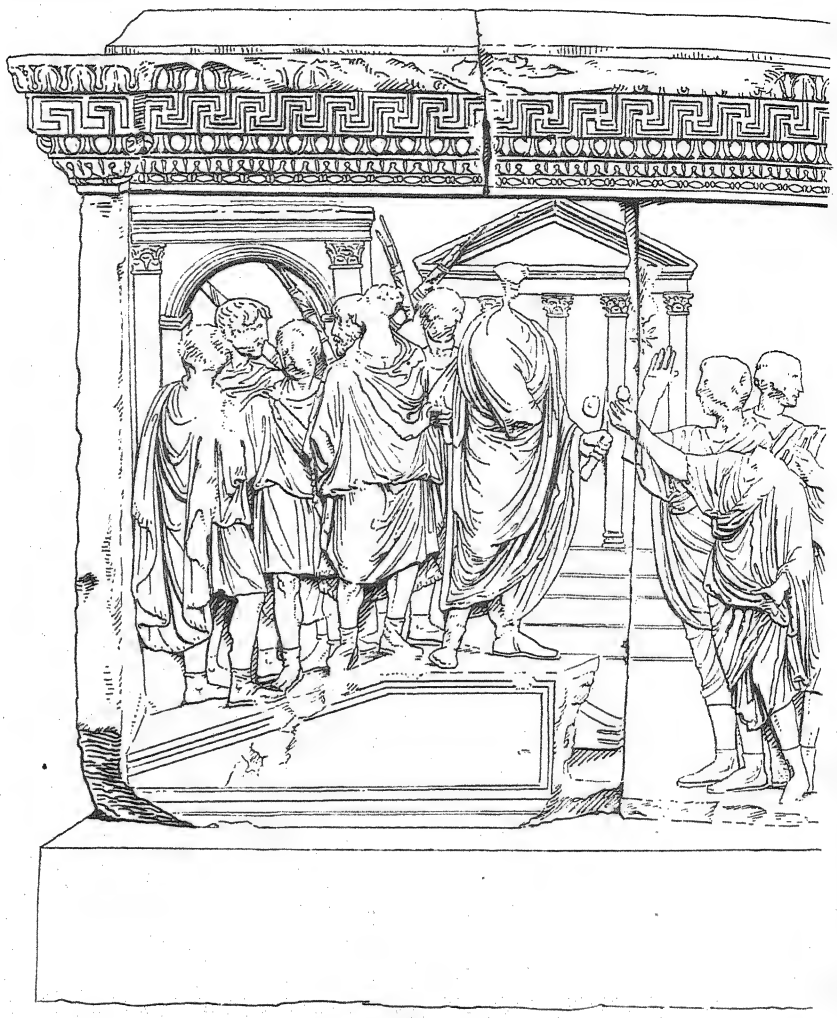


Fig. 242.

[1] E. Brizio *loc. cit.*, P. Rosa *Sulle scoperte archeologiche della città e provincia di Roma pegli anni 1871—1872* Roma 1873 (see H. Jordan in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft* 1873 i. 737). Cp. O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 p. 106 f. pl. 10 ('Triumphbogen (Janus?)').

[2] Schol. Cruq. Hor. *sat.* 2. 3. 18 Iani autem statuae tres erant, una in ingressu fori, etc., cp. Acron and Porphyrion *ad loc.* The best collection of the evidence, literary and monumental, will be found in H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 i. 2. 214 ff., 345 ff. See also L. Levy—H. Luckenbach *Das Forum Romanum der Kaiserzeit* München—Leipzig 1895 p. 16 with figs. 3 (restoration by L. Levy) and 4 (ground-plan), S. B. Platner *The Topography and monuments of ancient Rome* Boston 1904 p. 186 ff., H. Thédenat *Le Forum Romain et la Voie Sacrée* Paris 1905 p. 17 f.

Certain rare *denarii* struck by Augustus are quoted as exhibiting



Fig. 243.



Fig. 244.



Fig. 245.



Fig. 246.



Fig. 247.



Fig. 248.



Fig. 249.



Fig. 250.



Fig. 251.

the same *ianus* with closed gates (figs. 243, 244)[1]. A similar type,

(restoration by F. Hoffbauer) pl. 7 (ground-plan and perspective view), H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 16.

[1] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* i. 308 pl. 18, 19 (=my fig. 243) and 20 (=my

but without the entablature, occurs on the reverse of *aurei* struck by Nero (fig. 245)[1]. It is, however, from the 'first brass' (figs. 246—249)[2] and 'second brass' (figs. 250, 251)[3] of this emperor that we gain the clearest idea of the building. The said pieces show us a small oblong edifice with a heavy flat roof. At either end is a pair of Roman Doric or Corinthian columns carrying a semicircular arch, which is filled by shut doors and adorned with a festoon. The long side of the structure is of unusual design, consisting of two or more courses of masonry topped by an open grill, above which is seen the entablature, sometimes embellished with palmettes and scroll-work. H. Jordan justly infers that this peculiar building was not, to speak strictly, an *aedes* at all, but rather a double archway, a *ianus Geminus* as the Romans themselves termed it[4]. Sheathed throughout with bronze[5] it would aptly represent the bronze sky of early belief[6]—a similitude borne out by its arched vault and its four supporting pillars[7].

fig. 244), Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 76, iv. 504 f., Suppl. iii. 70, A. Boutkowski *Dictionnaire numismatique* Leipzig 1878 p. 327 no. 717, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 79 no. 110, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 473. Morell's two specimens are hardly above suspicion. The first was derived from H. Goltz, the second from J. Oisel; and Goltz, though an enthusiast, was no critic (Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* i. 1. 102 ff.).

[1] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 72 f. pl. 4, 9 and 10, Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 506 f., vi. 340, 343, Suppl. iii. 70, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 287 nos. 114 and 115, Mm. Rollin et Feuardent *Collection J. E.* Monnaies romaines en or Paris 1909 p. 8 no. 40 pl. 2 (=my fig. 245).

[2] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 101 pl. 9, 18 and 19, Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 506 f., vi. 341 ff., Suppl. iii. 70, T. L. Donaldson *Architectura Numismatica* London 1859 p. 48 ff. no. 12 (pl.), Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 289 f. nos. 133, 134, 136—140, 143 fig., 144—146, 152, 154, 155, 158—162, R. Weil in Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 235 fig. 206, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 473 f. fig., J. Toutain in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 610 fig. 4140. Figs. 246—249 are from specimens in my collection.

[3] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 105 pl. 10, 13—15, Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 506 f., vi. 341 ff., Suppl. iii. 70, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 288 ff. nos. 132, 135, 141, 142, 148—151, 153, 156, 157, 163—177. Figs. 250, 251 are from specimens in my collection.

[4] H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 i. 2. 351 f., cp. *ib.* p. 346 n. 45.

[5] This appears from an interesting description in Prokop. *de bell. Goth.* i. 25 (cp. *supra* p. 335 n. 3) ὅ τε νεὼς ἅπας χαλκοῦς ἐν τῷ (τῷ cod. K. om. cod. L.) τετραγώνῳ σχήματι ἕστηκε, τοσοῦτος μέντοι (so cod. K. μὲν cod. L.), ὅσον (ὅσος cod. K.) τὸ ἄγαλμα σκέπειν. ἔστι δὲ χαλκοῦν οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ πηχῶν πέντε τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα ἐμφερὲς ἀνθρώπῳ, διπρόσωπον δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχον, καὶ τοῖν προσώποιν (τοῦ προσώπου cod. L.) θάτερον μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον πρὸς δύοντα ἥλιον τέτραπται. θύραι τε χαλκαῖ ἐφ' ἑκατέρῳ προσώπῳ εἰσίν, ἃς δὴ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν (om. cod. L.) ἐπιτίθεσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνόμιζον, πολέμου δὲ σφίσιν ὄντος ἀνέῳγον (ἀνεῴχθαι cod. L.). κ.τ.λ.

[6] To the passages cited *supra* i. 632 n. 3 add Lact. *de opificio Dei* 17 (*Corp. Vindob.* XXVII. 56, 12 ff. Brandt) an si mihi quispiam dixerit aeneum esse caelum aut vitreum aut, ut Empedocles ait, aerem glaciatum, statimne adsentiar, quia caelum ex qua materia sit ignorem?

[7] *Supra* p. 141.

(λ) The Triumphal Arch.

Incidentally this conception will serve to clear up a long-standing puzzle, the original character and purpose of the triumphal arch. P. Graef[1], who, in a list large but by no means exhaustive, enumerates one hundred and twenty-five such arches, scattered throughout the Roman empire and ranging in date from the middle of the first century B.C.[2] to the middle of the fourth century A D.[3], states frankly that nothing certain is known with regard to the early history of the type[4]. The various theories that have been propounded are conveniently summarised and discussed by G. Spano[5]. Most recent critics, it appears, himself included, have looked to the Greeks of the Hellenistic age as the originators of this and other such architectural structures. Not so A. L. Frothingham, who after a wide survey of the facts concluded that the true parent of the triumphal arch was the old Roman *ianus*[6]. Frothingham argued (*a*) that in early days, when Rome consisted in a group of neighbouring tribes, each tribe

[1] P. Graef 'Triumph- und Ehrenbögen' in Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 1865—1899 with pls. 80—85 and numerous figs. (an article of capital importance). C. D. Curtis 'Roman Monumental Arches' in the *Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome* New York 1908 ii. 26—83 with 18 figs. discusses the origin of triumphal arches and describes 73 specimens in chronological order (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1918 xxii. 218). See also J. Guadet in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 391—394, J. H. Flather and W. Smith in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* i. 172—174, H. Wölfflin in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 1893 xvi. 11 ff., O. Puchstein in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 603—606, C. Huelsen 'Zu den römischen Ehrenbögen' in the *Festschrift zu Otto Hirschfeld's 60. Geburtstag* Berlin 1903 pp. 423—430, Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*[2] pp. 718—733.

[2] The arch of *Saint Remy*, the ancient Glanum in Gallia Narbonensis, probably commemorates the victory of Iulius Caesar over Vercingetorix and the capture of Alesia in 52 B.C.

[3] The arch of *Rheims*, anciently Durocortorum the chief town of the Remi in Belgica Secunda, is said to have been erected by Julian in 360 A.D.

It is noteworthy that both the earliest and the latest datable examples of triumphal arches are to be found in France, which can boast fourteen extant monuments of the sort. (Rome 10, rest of Italy 20, France 14, Germany 1, Spain 6, Africa 54, Asia and other lands 20: see P. Graef *loc. cit.* p. 1866).

[4] P. Graef *loc. cit.* p. 1871.

[5] G. Spano 'L'origine degli archi onorari e trionfali romani' in *Neapolis* 1903 i. 144 ff.

[6] A. L. Frothingham 'De la véritable signification des monuments romains qu'on appelle "Arcs de Triomphe"' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1905 ii. 216—230. Cp. W. Warde Fowler *Roman Essays and Interpretations* Oxford 1920 p. 73 n. 2 (*id.* 'Passing under the Yoke' in the *Class. Rev.* 1913 xxvii. 48 ff.): 'Nearly all forms of Roman art are now thought to be traceable to Greek originals, and without doubt the ornamentations of the triumphal arches which have survived are Hellenistic; but such a thing as a triumphal arch is not known in Hellas, and I believe that the idea is far more likely to be Roman.' Mr Warde Fowler argues that the *iugum*, the *tigillum*, and the *porta triumphalis* alike imply a 'rite de passage,' in which human beings pass through a narrow space in order to be rid of disease, blood-guiltiness, or some other trouble. He is not, of course, committed to Mr Frothingham's views, still less to mine.

had its separate *ianus* on the line of its own *pomoerium* (*ianus Curiatius*, *ianus Carmentalis*, *ianus Quirinus*), such *iani* being, not gates in a fortified wall, but arches built outside to commemorate events of communal importance and placed under the protection of the communal god Ianus; (*b*) that the unified Servian state similarly had its *ianus*, the *porta triumphalis*, on the enlarged pomoerial line of the *via Flaminia*; and (*c*) that this famous portal was copied and re-copied by communal arches far and wide through the dominions



Fig. 252.



Fig. 253.



Fig. 254.

of imperial Rome. Now, without necessarily endorsing the precise lineage traced by Frothingham, we must surely admit that in point of shape the triumphal arch[1] is indistinguishable from the arch of Ianus; even the four-sided variety of the former[2] can be paralleled by the four-sided variety of the latter[3]; and, if the *ianus Geminus* had side-windows (figs. 246—251), so on occasion had the triumphal arch (fig. 252)[4]. Accordingly, I should conjecture[5] that in its significance too the *arcus* resembled the *ianus*—in short that it represented

[1] See *e.g.* the restoration of Titus' Arch at Rome as given by P. Graef *loc. cit.* p. 1867 pl. 82 fig. 1969 after L. Canina *L'architettura romana* Roma 1834 pl. 188.

[2] P. Graef *loc. cit.* p. 1889 ff. fig. 1991 describes and illustrates the four-sided arch erected at Oea in Tripolitana (*Tripoli*) by C. Calpurnius Celsus and dedicated by Ser. Cornelius Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus, when proconsul of Africa in 162/3 or 163/4 A.D., to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no. 24, cp. viii Suppl. no. 10999, with Groag in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1508). Within the coffered arches the monument is roofed with a low dome resting on an octagonal cornice.

[3] P. Graef *loc. cit.* p. 1880 pl. 80 fig. 6 and pl. 81 fig. 8 gives a description, ground-plan, and restored elevation of the so-called *ianus Quadrifrons* in the Forum Boarium at Rome, which was probably erected by Septimius Severus. See further L. Rossini *Gli archi trionfali onorarii e funebri degli antichi Romani* Romae 1836 pl. 62, L. Canina *Gli edifizi di Roma antica* Romae 1848—1856 iv pl. 253 f., H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 i. 2. 470—472, H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 100.

[4] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 169 pl. 6, 1 from a 'first brass' of Galba, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[1] i. 245 no. 246 pl. 13 (=my fig. 252), *ib.*[2] i. 341 no. 348 fig.

[5] *Pace* Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*[2] p. 732 'Der Form und nicht der Bedeutung nach sind hier noch die eingangs erwähnten *Jani* einzustellen,' etc.

the heavenly vault[1], and that the triumphing general whose statue stood upon it (fig. 253)[2] was viewed as an embodiment of the sky-god uplifted on his mimic sky[3]. This suggestion is corroborated by a 'first brass' of Trajan, which displays (fig. 254)[4] a fine triumphal arch[5] supporting the emperor's chariot and explicitly dedicated I O M, 'to Iupiter Best and Greatest.' It thus appears that such modern structures as the Arc de Triomphe or the Marble Arch have behind them a long classical history, in which religious beliefs no less than military and political considerations have played their part. But the significance of the design has progressively dwindled; and in these democratic days the monument that once stood for apotheosis merely marks a stage for the motor-omnibus.

[1] *Supra* p. 428.

[2] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 99 pl. 9, 12, Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1062 f., viii. 96, Suppl. i. 1018, T. L. Donaldson *Architectura numismatica* London 1859 p. 222 ff. fig. 56, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 299 f. nos. 306—310, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 77 fig. Fig. 253 is from a specimen in my collection: obv. [IM]P[N]EROCAESARAVGPONTMAXTRPOTP[P]. laureate head of Nero to left; rev. S C triumphal arch. Cp. Tac. *ann.* 13. 41, 15. 18.

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 27 columnarum ratio erat attolli (*v.l.* tolli) super (supra codd. V. d.h.) ceteros mortales, quod et arcus significant novicio invento.

[4] Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1065, iv. 806, viii. 1557, Suppl. i. 1019, T. L. Donaldson *Architectura numismatica* London 1859 p. 228 ff. fig. 58, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 74 f. nos. 547, 548, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 78 f. fig. (=my fig. 254).

[5] Cohen *loc. cit.* says 'Façade du temple de Jupiter, en forme d'arc de triomphe'—which is absurd. Dion Cass. 68. 29 informs us that a triumphal arch was being prepared for Trajan in his own Forum during the year 116 A.D. Excavations in 1594 (F. Vacca 'Memorie di varie antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della città di Roma nell' anno 1594' § 9 published by T. Schreiber in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1881 p. 59, 15 ff.) and again in 1863 (A. Pellegrini 'Arco di Trajano' in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1863 pp. 78—80) brought to light its foundations, together with numerous architectural and sculptural fragments, under the old church of S. Maria in Campo Carleo, which in the sixteenth century bore the name of *Spolia Christi* or *Spoglia Cristo*. It was formerly assumed that the four Trajanic reliefs representing a battle with Dacians, which now embellish the Arch of Constantine (for a convenient publication with a summary of recent controversy see Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 238 ff.), belonged originally to this Arch of Trajan. The assumption, disputed by E. Petersen in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1889 iv. 314 ff. but reaffirmed by R. Lanciani *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome* London 1897 p. 193, may well be sound; for on the first of the slabs in question the emperor, whose head has been replaced by that of Constantine, is conducted by Roma and Victoria towards an Arch (G. P. Bellori *Veteres arcus Augustorum triumphis insignes* Romæ 1690 pl. 42 = Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 252 no. 1, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 580, 1 with text by J. Sieveking, Mrs A. Strong *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* London 1907 p. 157 ff. pl. 48, 4 from a photograph by Anderson).

H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae* Berolini 1912 p. 54 regard the coin illustrated in my fig. 254 as the Arch of Trajan in *regio* i recorded by the *curiosum urbis regionum xiv* and *notitia regionum urbis xiv* reg. 1 (H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1871 ii. 542). But that was originally a triple arch (H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 216 f.).

(μ) The goddess under the Arch.

Again, the representation of the sky as an arch will explain why various ancient goddesses of the earth appear either immediately beneath, or in close connexion with, an arcuated structure. The Hittite Chipa under her winged arch[1] is a case in point. Similarly,

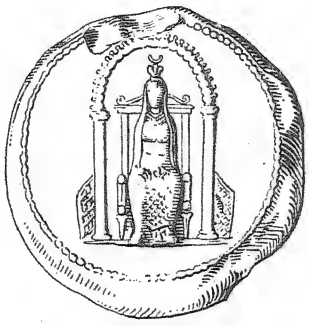


Fig. 255.



Fig. 256.



Fig. 257.



Fig. 258.



Fig. 259.



Fig. 260.

on a bronze medallion of Faustina Iunior (fig. 255)[2] Isis is enthroned beneath a decorative arch resting on two columns with short flanking walls. On a copper of Gallienus struck at Synnada in Phrygia

[1] *Supra* i. 644 fig. 504.

[2] Sir J. Evans in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1896 xvi. 48 ff. pl. 5, 2, Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 41 no. 24 pl. 68, 9 = my fig. 255.

(fig. 256)[1] Semele (?), crowned and sceptred, with the infant Dionysos (?) on her arm and a goat at her feet, stands beneath a dotted vault, which rises from two Corinthian columns. Imperial coppers from Sinope (fig. 257)[2] show Nemesis under a two-pillared arcade. Others from Philadelpheia (fig. 258)[3] represent Aphrodite beneath an arch with twisted columns. Others again from Pogla in Pisidia (figs. 259, 260)[4] have an aniconic goddess, resembling Artemis *Pergaia*, overarched by a distyle canopy. Examples such as these—and the list could be lengthened—confirm my previous[5] conjecture that the gateway or arch, so noticeable a feature in the old-fashioned Diana-cults of central Italy, originally signified the sky raised on its supports. *Diana* was thereby associated with *Dianus*.

(*v*) The *Tigillum Sororium* and Iupiter *Tigillus*.

And here we must notice one of the most curious monuments to be seen in ancient Rome, the *Tigillum Sororium* or 'Sister's Beam[6],' which spanned a narrow lane leading down from the Carinae to the Vicus Cuprius[7]. It was connected by tradition[8] with the famous

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 404 no. 63, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 225 no. 744 a. Fig. 256 is from a specimen in my collection.

For the same group without the vault see *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 402 pl. 47, 3 Diadumenian Caesar, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 413 no. 158 *quasi*-autonomous, no. 161 Gordian iii, *id. Gr. Münzen* p. 225 nos. 744 Macrinus and 744 b pl. 13, 4 Salonina, *id. Kleinas. Münzen* i. 294 no. 17 *quasi*-autonomous, 296 no. 24 pl. 9, 18 Diadumenian Caesar. B. V. Head in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins locc. citt.* and in his *Hist. num.*[2] p. 686 describes the type as Amaltheia carrying the infant Zeus; and Imhoof-Blumer *locc. citt.* had done the same before him. But cp. *supra* i. 706 fig. 522, which favours the interpretation given in the text.

[2] Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 204 pl. 27, 33 Iulia Domna, 207 pl. 28, 16 Maximinus, 208 pl. 28, 22 Tranquillina and pl. 28, 24 (=my fig. 257) Philippus Iunior, 209 no. 162 Trajan Decius = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 102 pl. 23, 10.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 199 pl. 22, 9 (=my fig. 258) M. Aurelius, cp. p. 205 no. 96 Severus Alexander, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 461 pl. 56, 2 Severus Alexander, F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* Genf—Leipzig 1897 p. 124 pl. 5, 14 time of M. Aurelius.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. 236 pl. 37, 7 (=my fig. 259) Antoninus Pius, p. 237 pl. 37, 8 (=my fig. 260) Philippus Iunior = Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 25 nos. 179 and 181 pl. 5, *id. ib.* v. 25 no. 180 Iulia Domna, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 709.

[5] *Supra* p. 160.

[6] O. Gilbert *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum* Leipzig 1883—1885 i. 178 ff., ii. 55 ff., W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 237 ff., H. Usener 'Zwillingsbildung' in the *Strena Helbigiana* Lipsiae 1900 p. 320 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 340), O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 pp. 311, 343, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 322 f., W. F. Otto 'Römische "Sondergötter"' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1909 lxiv. 466—468.

[7] Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 3. 22.

[8] Liv. 1. 24—26, Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 3. 13—22, Fest. p. 297 *a* 11 ff. Müller, p. 380,

fight between the triplets of Alba and the triplets of Rome. Horatius, the sole survivor, had stabbed his sister for lamenting the loss of her lover, one of the vanquished Curiatii. Condemned to death by the *duoviri*, Horatius appealed to the people, who acquitted him of the capital charge, but bade his father make satisfaction for the offence. The elder Horatius thereupon offered certain expiatory sacrifices, which were afterwards perpetuated by the family, laid a beam across the street, and caused his son with covered head to pass under it as under a yoke[1]. This beam, adds Livy[2], was kept in constant repair at the public expense. Indeed, it is mentioned as still existing by more than one fourth-century writer[3]. With regard to its construction our authorities are not in exact agreement. Dionysios of Halikarnassos, who was long resident in Rome (30—8 B.C. or later) and no doubt knew the locality well, states that the beam was let into a wall at either end[4]. But Pompeius Festus, presumably epitomising the account given by M. Verrius Flaccus (*c.* 10 B.C.), asserts that the beam rested on a couple of uprights[5]. Be that as it may, both Dionysios and Festus speak of two altars, which stood beneath it[6] and were dedicated to Iuno *Sororia* and to Ianus *Curiatius* respectively[7]. Dionysios' observation that the beam was 'honoured with sacrifices by the Romans every year[8]' is confirmed by the fragmentary calendar of the Arval Brothers[9], which against the first of October—a day appropriate both to Ianus and to Iuno—has the entry: '(Sacrifice) to the Sister's Beam at the Cross-road of Acilius.' T. Mommsen drew attention to the surprising fact that the Beam itself is here the object of worship[10]. This, however, ceases to surprise us, when we remember that the Beam was a sort

5 ff. Lindsay, cp. Paul. ex Fest. p. 307, 2 f. Müller, p. 399, 2 ff. Lindsay, Aur. Vict. *de vir. ill.* 4. 5—9, schol. Bob. *in* Cic. *pro Mil.* 7 p. 63, 4 ff. Hildebrandt.

[1] In the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 369 I suggested that the 'yoke' under which conquered troops were made to pass, being an erection of three ξύλα (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 3. 22) or *hastae* (Liv. 3. 28), may well have been a symbol of Ianus *Quirinus*.

[2] Liv. 1. 26.

[3] Aur. Vict. *de vir. ill.* 4. 9, *curiosum urbis regionum xiv* and *notitia regionum urbis xiv* reg. 4 (H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1871 ii. 546), schol. Bob. *in* Cic. *pro Mil.* 7 p. 64, 2 ff. Hildebrandt.

[4] Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 3. 22.

[5] Fest. p. 297 *a* 24 f. Müller, p. 380, 18 f. Lindsay.

[6] Cp. Schol. Bob. *in* Cic. *pro Mil.* 7 p. 64, 2 ff. Hildebrandt.

[7] Fest. p. 297 *a* 27 f. Müller, p. 380, 21 f. Lindsay.

[8] Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 3. 22.

[9] G. B. De Rossi in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1860 p. 71 ff. with fig.

[10] T. Mommsen in the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* i. 1^2 p. 330 K·OCT·(Oct. 1).—N Tigillo soror(io) ad compitum Acili *ARV.* (*inter add. posteriora et scriptum sic, ut possit trahi ad Oct.* 2); Tigill(o) sor(orio) *PAVL.* ...Ipsum tigillum pro numine cultum esse (aliter enim non videntur accipi posse) docuerunt nos fasti Arvalium.

of *ianus*[1] and as such represented that primitive sanctity, the animate Sky[2]. Ianus the celestial roof was, in fact, fitly embodied in the *Tigillum* and as yet required no other effigy. His association with Iuno suggests that he here played the part of Iupiter. Augustine, after insisting that Ianus and Iupiter are but diverse forms of the same deity[3], remarks that Iupiter was named *Tigillus* 'because, like a Beam, he kept the world together and supported it[4].'

(ξ) The god under the Arch.

When Ianus passed from the zoïstic[5] to the anthropomorphic stage, he was represented as a double-faced deity standing beneath



Fig. 262.


Fig. 261.



Fig. 263.

the arch that had been his former self. Such was the bronze statue five cubits high, which looked east and west in the *ianus Geminus* of

[1] O. Gilbert *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum* Leipzig 1883—1885 i. 180 ff., ii. 61, O. Richter in Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 1528, *id. Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 p. 311, W. H. Roscher in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 21, and Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 104 all rightly regard this trixylon as a *ianus*. W. F. Otto 'Römische Sondergötter' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1909 lxiv. 466 f. denies it. Cp. Cat. 67. 37 ff. ianua...suffixa tigillo.

[2] *Supra* p. 354 ff.

[3] *Supra* p. 328 n. 6.

[4] Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 11 dixerunt eum (*sc.* Iovem)...Tigillum...quod tamquam tigillus mundum contineret ac sustineret... puto inter se propinquiora esse causas rerum atque primordia, propter quas res unum mundum duos deos esse voluerunt, Iovem atque Ianum, quam continere mundum et mammam dare animalibus; nec tamen propter haec opera duo tam longe inter se vi et dignitate diversa duo dii esse compulsi sunt; sed unus Iuppiter propter illud Tigillus, propter hoc Ruminus appellatus est.

In *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 279 n. 6 I mistakenly inferred from this passage that Iupiter *Tigillus* owed his appellation to some reminiscence of the world-tree. I now hold that he was the Latin equivalent of an earlier Ianus, whose beam was horizontal, not vertical. E. Pais *Ancient Legends of Roman History* trans. M. E. Cosenza London 1906 p. 156 speaks of 'ceremonies in honor of Jupiter Tigillus and Juno Sororia.' But the phrase oversteps our *data*. J. A. Hartung *Die Religion der Römer* Erlangen 1836 ii. 43 was content to say: 'Zuerst richtet er ein Joch auf, *sororium tigillum* genannt, mit Einwilligung, wie es scheint, des *Jupiter Tigillus*.' And even that is more than we really know.

[5] *Supra* i. 27 n. 4.

the Forum[1]. And such is the god as he appears on a bronze medal-

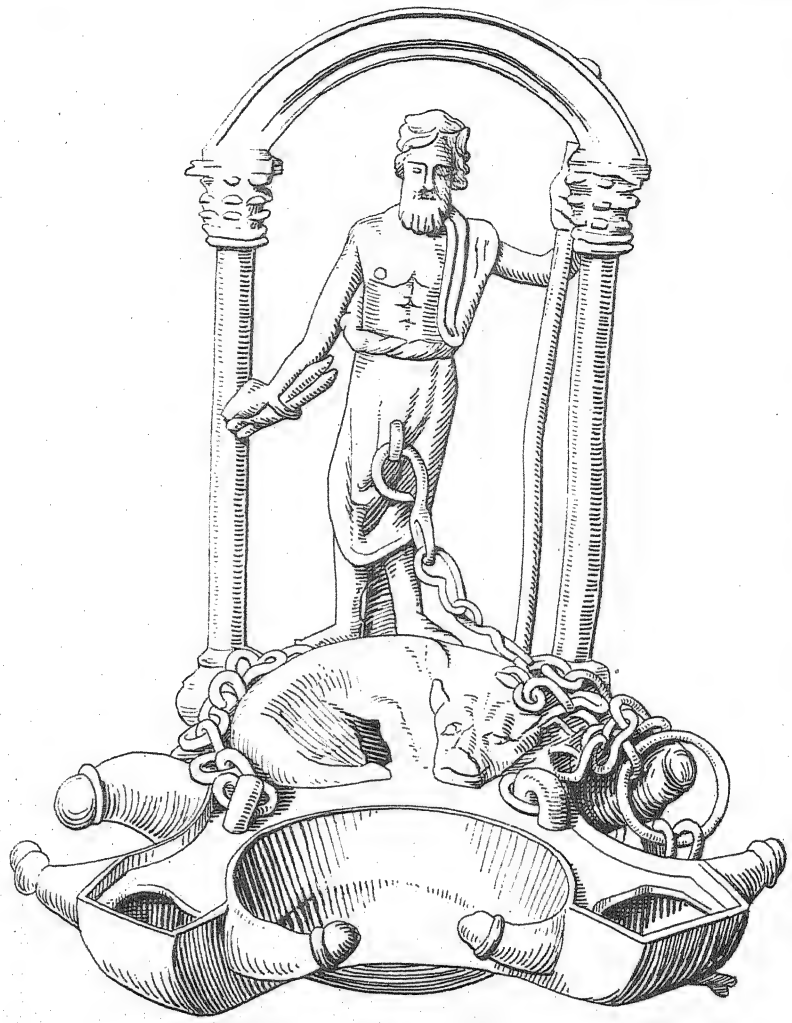


Fig. 264.

lion (fig. 261)[2] and coins (figs. 262, 263)[3] of Commodus. In respect of

[1] *Supra* p. 430 n. 9. It was dedicated, according to Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 33, by Numa. See, however, B. R. Burchett *Janus in Roman Life and Cult* Menasha, Wisconsin 1918 pp. 27—29 ('Statues of Janus').

[2] Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 298 no. 517, Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 62 no. 94 pl. 84, 5 (=my fig. 261), Kubitschek *Röm. Medaillons Wien* p. 7 no. 61 pl. 5.

[3] Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 298 no. 518 'middle brass.' Fig. 262 is from a 'first brass' of similar types belonging to Mr C. T. Seltman; fig. 263, from another in my collection: *obv.* M COMMODVSANTP FELIXAVG BRIT Head of Commodus, laureate, to

the arch he is still comparable with Iupiter, who on a Roman bronze lamp stands with thunderbolt and sceptre underneath an arch resting on two Corinthian columns (fig. 264)[1]. Similarly in modern Hindu

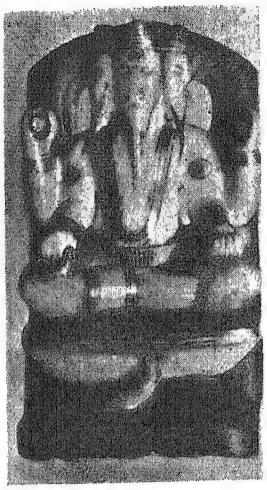


Fig. 265 *a*.

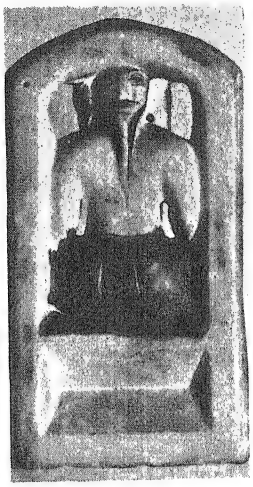


Fig. 265 *b*.



Fig. 266.

art Brahmā is a four-faced (fig. 265), Vishnu a one-faced god (fig. 266) seated above a lotus beneath a starry arch[2].

(*o*) Ianus bifrontal on coins.

The really distinctive feature of the anthropomorphic Ianus is, of course, his double face. On republican and imperial coins he is almost[3] invariably bifrontal. *Denarii* of the *gens Furia*, struck

right; *rev.* PMTRPX[III]MP VII[I] COSVPP S C Ianus holding long sceptre, on a base beneath an arch.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 326 no. 2519=*Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps* p. 8 no. 38 pl. 2 (=my fig. 264). Height $7\frac{8}{4}$ inches. In neither publication does Mr H. B. Walters give the history of this interesting lamp. Very similar, but not (apparently) identical, is one figured by Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1722 v. 143 pl. 39 no. 1 and by F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig and Darmstadt 1841 iii. 207 f. pl. 9, 41 after G. P. Bellori *Le antiche lucerne sepolcrali figurate* Roma 1704 Pt. ii. 1 pl. 1. Bellori's interpretation '*Jupiter Custos*,' on account of the dog curled up round the hole for the wick, is fanciful. The dog, as a symbol of watchfulness, is a frequent ornament on lamps (*e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps* p. 2 no. 4 pl. 1, p. 6 no. 26 fig. 5, p. 12 no. 65 pl. 8, p. 13 no. 68 pl. 7, p. 16 no. 93, p. 62 no. 430 and no. 431 pl. 11, p. 90 no. 594, p. 174 no. 1155 and no. 1156 fig. 245, p. 209 no. 1394, p. 225 no. 1498 pl. 37), and need not be viewed as an attribute of Iupiter. The phalloid horns are of course prophylactic.

[2] Figs. 265 and 266 are from two alabaster carvings in my possession. Height: $6\frac{15}{16}$ ins.

[3] *Infra* § 3 (a) v (*o*) *fin*.

c. 92 B.C., have for obverse type a full-bearded head of Ianus (fig. 267)[1], while others of the *gens Fonteia*, struck *c.* 91 B.C., show a



Fig. 267.



Fig. 268.

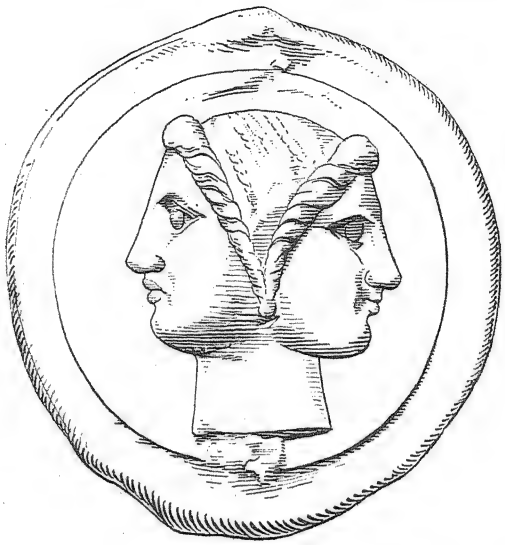


Fig. 269.

slightly-bearded head (fig. 268)[2], probably meant for Fontus, eponym of the clan, who was said to have been a son of Ianus[3]. Heavy *asses*

[1] Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 189 f. pl. Furia, 3, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 524 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 283 pl. 94, 5 and 6. Fig. 267 is from a specimen in my collection.

[2] Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 180 f. pl. Fonteia, 1, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 499 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 292 f. pl. 94, 12—14. Fig. 268 is from a specimen of mine.

Since the Furii and the Fonteii are the only Roman families to put a Janiform head on their *denarii*, and since both of them appear to have originated in Tusculum (for the Furii see F. Münzer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 315; for the Fonteii, *eund. ib.* vi. 2841), it is possible that the double heads, like those of the Dioskouroi on other coins of the *gens Fonteia* (*id. ib.* vi. 2841 : cp. M. Albert *Le culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie* Paris 1883 p. 13 ff.), perpetuated the memory of a Tusculan cult.

[3] Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 29 Ianum, quem ferunt Caelo atque Hecata procreatum in Italia regnasse primum, Ianiculi oppidi conditorem, patrem Fonti, Vulturni generum, Iuturnae maritum. This genealogy has been labelled 'spätere Kombination' (Boehm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 2839). But, in view of the *ara Fontis* (Cic. *de leg.* 2. 56) near the Ianiculum (H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin

with the types of Ianus and Mercurius, issued at Rome between *c.* 290 and *c.* 240 B.C., represent the former god as beardless

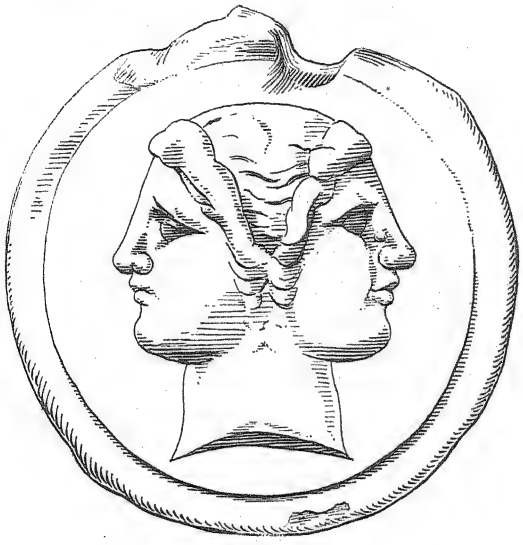


Fig. 270.



Fig. 271.



Fig. 272.

(figs. 269, 270)[1]—a point in which they agree with the contemporary

1907 i. 3. 624), it was at least *bien trouvée*. Similarly Lambaesis in Numidia worshipped both Ianus *Pater* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no. 2608 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3324 Iani Patro (*sic*)|etc.) and Fons (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no. 2656, 2 aedem Fontis etc.). Iupiter, like Ianus, came to be associated with fountain-powers: *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 404 (cp. no. 30756) = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3062 (Rome) Ioví Optimó Maximó | Caelestíno, Fontibus, et | Minervae etc., *Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no. 4291 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3063 (Lambaesis) Iovi (*v.l.* Iovo) | Propagatori | Conservatori | et Genio Fontis, etc.

[1] E. J. Haeberlin *Aes grave* Frankfurt a. M. 1910 p. 76 Tafelband pl. 36, 1 (=my fig. 269) in the Museo Kircheriano weighing 270·15 grammes and pl. 36, 3 (=my fig. 270) at Copenhagen weighing 262·70 grammes. The former specimen is figured also by Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 19 pl. 36, 1. See further Garrucci *ib.* p. 20 pl. 37, 1, G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 p. 18 pl. 5, 8, p. 24 f.

series of Romano-Campanian silver[1]. Certain electrum pieces, struck —it would seem—at Capua during the occupation of that town by the Carthaginians in the Hannibalic war (216—211 B.C.), give the twofold face a frankly feminine cast and, adding a corn-wreath, transform the Italian Ianus into a Punic Persephone (fig. 271)[2].



Fig. 273.



Fig. 274.

In imperial times Commodus was evidently a special devotee of the old sky-god. Apart from the mintages already mentioned[3], he placed on his bronze medallions sometimes the familiar bust of Ianus (fig. 272)[4], sometimes a Janiform novelty consisting of his own face combined with that of Iupiter (?) his *alter ego* (figs. 273, 274)[5].

[1] *Supra* p. 331.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 139 f. pl. 75, 14 (=my fig. 271), G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 p. 50 f. pl. 10, 28. The correct attribution and dating of these coins is due to P. Gardner in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1884 iv. 220—224.

[3] *Supra* p. 366.

[4] Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 62 no. 92 and no. 93 pl. 84, 4 (=my fig. 272), Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 298 no. 516 fig. The specimen reproduced above is from F. Gnecchi's collection. The medallion was struck in 187 A.D., and shows the god with a *paludamentum* over his shoulder.

[5] Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 66 no. 131 pl. 87, 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 25 no. 20 pl. 32, 1, Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 131 fig. (=my fig. 273), Kubitschek *Röm. Medaillons Wien* p. 7 no. 62 pl. 5 (=my fig. 274), Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 322 no. 717 fig. These medallions were struck in 187 A.D.

For this bold and somewhat grotesque device a precedent may be found in the action of Sex. Pompeius Magnus Pius, the younger son of the triumvir, who *c.* 45—44 B.C. struck *asses* in Spain bearing as obverse design a head of Ianus with the features of Cn. Pompeius Magnus (fig. 275)[1]. Commodus in turn was followed by Caracalla, who a few years later (214 A.D.) visited Thrace and, posing as Alexander *redivivus*, had himself painted in the Janiform type of



Fig. 275.



Fig. 276.

'Alexander and Antoninus[2].' *À propos* of Commodus, we must rule out one of his medallions (fig. 276), a bronze piece in the cabinet at Arolsen, published by E. Gerhard in 1861[3] and still accepted as genuine by W. H. Roscher in 1890[4] and by J. Toutain in 1899[5]. On it the emperor in the guise of Ianus, with one face bearded, the other beardless, holds a staff in his left hand and lays his right on a hoop (described by courtesy as an arch[6]), from which the four

Numismatists differ in naming the emperor's partner. Gnecchi *loc. cit.* says 'Ercole'; H. Cohen *loc. cit.*, 'Hercule'; H. A. Grueber in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 25, 'Janus'; W. Fröhner *loc. cit.*, 'Jupiter'; W. Kubitschek *loc. cit.*, 'Juppiter.'

[1] Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 334 f. pl. Pompeia 1, 5, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 351 no. 20 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 371 f. pl. 101, 13 and 14, A. Boutkowski *Dictionnaire numismatique* Leipzig 1881 p. 12 f. nos. 25, 26. I figure a specimen in my collection.

Since Sex. Pompeius after the battle of Munda (45 B.C.) rallied the troops that had served under his father and brother, who both bore the name Cn. Pompeius Magnus, it is just conceivable that this Janiform head was intended to combine the paternal and fraternal features. *Aurei* of Sex. Pompeius, struck soon after 42 B.C., have obv. his own head in an oak-wreath, rev. the heads of his father and brother confronted (Morell. *op. cit.* i. 335 ff. pl. Pompeia 1, 6, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 353 no. 24 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 561 pl. 120, 9 and 10, Boutkowski *op. cit.* p. 99 ff. no. 238, G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 p. 126 ff. pl. 13, 78). See further *infra* p. 389 n. 2.

[2] Herodian. 4. 8.

[3] E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1861 xix. 137 pl. 147, 8 (=my fig. 276) and 9 with comments by F. Wieseler *ib.* pp. 138—140.

[4] W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 38, 52 fig.

[5] J. Toutain in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 612 fig. 4141.

[6] W. H. Roscher *locc. citt.*: 'seine R. legt er auf einen offenen Bogen (ianus=fores caeli),' 'die R. legt er auf einen Ianusbogen.'

Seasons issue towards a boy symbolising the New Year. This *bizarre* medallion is, I think[1], merely a tooled specimen of a type



Fig. 277.



Fig. 278.



Fig. 279.

first struck by Antoninus Pius in 158 A.D. (fig. 277)[2] and subsequently repeated by Commodus in 185 A.D. (fig. 278)[3]. The god is Iupiter[4], not Ianus, and a Paris example of the later issue shows

[1] Mr G. F. Hill, with whom I have discussed the type, endorses my opinion. I see too that Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 121 n. 1 has expressed the same doubt.

[2] Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 15 no. 54 pl. 48, 9 (=my fig. 277) from a specimen formerly in the Stroganoff, latterly in the Evans collection.

[3] Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 60 no. 75 pl. 83, 3 (=my fig. 278) from a specimen at Monaco, *ib.* no. 76, *ib.* no. 77 pl. 83, 4, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 24 no. 15 pl. 30, 2, Kubitschek *Röm. Medaillons Wien* p. 7 no. 57 pl. 4 (mounted and silvered to serve as a *bulla*), E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1861 xix. 137 pl. 147, 6 and 7 with comments by F. Wieseler *ib.* pp. 137—140.

[4] Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] vii. 113 already describes him as 'Iuppiter.' F. Wieseler in Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 4. 65 pl. 74, 960 and in the *Arch. Zeit. loc. cit.* says 'Zeus'; H. A. Grueber in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 24, 'Jupiter'; Gnecchi *op. cit.* ii. 60, 'Giove o il Secolo' (cp. *infra* p. 373 n. 2). The notion of C. Lenormant *Nouvelle galerie mythologique* (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 p. 135 no. 8 pl. 42 that a specimen on which the god is apparently beardless (??) represents 'Le jeune empereur' is justly ridiculed by F. Wieseler in the *Arch. Zeit. loc. cit.*; but his own view that the medallion in question shows 'Helios-Apollon' is not much better. Possibly Lenormant's drawing (reproduced in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1861 xix pl. 147, 7) is incorrect.

him with thunderbolt in lieu of sceptre (fig. 279)[1]. The symbolism is of the simplest. Iupiter as sky-god is sending forth from the *orbis annuus* or 'circle of the year[2]' the four Seasons laden with their gifts—a complementary design to that of Tellus the earth-goddess, who reclining beneath her vine witnesses the same four pass in gracious procession over the star-spangled globe (figs. 273, 274)[3].



Fig. 280.

The only exception to the bifrontality of Ianus traceable on the coins of Rome is more apparent than real. The quadruple effigy of the god, brought from Falerii in 241 B.C. and erected in a temple with four doors on the Forum Transitorium[4], appears on a 'second brass' of Hadrian (fig. 280)[5]. But this fourfold type, which ultimately gave rise to

[1] Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 121 f. fig. (=my fig. 279) 'Jupiter,' Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 291 no. 474 fig. 'Jupiter.' This specimen is struck in two metals, yellow and red copper (Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* i. 1. 667, 944 fig. 32).

[2] So Fröhner *loc. cit.* in allusion to Verg. *Aen.* 5. 46 (cp. 1. 269). The interpretation, however, is not certain. Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] vii. 113 f. drew attention to the fact that Commodus claimed to have restored the Golden Age (Dion Cass. 72. 15, Lamprid. *v. Commod.* 14. 3), and observed that the Golden Age was represented on an *aureus* of Hadrian (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 216 no. 1321, cp. *ib.* ii. 216 no. 1322 the same coin in silver, *fourrée*) by a beardless, semi-draped figure (SAEC • AVR) standing within a hoop and carrying a globe surmounted by a phoenix. Again, the circle might be spatial rather than temporal: cp. Ov. *fast.* 1. 85 Iupiter arce sua totum cum spectet in orbem, etc.

[3] This type (TELLVS STABIL*ita*), introduced by Hadrian (Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* iii. 19 no. 90 pl. 145, 12, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 5 no. 17, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 225 no. 1435), was copied by Faustina Iunior (Gnecchi *op. cit.* ii. 39 no. 5, Cohen *op. cit.*[2] iii. 154 no. 219), and by Commodus (Gnecchi *op. cit.* ii. 65 f. no. 125 pl. 86, 8, nos. 126—128, no. 129 pl. 86, 9, no. 130 pl. 86, 10, no. 131 pl. 87, 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 25 no. 20 pl. 32, 1, no. 21, Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 130 f. with four figs., of which the last=my fig. 273, Kubitschek *Röm. Medaillons Wien* p. 7 no. 62 pl. 5 (=my fig. 274), Cohen *op. cit.*[2] iii. 322 no. 714 fig., nos. 715, 716, no. 717 fig.); also, with wider variations, by Antoninus Pius (Gnecchi *op. cit.* ii. 20 no. 97 pl. 54, 7, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 9 no. 14 pl. 11, 2, Fröhner *op. cit.* p. 72 fig., Cohen *op. cit.*[2] ii. 392 no. 1168 fig.).

[4] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 607 and 12. 198, Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 9. 13, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 1 p. 64, 4 ff. Wünsch. Cp. Mart. *ep.* 8. 2. 1 ff., 10. 28. 1 ff., Stat. *silv.* 4. 3. 9 f., Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 8, Isid. *orig.* 8. 11. 37. See further H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 i. 2. 449 with n. 18, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 25 f., 28, 53, O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom* München 1901 p. 114, B. R. Burchett *Janus in Roman Life and Cult* Menasha, Wisconsin 1918 pp. 28 f., 40.

[5] Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 514 f., Suppl. iii. 74, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 129 no. 281 (left hand on hip), no. 282 (right hand on hip). Cohen, who gives no illustration, simply ignores the third face of the god, though it is clearly enough shown in early publications such as Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 18 pl. 5 no. 19 or J. Harduin's ed. of Plin. *nat. hist.* ii pl. 10, 1. Fig. 280 is from a specimen in my collection. In *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 278 f. I wrongly took the type to be evidence of a triple Ianus, though I noted (*ib.* p. 278 n. 6) that R. Mowat in the *Bulletin épigraphique* iii. 168 had regarded it as Ianus *Quadrifrons* with his fourth face concealed.

the mediaeval representations of January[1], was after all a mere duplication of the twofold type.

(π) Ianus bifrontal in ritual.

The conception of Ianus as a double-faced deity was not without its influence on his ritual. Ioannes the Lydian, writing in the sixth century on the usage of his native town, says :

'Our own Philadelpheia still preserves a trace of the ancient belief. On the first day of the month (*sc.* January) there goes in procession no less a personage than Ianus himself, dressed up in a two-faced mask, and people call him Saturnus, identifying him with Kronos[2].'

The confusion of Ianus with Kronos no doubt presupposes the usual blunder *K*ronos = *Ch*ronos, which from the fifth century B.C. onwards[3] queered the course of Greek theology. But the interest of the passage lies in its record of a Ianus-mask. And of this there is much earlier monumental evidence. A. de Gregorio in his recent publication of prehistoric antiquities from Sicily has included a bronze belonging to the Prince of Torrebruna at Palermo (fig. 281)[4], which represents a male dancer wearing a Janiform mask. This grotesque little figure is clad in a close-fitting fleecy costume, presumably of sheep-skin, which reaches to elbows and knees, buttons down the chest, and is clasped about by a girdle or girdles. He

[1] Souid. *s.v.* Ἰανουάριος, Kodin. *πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* 2. 2 p. 152, 7 ff. Preger, Favorin. *lex.* p. 922, 15 ff. Cp. *supra* p. 326, *infra* p. 374.

[2] Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 2 p. 65, 11 ff. Wünsch *ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς Φιλαδελφείᾳ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἴχνος τῆς ἀρχαιότητος σώζεται· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν* Καλενδῶν *πρόεισι ἐσχηματισμένος αὐτὸς δῆθεν ὁ Ἰανὸς ἐν διμόρφῳ προσώπῳ, καὶ Σατοῦρνον αὐτὸν καλοῦσιν οἷον* Κρόνον.

J. Brand *Popular Antiquities* rev. Sir H. Ellis London 1849 i. 19 f.: 'Upon the Circumcision, or New Year's Day, the early Christians ran about masked, in imitation of the superstitions of the Gentiles. Against this practice Saint Maximus and Peter Chrysologus declaimed; whence in some of the very ancient missals we find written in the Mass for this day, "Missa ad prohibendum ab Idolis." See Maeri Hiero-Lexicon, p. 156 [D. Magri *Hierolexicon*[6] Bononiæ 1765 i. 505 f.].' The pagan rites for Jan. 1 are denounced by Christian writers of *s.* iv—v: Io. Chrys. *hom. in kalendas* (xlviii. 953—962 Migne), Aug. *serm.* 197 'de calendis Januariis, contra paganos' and 198 'de calendis Januariis, ii' (xxxviii. 1021—1026 Migne), Asterios of Amaseia *hom.* 4 'adversus kalendarum festum' (xl. 215—226 Migne), Ambros. *serm.* 7 'de kalendis Januariis' (xvii. 617 f. Migne), Prudent. *c. Symm.* 1. 237 ff., Petrus Chrysologus *serm.* 155 'de kalendis Januarii, quae varia gentium superstitione polluebantur' (lii. 609—611 Migne). Cp. *conc. Trull.* can. 62, *conc. Turon. ii* can. 17, *conc. Tolet. iv* can. 11. On the other side read Liban. *or.* 9 *εἰς τὰς καλάνδας* (i. 2. 393—398 Foerster).

[3] M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1495 ff., 1546 f.

[4] A. de Gregorio *Iconografia delle collezioni preistoriche della Sicilia* Palermo 1917 p. 128 f. pl. 126, 1ª, 1ᵇ, 1ᶜ (=my fig. 281). Height 0·106ᵐ. Not having seen the original, I can only assume the genuineness of this *bizarre* little bronze. Gregorio's sketch hardly inspires confidence. But would any forger have ventured upon a creation so remote from the common run of classical types?

wears a flat cap on his head. In one hand he flourishes a drumstick with knobbed ends. In the other he holds a second stick, with which apparently he drums on an oval shield. The shield is adorned with a Gorgon's head in front and a goat (?) behind. On the ground at the dancer's feet is placed a mask with a tragic (?) face on either side. The nearest parallel to the Palermo bronze is furnished by a

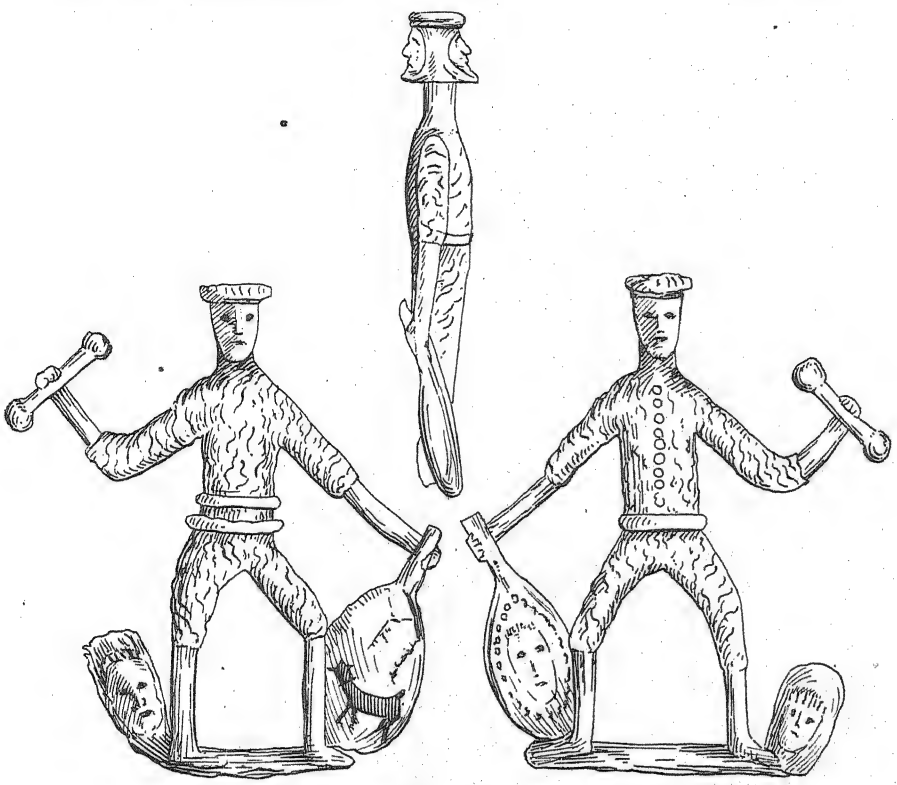


Fig. 281.

frieze of Greek marble found at Anagnia, on which we see (fig. 282)[1] Salii advancing with knobbed staves and oval shields decorated with Gorgon's head and tragic mask. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the bronze too portrays one of the Salii. If it be objected that the chief distinguishing feature is here the double face, I should reply that the Salii are known to have worshipped Ianus[2]. Indeed, they not improbably personated that deity; for certain

[1] O. Benndorf 'Rilievo di Anagni con rappresentanza dei Salii' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 70—74 pl. E (=my fig. 282), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 3 no. 1, Harrison *Themis* p. 194 ff. fig. 49.

[2] The Salian hymn to Ianus is discussed *supra* p. 328 n. 8.

verses chanted by them bore the name of *Ianuli*[1]. Further, it would seem that our bronze gives us an earlier form of the Salian costume—

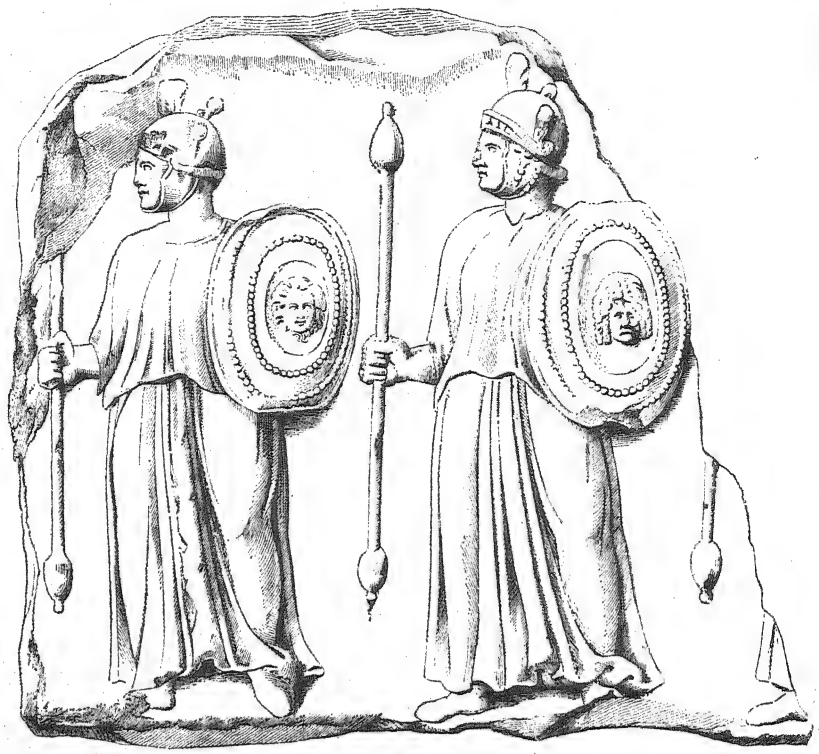


Fig. 282.

not a priestly robe resembling the Doric *péplos* (figs. 282—284)[2],

[1] Paul. ex Fest. p. 3, 6 ff. Müller, p. 3, 12 ff. Lindsay axamenta dicebantur carmina Saliaria, quae a Saliis sacerdotibus componebantur, in universos homines (C. O. Müller cj. deos A. Dammann cj. heroes J. A. Hartung cj. semones W. M. Lindsay: '*vix* omnes') composita. nam in deos singulos versus ficti a nominibus eorum appellabantur, ut Ianuli, Iunonii, Minervii. The relief of Anagnia, which equips the Salii with plumed helmets, shields, and Doric *péploi*, perhaps represents them in the guise of Minerva singing the *Minervii*.

[2] An *aureus* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 78 pl. 68, 3, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 83, 416 ff. fig.) and *denarii* (Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 372 pl. Sanquinia, 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 79 pl. 68, 4 (=my fig. 283), Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 83, 418, M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde der römischen Republik* Wien 1897 p. 233 pl. 10, 244) of the *gens Sanquinia*, struck in 12 B.C., show the herald of the *ludi saeculares* in Salian garb (G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 p. 149 f.).

Denarii of Domitian, struck in 88 A.D., represent one of the Salii, with plumed helmet, staff, and shield on which is the head of Mars, standing before a *candelabrum* and a *cippus* inscribed COS XIIII LVD SAEC FEC (Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 428 f. pl. 8, 19, Leb[illegible] *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 476 nos. 73 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins*

but a jerkin and hose of sheep-skin. This was in all probability the pelt of an animal sacrificed to the god, whose victim was normally a ram[1] or at least a lamb[2]. The fleece survived into classical times as a mere head-dress[3], which is specially mentioned in connexion



Fig. 283.



Fig. 284.

with the priests of Anagnia[4]. The combination of goat (?) and *Gorgóneion* suggests that the Salian shield served as an *aigís*.

More difficult of interpretation is a pair of Etruscan bronze statuettes, discovered at Cortona in 1847 and preserved in the *Museo Comunale* (fig. 285)[5]. Two nude male figures, wearing a *torques* round the neck and buskins on the feet, advance towards each other with one hand resting on the hip and the other extended in a gesture of greeting. The two obviously belong together; and both

p. 526 fig. Fig. 284 is from a specimen in my collection. Cp. Cohen *loc. cit.* no. 72 fig. a 'middle brass' with similar *rev.*). An *aureus*, *denarii*, and a *quinarius* of the same date show the priest only, without *candelabrum* or *cippus* (Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 414 pl. 6, 11 wrongly described, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 476 nos. 75—78 wrongly described).

[1] Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 6. 12 with Ov. *fast.* 1. 317 ff., Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5047, 5 Iano patri arietes II, no. 5048, 7 Ian. patr. ariet. II.

[2] Fest. p. 189*a* 17 f. Müller, p. 204, 17 f. Lindsay tertia spolia, Ianui Quirino agnum marem caedito (but see W. H. Roscher in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 40), Iuv. 6. 385 ff.

[3] Fest. p. 210, 5 ff. Müller, p. 230, 12 ff. Lindsay pescia in Saliari carmine Aelius Stilo (*frag.* 3 Funaioli) dici ait capitia ex pellibus agninis facta, quod Graeci pelles vocent *πέσκη* neutro genere pluraliter (cp. Hesych. *s.vv. πεσκέων, πέσκον*, Phot. *lex. s.v. πεσκέων*, Nik. *ther.* 549 with schol. *ad loc.*).

[4] Fronto *epist.* 4. 4 (p. 66 f. Naber) priusquam ad villam venimus, Anagniam devertimus mille fere passus a via. deinde id oppidum anticum vidimus, minutulum quidem sed multas res in se antiquas habet, aedes sanctasque caerimonias supra modum. nullus angulus fuit, ubi delubrum aut fanum aut templum non sit. praeterea multi libri lintei, quod ad sacra adtinet. deinde in porta cum eximus, ibi scriptum erat bifariam sic: 'Flamen, sume samentum.' rogavi aliquem ex popularibus, quid illud verbum esset. ait lingua Hernica pelliculam de hostia, quam in apicem suum flamen cum in urbem introeat inponit.

[5] A. Lorini *Di due statuette in bronzo ed inscritte rinvenute presso le mura di Cortona* Cortona 1855, D. Detlefsen *De arte Romanorum antiquissima* Particula i (Glückstadt 1867?) p. 21, A. Fabretti *Corpus inscriptionum Italicarum* Aug. Taurinorum 1867 p. cxiii nos. 1051, 1052 pl. 35 (=my fig. 285), C. Pauli *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum* Lipsiae 1893 i. 69 no. 437 *v·cvinti·arnt|iaś·culśanśi | alpan·turce* and no. 438 *v·cvinti·arn|tiaś·śelan|śl tez·alpan | turce* (on which see W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen* Stuttgart 1879 iii. 48 f. nos. 53, 54, *id.* in *Etruskische Forschungen und Studien* Stuttgart 1882 ii. 95 *s.v.* '*turce*,' C. Pauli *ib.* 1882 iii. 156 *s.v.* '*tur(u)ce*,' S. Bugge *ib.* 1883 iv. 18 ff., 207).

bear dedicatory inscriptions in the Etruscan language. But, whereas one has a Janiform head, the other is coifed in a lion's scalp (?).



Fig. 285.

It may be conjectured that they are Etruscan players[1] taking the parts of Ianus (*Culśanś*)[2] and Hercules in some forgotten drama.

(ρ) The significance of Ianus' double face.

We have yet to tackle the problem, difficult indeed, but not—I think—insoluble: What was the ultimate significance of Ianus' double face? Ancient and modern explanations being admittedly unsatisfactory, we must perforce look further afield and take into account certain facts noted by students of comparative anthropology. And here I shall avail myself at once of an *obiter dictum* in Sir James Frazer's discussion of African beliefs about twins:

'On the Slave Coast when a woman has brought forth stillborn twins, she has a statue made with two faces and sets it up in a corner of her house....This suggests that elsewhere two-faced images, like those of Janus, may have been intended to represent twins[3].'

Let us fit the new key into our rusty lock and see if the door will open. Ianus, we have said, was originally the divine Sky. The divine Sky is bright by day and dark by night. Being, therefore, of a twofold or twin character, Ianus was naturally represented as a double-faced god.

[1] Cp. a bronze from Cortona, now at Leyden (G. Micali *Monumenti per servire alla storia degli antichi popoli italiani*[2] Firenze 1833 pl. 119, 2, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 558 no. 2).

[2] G. Herbig in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1912 v. 534 f., *id.* in *Glotta* 1913 iv. 173 n. 4.

[3] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 269 n. 1, citing the *Missions Catholiques* [illegible]5 vii. 592.

But, if so, we might reasonably expect to find other sky-gods duplicated in the same manner. Argos, who in his earliest form appears to have been a sky-god comparable with Zeus[1], is described in the Hesiodic *Aigímios* as 'looking this way and that way with four eyes[2]' and portrayed on vases from *s.* vi onwards with a Janiform head. An Attic black-figured *amphora*, formerly in the

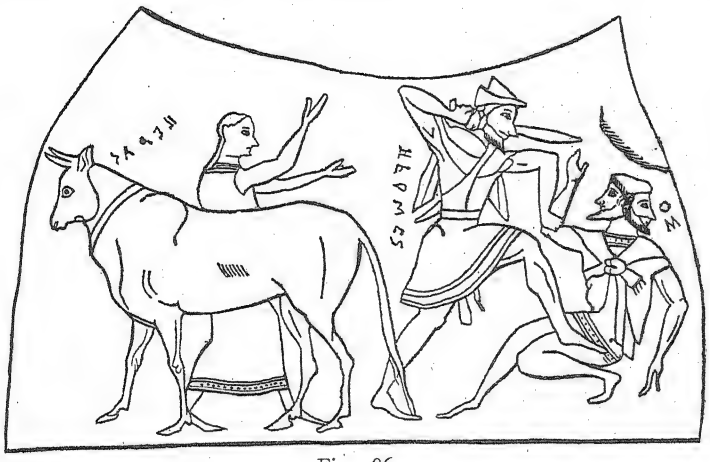


Fig. 286.

possession of the art-dealer Bassegio at Rome, depicts Hermes about to slay Argos in the presence of Hera and the heifer Io (fig. 286)[3]. A red-figured bell-*kratér* from Ruvo, in the collection of R. Barone at Naples, shows a similar group of Hermes attacking Argos, though here Io is a horned maiden and Hera is omitted (fig. 287)[4]. The earlier vase gives Argos two bearded faces, and

[1] *Supra* i. 32, 458.

[2] Hes. *frag.* 4 Flach, 188 Rzach *καί οἱ ἐπίσκοπον Ἄργον ἴει κρατερόν τε μέγαν τε | τέτρασιν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρώμενον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, | ἀκάματον δέ οἱ ὦρσε θεὰ μένος, οὐδέ οἱ ὕπνος | πίπτεν ἐπὶ βλεφάροις, φυλακὴν δ' ἔχεν ἔμπεδον αἰεί ap.* schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1116 and *ap.* Tzetz. *in exeg. Il.* p. 153, 21 ff. Hermann (printed after G. Hermann's ed. of Drakon of Stratonikeia *de metris poeticis* Lipsiae 1812). *Supra* i. 311 n. 6, 462. Cp. Kratin. Πανόπται *frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 102 f. Meineke) *ap.* Hephaistion. *enchir.* 1. 9 p. 7, 4 f. Consbruch *κρανία δισσὰ φορεῖν, ὀφθαλμοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀριθματοί.*

[3] O. Jahn in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1839 p. 21, E. Vitet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1846 p. 308 ff. fig. 2 (=my fig. 286), Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* iii. 266, K. B. Stark in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1860 xxxii. 330 f., R. Schöne *ib.* 1865 xxxvii. 150 n. 1, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 476 f. Atlas pl. 7, 9, K. Blondel in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 418, *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 367, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 793. Jahn *loc. cit.* gives the find-spot of the vase as Ponte della Badia, and the subject of its reverse as Herakles killing the Nemean lion in the presence of Athena and Hermes. Vitet *loc. cit.* states that the vase was found at Bomarzo near Viterbo, and that its reverse shows Herakles and Iolaos fighting three warriors (? Geryones).

[4] G. Minervini 'Argo bifronte, dipinto di un vaso di Puglia' in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.*

dresses him in a short *chitón* with ornamental borders and a lion-skin[1] knotted about his chest. The later vase makes one face bearded, the other beardless, adds eyes all over him, and equips him with *pétasos*, panther-skin[2], and club. Again, Boreas, the Thracian wind-god, who recalls the Cilician Zeus *Bóreios*[3], occurs on a red-



Fig. 287.

figured *stámnos* in the Ciai collection at Chiusi as a winged man, with Janiform head, pursuing Oreithyia: her companions scatter to right and left, while a youth stands by as spectator (fig. 288)[4]. In this unique representation of Boreas both faces are bearded, but beard and hair on the one side are dark, on the other side light[5].

1845 iii. 72—76 pl. 4 (=my fig. 287), E. Vitet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1846 p. 308 ff. fig. 1 (worse), Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* iii. 266, K. B. Stark in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1860 xxxii. 331, R. Schöne *ib.* 1865 xxxvii. 150 n. 1, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 92, 479 f. Atlas pl. 7, 13, K. Blondel in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 419 fig. 508, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 469, 1, *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 367, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 794.

[1] E. Vitet *loc. cit.* p. 312 'une peau de chèvre ou d'agneau.'

[2] E. Vitet *loc. cit.* p. 311 'une peau de chèvre.' But K. Wernicke *loc. cit.* 'Pantherfell.'

[3] *Supra* i. 142 n. 10.

[4] K. B. Stark 'Borea ed Orizia' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1860 xxxii. 320—345 pl. L—M (=my fig. 288), A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 808 f. fig., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 305, R. Lantier in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 719.

[5] K. B. Stark *loc. cit.* p. 326: 'Ambedue le faccie sono contornate da ricca barba e ricca capigliatura, distinte tra loro mediante il colore. Nella faccia cioè volta indietro sono di color nero come in tutte le altre figure; nell' opposta all' incontro l' artista ha voluto esprimere il color biondo per l' impasto del color nero a guisa di velatura.' Stark *loc. cit.* p. 332 ff. explains this difference of colouring as an attempt to express the twofold power of Boreas, who can either gather the clouds together or chase them from the sky. L. Stephani *Boreas und die Boreaden* St.-Pétersbourg 1871 p. 12 n. 1 prefers to see in it

Such cases cannot be sharply separated from others, in which the double face is set on a pillar or post. Dionysos, himself a Thracian

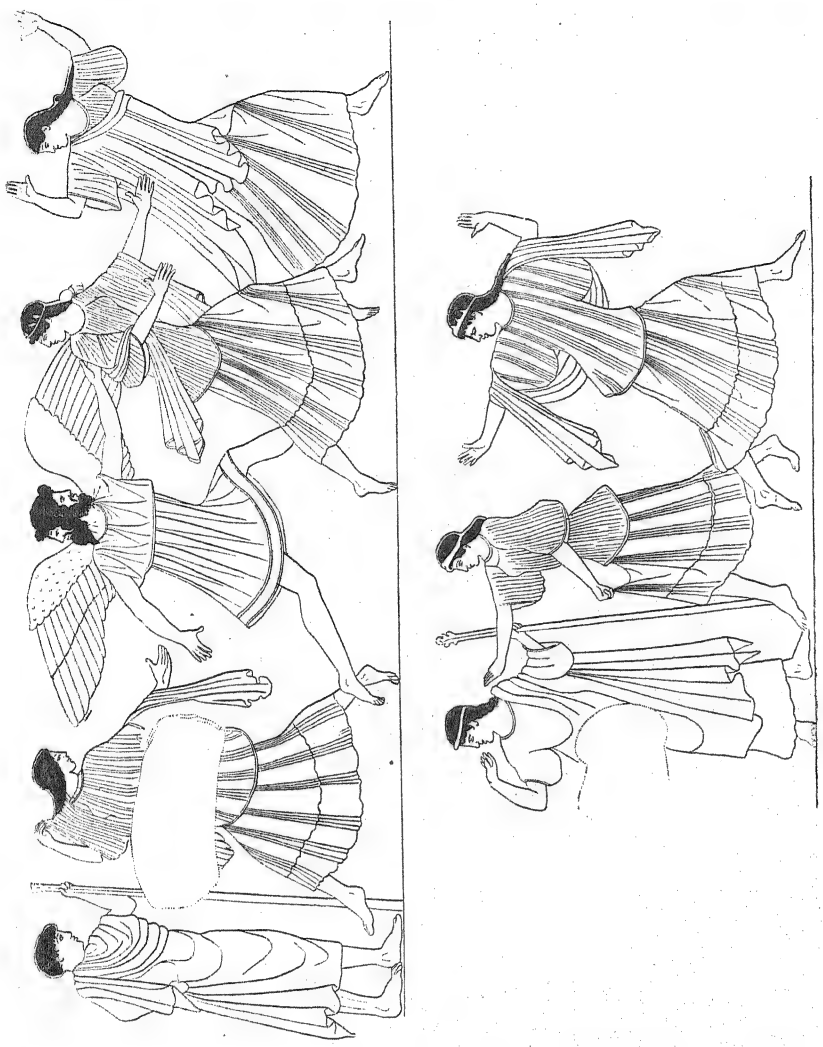


Fig. 288.

god and a rebirth of Zeus, is sometimes represented on black-figured *lékythoi* by a couple of bearded masks hung back to back on a pillar (fig. 289)[1]—an anticipation of the later double herm

an allusion to the counter-blasts, which on the Euripos the Greeks called παλιμβορέας (Theophr. *de vent.* 27 f.).

[1] A. Frickenhaus *Lenäenvasen* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* lxxii) Berlin 1912

(fig. 290)[1]. Finally, the word 'herm' reminds us that the same bifrontal type was appropriate to Hermes[2], a god who in many points resembled Dionysos. A small bronze of Etruscan style in the



Fig. 289.

Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris shows two beardless heads *adossées* with prominent eyes, thick lips, and braided hair[3]. Specimens of *aes grave* cast at Volaterrae in Etruria after *c.* 350 B.C. have for obverse

p. 33 f. cites four examples: (1) Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 317 no. 1001, published by Frickenhaus *op. cit.* pl. 1, 5 (=my fig. 289); (2) Berlin inv. no. 3356, published by O. Kern in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1896 xi. 115 fig. 1, Frickenhaus *op. cit.* p. 5 fig. 6; (3) Nicole *Cat. Vases d'Athènes Suppl.* p. 184 no. 931, published by Frickenhaus *op. cit.* pl. 1, 7; (4) Louvre, described by H. Heydemann *Pariser Antiken* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1887) p. 59 no. 67. See further *supra* i. 671.

[1] P. Righetti *Descrizione del Campidoglio* Roma 1836 ii. 68 f. pl. 262, 3 (=my fig. 290), Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 119 no. 46 b pl. 24, E. Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1122. Height 0·26^{m}, with foot 0·37^{m}. The material is Luna marble. The noses and front edges of both busts are restored. On the top is a hole containing remains of a dowel. The wreath is 'of ivy and berries' (H. Stuart Jones *loc. cit.*), 'di pampini e di edere' (P. Righetti *loc. cit.*). Cp. Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* i. 803 f. no. 720 pl. 86, A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* Cambridge 1882 p. 680 Wilton House no. 41.

[2] Tzetz. *alleg. Il.* 22. 80 Ἑρμῆς τε ὁ διπρόσωπος ἐνέτεινε τὴν βλάβην, with which J. F. Boissonade *ad loc.* cp. Georg. Pachymeres *declam.* p. 64, 14 f. Boissonade διπρόσωπον ἄν τις εἴπε τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην, καὶ διπροσώπων ἀνδρῶν, ὁποῖον τὸν Ἑρμῆν Αἰγύπτιοι πλάττουσι.

[3] Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 322 no. 734 'Hermès janiforme' L. S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 706. Height 47 mill.

design a beardless Janiform head wearing a pointed *pétasos*, and for reverse either a dolphin[1] or a club (fig. 291)[2] or a mere mark of value[3]. Coins of Telamon in Etruria with a similar Janiform head on the obverse and a prow on the reverse are probably spurious[4]. It is commonly held that the dicephalous god of Volaterrae was Ianus—a view strongly advocated by W. Deecke[5]; but the absence of a beard and the presence of a *pétasos* point rather to the justice of W. H. Roscher's[6] suspicion that we should here recognise, not Ianus, but Hermes.

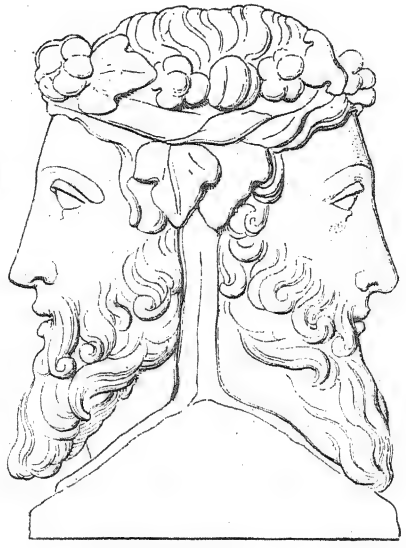


Fig. 290.

On the whole I incline to the conclusion that all these double-faced deities—*Hermês* the 'Pillar'-god (?)[7] among them—were originally local varieties

[1] Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 25 pl. 47, 2, 3, 4, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 11 nos. 1 fig. and 2, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 3 no. 6, W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen* Stuttgart 1876 ii. 41—43.

[2] Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 25 pl. 48, 1, 2, 3 (=my fig. 291), 4, 5, 6, 7, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 10 f. nos. 1—17, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 3 nos. 2—5, W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen* Stuttgart 1876 ii. 37—41 pl. 3, 50, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 74 pl. 63, 327, R. Ratto *Catalogo di una grande collezione di un distinto numismatico straniero* Milano 1912 p. 4 f. nos. 40 pl. 2, 41, 42 pl. 2, 43, 44.

[3] Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 26 pl. 49, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 9 nos. 1—14, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 3 no. 1, W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen* Stuttgart 1876 ii. 34—37 pl. 3, 42, R. Ratto *Catalogo di una grande collezione di un distinto numismatico straniero* Milano 1912 p. 5 nos. 45, 46.

[4] Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 188 pl. 125, Monete false 1, W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen* Stuttgart 1876 ii. 43'f. nos. 60[a] and 60[b], 128, 147 f.

[5] W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen* Stuttgart 1876 ii. 123 ff.

[6] W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 28, 51.

[7] The present state of our knowledge, or rather ignorance, with regard to the name Ἑρμῆς is summarised by Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 282 n. 3: 'L'étym. de Ἑρμῆς est inconnue; dor. Ἑρμᾶς (<*Ἑρμᾱ̃ς) éol. Ἔρμας ép. Ἑρμέᾱς Ἑρμεῖᾱς (voy. Solmsen Beitr. 1 240 n. 1) ép. tardif Ἑρμείης ion. att. Ἑρμῆς, puis thess. Ερμανου dat. GDI. 1300 sont les hypocoristiques de *Ἑρμᾰ́ϝων (cf. Ποτιδᾶς: Ποτειδᾰ́ϝων), cf. Ἑρμάων Hsd., lac. Ἑρμάωνι dat. inscr. métrique Le Bas—Foucart 167, 5, lac. arc. Ἑρμᾶνος gén., mess. Ἑρμᾶνι dat. etc. Les opinions de Kuhn (: skr. *Sāramēyaḥ* "fils de la déesse-chienne *Sarámā*," gr. ὁρμή "*tempête"), Max Müller (Ἑρμέᾱς "*fils de l'aurore"), Welcker (: gr. ὁρμή "succession du jour et de la nuit, de la vie et de la mort"), Preller (: gr. ἕρμα "tas de pierres," cf. les ἑρμαῖα, ἑρμαῖοι λόφοι, ἕρμᾰκες), A. Legrand dans

of the divine Sky, or at least stood in such a relation to him that



Fig. 291.

they could borrow his bifrontal type. And in the development of

Saglio III, 2, 1802 bibl. (: gr. ὁρμή "*désir passionnel" et confusion avec ἕρμακες) sont désuètes.'

Id. ib. p. 281 f. distinguishes (1) ἕρμα for *σϝέρμα, 'prop, post': (2) ἕρμα for *ϝέρσμα, 'rock': (3) ἕρμα for *σέρμα, 'earring.' Attempts to connect Ἑρμῆς with ἕρμα have hitherto operated with ἕρμα, 'rock' (Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 385 n. 5 'Grosse Wahrscheinlichkeit hat die vom Verf. in der ersten Ausgabe [1854] vorgetragene Ableitung von ἕρμα, vgl. Αἰνείας αἶνος, Αὐγείας αὐγή; wie denn die ἑρμαῖα, ἑρμαῖοι λόφοι, ἕρμακες, d. h. die aufgeschütteten Steinhaufen auf Bergen und an den Strassen, die älteste Vergegenwärtigung des Hermes waren; vgl. Dio Chryst. or. 78 p. 420 R ὥστε μεγάλα ἕρματα ἀθρόϊζεσθαι λίθων.' K. O. Müller *Handbuch der Archaeologie der Kunst*[3] Stuttgart 1878 p. 586 n. 1 'Wahrscheinlich ist die Pfeilerbildung des H. so alt wie der Gott selbst, da Ἑρμῆς deutlich mit ἕρμα, ἕρμαξ zusammenhängt.'); and it is no doubt possible to assume that this word developed in Greek a meaning similar to that of its Irish congener *farr*, 'column, pillar' (Boisacq *op. cit.* p. 282). I should, however, prefer to suppose that Ἑρμῆς is related to ἕρμα, 'prop, post,' and that the earliest Greek effigy of the god was a wooden phallic pillar (*e.g.* Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 292 f. pl. 115), forerunner of the stone or marble herm (*e.g.* E. Gerhard 'Ueber Hermenbilder auf griechischen Vasen' in his *Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen und kleine Schriften* Berlin 1868 ii. 126—148 pls. 63—67).

Hermes was, *bien entendu*, a god of many parts, at once terrestrial and celestial. We shall see reason to compare him with Zeus Κτήσιος (Append. H *fin.*), and we shall find analogous deities represented by phallic herms (Append. L *fin.*). It may be added that his combination of earthly with heavenly powers is well brought out by the description of him as διάκτορος ἀργεϊφόντης—an old pre-Homeric tag (cp. *supra* i. 444). On the one hand, J. B. Bury (in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1892 xviii. 295), A. Fick (*ib.* 1894 xx. 179), F. Solmsen ('Διάκτορος' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1894 iii. 90—99), and F. Bechtel (*Lexilogus zu Homer* Halle a. d. S. 1914 p. 100), all relate διά-κτορος to κτέρας, κτέρεα, κτερίζω (cp. Zonar. *lex. s.v.* διάκτορος·...ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ὁ τὰ κτέρεα καὶ τὰ θύματα τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι κομίζων=*et. mag.* p. 268; 18 f. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ φασὶ παρὰ τὸ τὰ κτέρεα (so P. K. Buttmann for τὸ κέαρ or τὸ τὰ κέαρ codd.) τῶν τετελευτηκότων κομίζειν). Fick remarks that Hermes in *Il.* 24. 397 feigns to be the son of Πολύ-κτωρ, and that Lyk. *Al.* 679 uses Κτάρος as a title of Hermes himself (schol. and Tzetz. *ad loc.*). Solmsen argues that the root κτερ meant 'schenken, geben,' and that διά-κτορος had the force of 'Spender, Geber,' δια- denoting transference as in διάβολος,

that type I notice two tendencies, which may be held to reinforce my contention.

(σ) The Sky-god's hat.

Firstly, the bifacial god is apt to wear a broad-brimmed hat. For instance, on an engraved cornelian at Berlin, Greek work of Hellenistic date, he has a wide hat on his head and a long staff in his hand (fig. 292)[1]. We are reminded of Ovid's Ianus 'leaning on



Fig. 292.



Fig. 293.



Fig. 294.

the staff, which he carried in his right hand[2].' Again, a brown sard in the same collection, a convex gem of the early Roman period, shows a bearded and an unbearded head combined beneath a round hat with dotted decoration (fig. 293)[3]. Such a hat suggests com-

διάδοχος, διάκονος. He cp. Od. 8. 335 Ἑρμεία, Διὸς υἱέ, διάκτορε, δῶτορ ἐάων, *h. Herm.* 18. 12. χαῖρ', Ἑρμῆ χαριδῶτα, διάκτορε, δῶτορ ἐάων, and such passages as *Il.* 14. 489 ff., 16. 179 ff., *Od.* 15. 319 f. Bechtel renders 'einer, der gründlich über Schätze verfügt.' It appears, then, that Hermes διάκτορος was a chthonian god resembling Zeus Πλουτοδότης or Πλούτων (*supra* i. 503 f.). On the other hand, ἀργεϊφόντης almost certainly means 'slaying with a flash.' Bechtel *op. cit.* p. 53 says: 'Die Mythologen müssen entscheiden, ob sie mit der Bezeichnung "durch den Glanz tötend," "in dem Glanze tötend" etwas ausrichten können.' I gladly take up this challenge. This epithet so interpreted suits admirably the sky-god with his fatal lightning-flash. Hermes ἀργεϊφόντης, in fact, recalls Zeus, who slays ἀργῆτι κεραυνῷ (*supra* i. 31 n. 4). And if Hermes' epithet came to be misunderstood as 'the slayer of Argos,' that piece of popular etymology is at least of interest inasmuch as it implies the conflict of two rival gods. It is tempting to conjecture that the *caduceus* of the victor originated as a bipartite lightning-fork (*infra* § 3 (*c*) iv (*β*) and (*δ*)); but the subject cannot here be pursued.

Since the foregoing paragraph was written an article on Ἀργεϊφόντης by P. Kretschmer has appeared in *Glotta* 1919 x. 45—49. Kretschmer holds that Ἀργεϊφόντης is *metri gratia* for Ἀργοφόντης and compares the epic ἀνδρεϊφόντης for ἀνδροφόντης (though U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff *Homerische Untersuchungen* Berlin 1884 p. 299 n. 10 took ἀνδρεϊφόντης to have been formed on the analogy of Ἀργεϊφόντης). 'Wir kommen also zu dem Schluss: die Wissenschaft wie die Schule mag ruhig bei der Übersetzung *Argostöter* bleiben.' As to the question put by Bechtel, 'Ich meine, die Mythologen müssen diese Frage energisch verneinen. Ein solcher Beiname würde allenfalls auf den blitzeschleudernden Zeus passen, aber nicht auf Hermes, der auch kein Lichtgott ist.' This suits my argument well enough.

[1] Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 236 no. 6461 pl. 45 (=my fig. 292: scale ⅔).

[2] Ov. *fast.* 1. 177.

[3] Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 96 f. no. 1844 pl. 18 (=my fig. 293: scale ⅔).

parison with the beardless Janiform head wearing a helmet on *asses* of Ouxenton (*Ugento*) in Calabria (fig. 294)[1]. Now R. Eisler has rightly insisted that throughout the Levant the sky was often symbolised as a hat[2]—witness the tiara of Zeus *Oromásdes*[3], the starry *pîlos* of Men or Attis or Mithras (?)[4], etc.[5] The same conception prevailed among the nations of northern Europe, as may be seen from Odhin's broad hat[6], though hardly from the umbrella-like head-gear of Rugiwit[7]. And the Greeks themselves were capable of equally crude ideas; for Anaximenes of Miletos, who speaks of his *aér* as condensed by a process of 'felting' (*pílesis*)[8], declares that the stars move round the earth horizontally 'as the felt hat (*pilíon*) turns about on our head[9].' We need not, therefore, hesitate to interpret the *pétasos* of Hermes or Argos or Ianus as an unsophisticated symbol for the sky overhead.

[1] Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 123 pl. 97, 12 (=my fig. 294). Rasche *Lex. Num.* xi. 953, Suppl. iii. 72 (Ianus), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 220, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 69 (Athena? Roma?).

[2] R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 64 f., 67, ii. 582 n. 3, 677, *alib.*

[3] *Supra* i. 748 f. fig. 545.

[4] *Supra* i. 741 f.

[5] Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 3. 7. 7 (on the high priest's mitre) καὶ ὁ πῖλος δέ μοι δοκεῖ τὸν οὐρανὸν τεκμηριοῦν ὑακίνθινος πεποιημένος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως ὑπερανετίθετο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ with S. Havercamp *ad loc.*, Theodoret. *quaest. in Exodum* 60 (lxxx. 285 B Migne) ἐπέκειτο δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ (*sc.* of Aaron) κίδαρις τὸν οὐρανὸν μιμουμένη.

Porph. *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 11. 23 πῖλον δὲ περιέθεσαν (*sc.* on the head of Hephaistos) κυάνεον τῆς οὐρανίου σύμβολον περιφορᾶς.

[6] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 146, 1888 iv. 1331 f., K. Simrock *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie* Bonn 1878 p. 173, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 90, 231, 235, 253, E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 334 f., P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 226, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 pp. 229, 232 f. The equation of Odhin's hat with Hermes' *pétasos* (Grimm *op. cit.* iv. 1332, W. H. Roscher *Hermes der Windgott* Leipzig 1878 p. 113, R. M. Meyer *op. cit.* p. 226, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 265) was presumably one of the reasons for the Roman identification of Wodan with Mercurius (Tac. *Germ.* 9, *ann.* 13. 57 with J. C. Orelli *ad locc.* See further *supra* p. 63 n. 0).

[7] Dr Vollmer's *Wörterbuch der Mythologie aller Völker.* Neu bearbeitet von Dr W. Binder Stuttgart 1874 p. 403 fig. 273. The source from which this singular illustration has been drawn is not stated. Saxo Grammaticus *hist. Dan.* 14 p. 577, 23 ff. Holder says nothing about the hat.

[8] Plout. *strom. frag.* 3 *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 8. 3=H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 579, 21=*id. Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 i. 23, 4 f. πιλουμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀέρος πρώτην γεγενῆσθαι λέγει τὴν γῆν πλατεῖαν μάλα, Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 1. 7 p. 18 Duncker—Schneidewin=H. Diels *Doxogr.* p. 560, 21=*id. Frag. Vorsokr.*[3] i. 23, 16 f. ἐξ ἀέρος <δὲ> νέφος ἀποτελεῖσθαι κατὰ τὴν πίλησιν, κ.τ.λ.

[9] Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 1. 7 p. 18 Duncker—Schneidewin=H. Diels *Doxogr.* p. 561, 3 ff.=*id. Frag. Vorsokr.*[3] i. 23, 24 ff. οὐ κινεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν τὰ ἄστρα λέγει, καθὼς ἕτεροι ὑπειλήφασιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ γῆν, ὡσπερεὶ περὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν κεφαλὴν στρέφεται τὸ πιλίον.

(7) The differentiation of the Sky-god's faces.

Secondly, the two faces of the bifrontal deity are often differentiated. And this differentiation may vary much in its degree. Boreas, as we have just seen[1], had two bearded profiles, one dark, the other light. Argos on the *kratér* from Ruvo[2] and Ianus (?) on the Roman sard[3] joined a bearded to a beardless visage. The

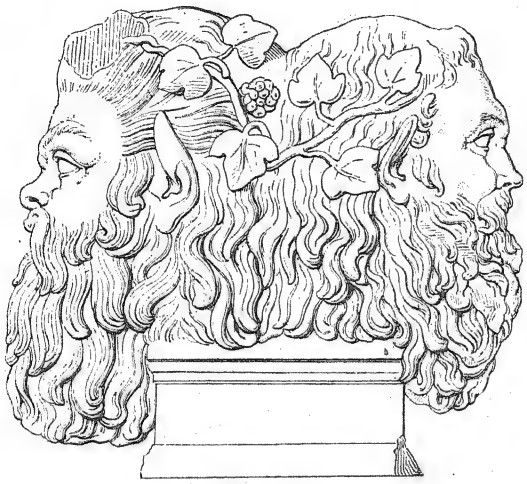


Fig. 295.

result was a piquant contrast, which acquired a certain popularity. Thus a double herm to be seen in the Museo Capitolino at Rome[4] combines a bearded with a beardless Dionysos. Another, a work of Augustan date now in the Vatican, links a would-be archaic with a Hellenistic head of Silenos (fig. 295)[5]. Or again, two heads are

[1] *Supra* p. 380 f. fig. 288. [2] *Supra* p. 379 f. fig. 287.

[3] *Supra* p. 385 fig. 293.

[4] Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 144 no. 14 pl. 34, G. Bottari *Il Museo Capitolino* Roma 1750 i Animadversiones pl. 6, 2 (facing p. 18). Height 1·085^{m} to base of shaft, which does not belong to the heads. Luna marble. The nose of the unbearded head and a lock of hair by its left ear have been restored.

A bronze in the Museum at Cassel shows a nude youth of effeminate aspect holding an adze (?) in his lowered right hand and a Janiform amulet in his raised left hand: the little figure has a beardless face in front, a bearded face behind (Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* i. 40 pl. 13, 5 f., *id. Ant. Bildw.* pl. 303, 4 f., Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 176 no. 9 'Hermaphrodite?'). Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* i. 40 pl. 13, 2—4 cp. a bronze amulet, acquired by him in Rome, which unites the face of a child with that of a lion.

[5] E. Pistolesi *Il Vaticano Descritto ed Illustrato* Roma 1829 iv. 141 pl. 55, 1 (=my fig. 295), A. Nibby in F. A. Visconti—G. A. Guattani *Il Museo Chiaramonti aggiunto al Pio-Clementino da N. S. Pio VII P. M.* Roma 1843 iii pl. 9, A. Furtwängler in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1877 xlix. 199 n. 1 and 234 f. (=*id. Kleine Schriften* München 1912 i. 145 n. 2 and 173), Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* i. 44 no. 75, Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* i. 461 f. no. 229 pl. 47. Height 0·365^{m}. Yellowish marble of fine grain.

associated that might be regarded as diverse manifestations of the same power, whether divine or human. Accordingly Zeus *Ammon* was paired with Dionysos[1] or with a Satyr[2] or with Sarapis (?)[3]; Zeus wearing an oak-wreath and acorns, with Hermes (?) wearing a winged hat like a helmet[4]. Cicero's *Hermeraclae*[5] may mean no more than 'herms of Herakles[6].' But the actual grouping Ianus-wise of Hermes with Herakles is sufficiently attested by an *as* of the *gens Rubria*, struck *c.* 86 B.C. (fig. 296)[7], perhaps also by a double bust in the Vatican[8]. Another bust in the same collection couples a youthful Hermes, wearing a *pétasos*, and a bearded Dionysos, with wings on his head[9]. One in the Cabinet de France joins a bearded Dionysos, with head-wings and a diadem, to a beardless Satyr, wearing an ivy-wreath[10]. Another at Berlin combines a bearded Dionysos and a beardless Satyr, both crowned with ivy[11]. Yet another, in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, shows an ivy-wreathed Silenos together with a bay-wreathed Apollon (fig. 297)[12]. We find a Janiform arrangement even of a tragic and



Fig. 296.

Silver *hemidrachma* of Thasos (*c.* 411—350 B.C.) have obv. Janiform head of a bald and bearded Satyr; rev. ΘΑΣΙ or ΘΑΣΙ two *amphorae* placed in opposite directions, within incuse square (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thrace, etc. p. 221 nos. 51, 52, *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 290 nos. 36—39, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 265, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 54).

[1] *Supra* i. 374. [2] *Supra* i. 374. [3] *Supra* i. 366 n. 2.

[4] A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* Cambridge 1882 p. 633 Richmond no. 47.

[5] Cic. *ad Att.* i. 10. 3.

[6] F. Dürrbach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 122 fig. 3802, S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 705.

[7] Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 406, 408 f. no. 6 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 313 fig. (=my fig. 296).

[8] E. Q. Visconti *Musée Pie-Clémentin* Milan 1821 vi. 100—102 pl. 13, 2. Height 'deux palmes et trois onces.' Greek marble. Both heads are wreathed with poplar; and Visconti admits that they might be interpreted as a bearded and a beardless Herakles. He concludes, however, in favour of Herakles *plus* Hermes, two sons of Zeus presiding over athletic contests.

[9] Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* pl. 318, 2, Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* i. 469 no. 239 c pl. 47, S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 707.

[10] Cabinet de France no. 3277, published by V. Duruy *History of Rome and the Roman People* ed. J. P. Mahaffy London 1883 i. 656, P. Paris in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 134 fig. 3820.

[11] *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 62 no. 137 fig.

[12] J. Disney *The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* London 1849 p. 23 f. pl. 12 ('Bacchus and Ceres'), A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* Cambridge 1882 p. 258 no. 50, H. A. Chapman *A Handbook to the collection of antiquities...in the Fitzwilliam Museum*[2] Cambridge 1904 p. 44. My fig. 297 is from a photograph by Mr W. Tams. Restored: nose-tips and busts. Height of genuine parts 0·16m.

a comic mask[1]. As to the synthesis of human heads, exact duplication of the same face is rare[2]. Far more frequent is the union of two personages likely to be associated in memory. For example,



Fig. 297.

J. J. Bernoulli in the course of his great works on Greek and Roman iconography has occasion to discuss double portrait-herms of Homer and Hesiod[3], Sophokles and Euripides[4], Herodotos and

[1] *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 92 f. no. 214 fig. Blueish marble. Height 0·10m. This double herm was acquired by E. Gerhard in Rome (1841). Cp. a sard, obtained in Constantinople (1884) and now in the Lewis collection at Cambridge (J. H. Middleton *The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings* London 1892 p. 52 no. 44), which has tragic and satyric masks, back to back, with a mask of Pan above them (fig. 298 =scale $\frac{2}{1}$).



Fig. 298.

[2] *Supra* p. 371 n. 1. See also J. J. Bernoulli *Griechische Ikonographie* München 1901 ii. 96 n. 4, *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 185 f. nos. 476, 477 (two double herms recalling the type of Polykleitos' *doryphóros*).

[3] J. J. Bernoulli *Griechische Ikonographie* München 1901 i. 9, 29 f. figs. 3 f.

[4] *Id. ib.* i. 29, 127, 153 figs. 25 f.

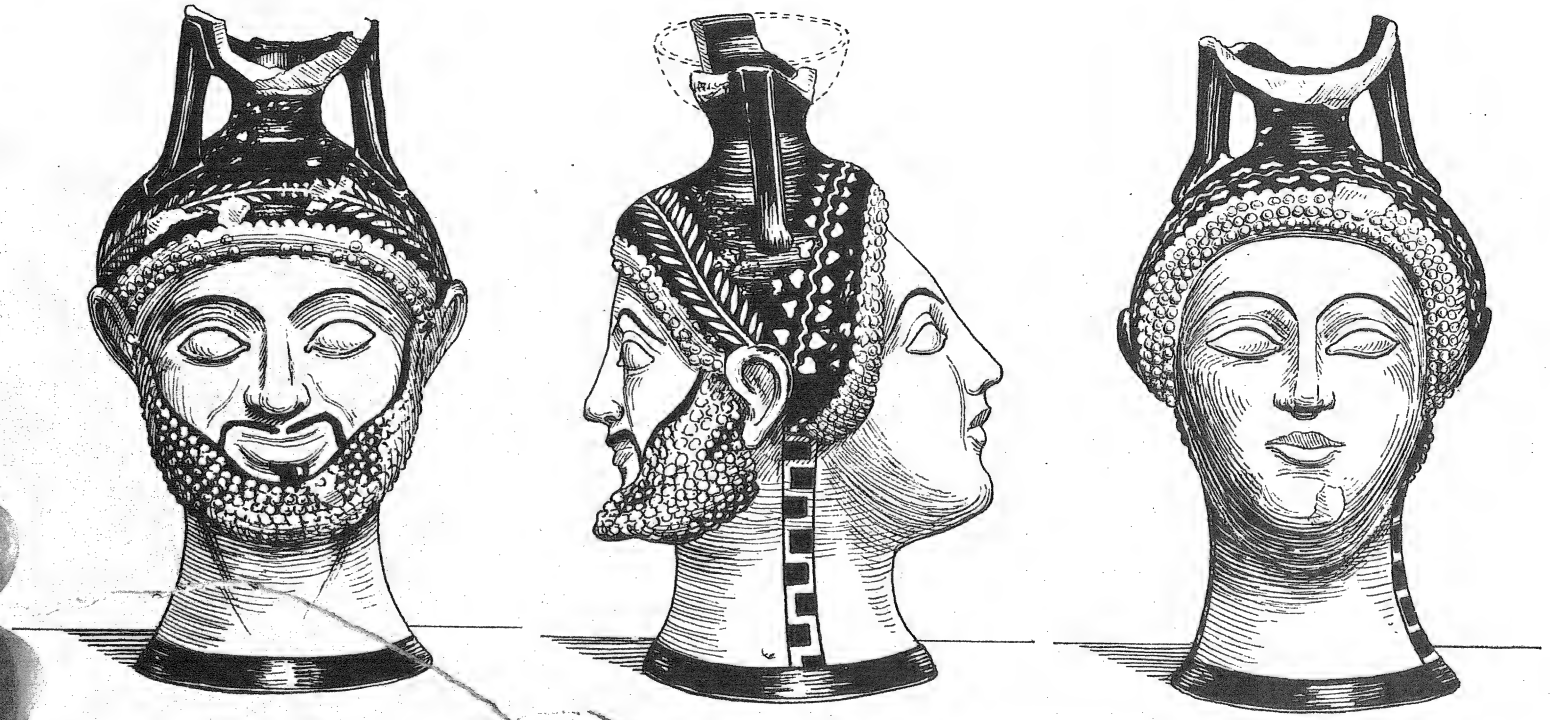
Thoukydides[1], Sokrates and Platon (?)[2], Sokrates and Seneca[3], Epikouros and Metrodoros[4], etc. By a further process of divergence the component faces became respectively male and female. Already in the latter part of the sixth century B.C. Athenian potters were



Fig. 299.

turning out Janiform *arýballoi*. A specimen in my collection (pl. xxi)[5] unites a male with a female Dionysiac head: the one (Dionysos?) has a bay-wreath, the other (Ariadne?) an ivy-wreath. Similar vases were produced in the early decades of the fifth century[6];

[1] *Id. ib.* i. 159, 180 f. pls. 18—20.
[2] *Id. ib.* i. 189, ii. 23, *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 126 no. 299 fig.
[3] J. J. Bernoulli *Griechische Ikonographie* München 1901 i. 189, *id. Römische Ikonographie* Stuttgart 1882 i. 276 ff. pl. 24.
[4] *Id. Griechische Ikonographie* München 1901 ii. 130 pls. 16, 17.
[5] Height 0·1125m.
[6] Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 1026 nos. 4044 and 4045 = *id. Samml. Sabouroff*



Janiform *aryballos*, combining male and female Dionysiac heads.

See page 390.



and the type, with its numismatic analogues[1], prepared the way for the double herms of Dionysos and Ariadne so common in

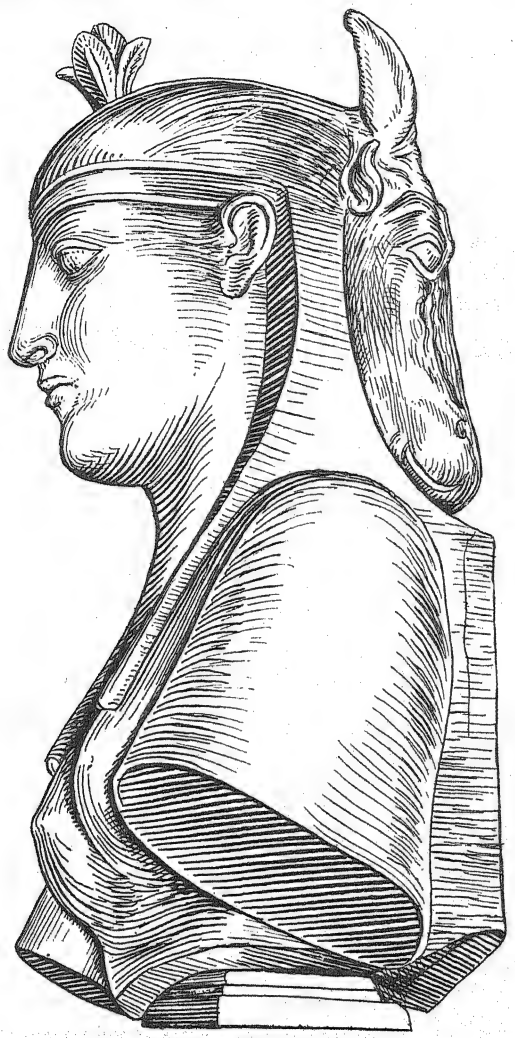


Fig. 300.

Roman times (fig. 299)[2]. These two having led off the dance, other

Vases pl. 69. Cp. R. Gargiulo *Raccolta dei monumenti più interessanti del Real Museo Borbonico e di varie collezioni private*[2] Napoli 1845 pl. 13 f.

[1] *Infra* § 3 (c) i (o).

[2] *E.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 46 nos. 1622 and 1623 (*Brit. Mus. Marbles* ii pl. 17 (=my fig. 299). Found near Rome by Gavin Hamilton. Veined marble. Height 1 ft. 2 ins. Restored: the nose-tips), A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*

couples soon joined in—Hermes with Hestia[1], Priapos with a Maenad[2], Pan with a Maenad[3], a boy-Pan with a girl-Pan[4], a Satyr with a Maenad[5], Triton with Libye[6], and doubtless many more, including even such ungainly partners as Apis with Isis (fig. 300)[7].

(*v*) Virbius as Dianus.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the differentiated types is that represented *in primis* by a double herm found during the excavations of 1885 at Nemi[8] and now forming part of a private English collection (pl. xxii, 1—3)[9], *in secundis* by a very similar herm

Cambridge 1882 p. 258 ff. Cambridge nos. 51 and 59, p. 368 Ince Blundell Hall no. 160, p. 439 Lansdowne House nos. 7, 8, p. 608 Petworth House no. 22, p. 633 Richmond no. 48, p. 649 f. Rossie Priory nos. 11 and 18, Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* i. 469 no. 239 B pl. 47, A. Mau *Pompeii: its life and art* trans. F. W. Kelsey New York 1902 pp. 326, 448 fig. 257, *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* London 1904 p. 34 f. no. 57 pl. 26.

[1] Fröhner *Sculpt. du Louvre* i. 220 nos. 198 and 199 (? really Dionysos and Ariadne).

[2] *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 108 no. 249 fig.

[3] *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 105 no. 242 fig.

[4] R. Gargiulo *Collection of the most remarkable monuments of the National Museum* Naples 1873 ii pl. 24.

[5] *Id. ib.* ii pl. 25.

[6] *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 89 f. no. 207 fig.

[7] P. Gusman *La villa impériale de Tibur* (*villa Hadriana*) Paris 1904 p. 313 fig. 579 (=my fig. 300) an Egyptising herm of black marble in the Egyptian Museum of the Vatican.

[8] The site was excavated in 1885—1886 by Sir John Savile Lumley, now Lord Savile, then English ambassador at Rome. See Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 3 n. 2 for bibliography. The herm was discovered in a *porticus* adjoining the temple of Diana. Plan of the temple by R. F. Pullan in *Archaeologia* 1887 l. 1. 58 ff. pl. 7; plan of the precinct by A. Langenhau in O. Rossbach 'Das Dianaheiligtum in Nemi' in the *Verh. d. 40. Philologenversamml. in Görlitz* 1889 p. 152 (both reproduced by L. Morpurgo 'Nemus Aricinum' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1903 xiii. 303 ff. figs. 1 and 2; the latter only, by G. H. Wallis *Illustrated Catalogue of Classical Antiquities from the site of the Temple of Diana, Nemi, Italy* Nottingham 1893 p. xxii f.).

[9] G. Fiorelli in the *Not. Scavi* 1885 p. 479, W. Helbig 'Scavi di Nemi' in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1885 p. 227 f., *id.* in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1886 i. 60 f., *id. Guide Class. Ant. Rome* i. 331, *id. Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 439, O. Rossbach *loc. cit.* p. 159, G. H. Wallis *op. cit.* p. 32 f. no. 611 with pl. (two photographs from a cast of the double bust), A. B. Cook in the *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 373, *id.* in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 289 ff., L. Morpurgo 'Nemus Aricinum' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1903 xiii. 323, 350, *ead.* 'La rappresentazione figurata di Virbio' in *Ausonia* 1909 iv. 109—127 with figs. 1—6 and pls. 5, A—C and 6, A—C (three photographs from the original herm=my pl. xxii, 1—3), F. Granger 'A portrait of the Rex Nemorensis' in the *Class. Rev.* 1907 xxi. 194—197 with two figs., *id.* 'The leafy bust at Nemi' *ib.* 1908 xxii. 217, Sir J. G. Frazer 'The leafy bust at Nemi' *ib.* 1908 xxii. 147—149, *id. Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 41 f., Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 150 f. Height of bust 0·25[m]; breadth 0·192[m]. Height of shaft 1·35[m]; breadth 0·20[m]. The shaft, found close to the bust, is also of marble (*bardiglio*) and bears the inscription SACR·DIAN in reddened lettering.





2

Le
with
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Mon. d. Li
1909 iv. 109—12
the original herm
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1908 xxii. 217, Sir
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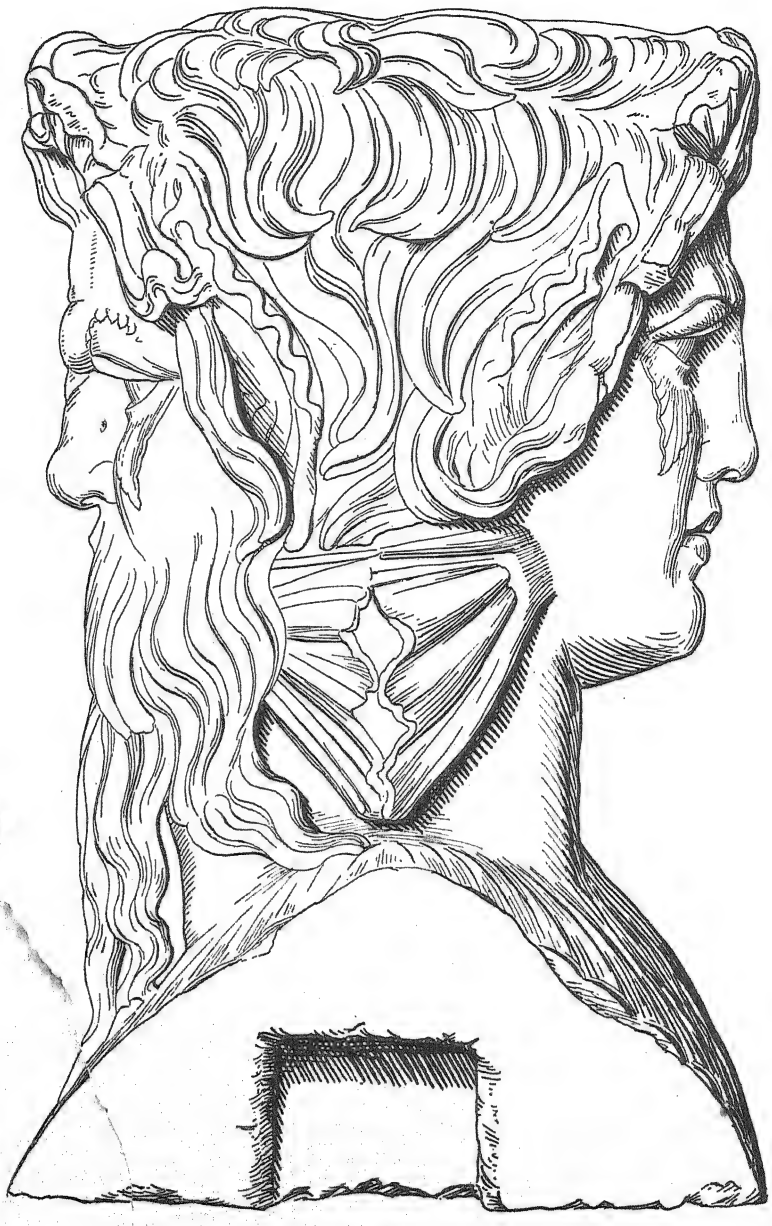
t from Nemi, probably representing Hippolytos-Virbius decked
ith leaves of the *quercus robur* as consort of Diana.

See page 392 ff.



I


SACR·DIAN



2

Janiform bust in the Capitoline Museum, probably representing Hippolytos-Virbius decked with leaves of the *quercus ilex* as consort of Diana.

See pages 393, 399 f.



I



3



probably brought at an earlier date from the same locality[1] and now preserved in the Capitoline Museum (pl. xxiii, 1—3)[2]. Both herms combine a beardless with a bearded head and are characterised by curious foliated decoration, which has been diversely explained.

To speak first of the bust found by Lord Savile at Nemi. In 1885 G. Fiorelli described it as a double Bacchic herm[3], presumably because he took its foliation for vine-leaves. But in the same year W. Helbig suggested that we have here to do with a pair of water-divinities, arguing that fins start from their brows and aquatic plants spread over the cheeks of the bearded head, the neck and chest of both; further, that the younger face has a small fin at each angle of the mouth, the elder face a beard saturated with water, while the hair of both alike is damp and wind-blown[4]. In 1886 Helbig proposed to regard them as personifications of the neighbouring lakes of Albano and Nemi[5]—a view which has been favourably received[6]. In 1902 I put forward a new surmise[7]. Since the shaft of the herm is inscribed 'Sacred to Diana[8],' it seemed reasonable to interpret the Janiform bust as that of Diana's favourite—Hippolytos transformed into Virbius, who in Ovid's account says of the goddess:

> She made me older and henceforth of features
> Unrecognisable[9].

[1] L. Morpurgo in *Ausonia* 1909 iv. 124.

[2] Friederichs—Wolters' *Gipsabgüsse* p. 614 no. 1545, *Einzelaufnahmen* nos. 417—419 (=my pl. xxiii, 1—3) with Text ii. 31 f. by P. Arndt, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* i. 331 f. no. 451, *id. Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 439 no. 794, L. Morpurgo 'La rappresentazione figurata di Virbio' in *Ausonia* 1909 iv. 109—127 with figs. 1—6 and pls. 5, A—C and 6, A—C, Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 150 f. Sala delle Colombe no. 28 pl. 37. Height of bust 0·355[m]. Marble, *grechetto*. Restored: older head—lock of beard and lock near right eye; younger head—part of left shoulder and angle of herm. 'Fair work of first or early second century A.D.' (Stuart Jones *loc. cit.*).

[3] G. Fiorelli in the *Not. Scavi* 1885 p. 479 ('un' erma bacchica doppia').

[4] W. Helbig 'Scavi di Nemi' in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1885 p. 227 f. ('Un' erma doppia... composta dalle teste di due esseri acquatici').

[5] W. Helbig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1886 i. 61 ('personificazioni di acque che nell' agro aricino avevano un interesse locale, cioè del lago Albano e di quello di Nemi').

[6] *E.g.* G. H. Wallis *Illustrated Catalogue of Classical Antiquities from the site of the Temple of Diana, Nemi, Italy* Nottingham 1893 p. 33. However, O. Rossbach 'Das Dianaheiligtum in Nemi' in the *Verh. d. 40. Philologenversamml. in Görlitz* 1889 p. 159 is content to treat them as indeterminate aquatic powers.

[7] *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 373.

[8] SACR·DIAN (*supra* p. 392 n. 9) must, at Nemi, be completed as 'sacrum Dian*ae*,' not 'Diano' (*Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 289).

[9] Ov. *met.* 15. 539 f. addidit aetatem nec cognoscenda reliquit | ora mihi. Cp. Auson. *cento nuptialis* 360 *epist.* p. 207, 28 ff. Peiper ne in sacris et fabulis aut Thyonianum mireris aut Virbium, illum de Dionyso, hunc de Hippolyto reformatum.

Accepting the aquatic traits noted by Helbig, I contended that fish-forms were not inappropriate to a companion of Artemis and that Virbius might turn out to be a river-god rather than a tree-spirit. In 1905[1] I was still disposed to think that Virbius in Italy, if not also in Greece[2], was a stream-god. But I urged that the Janiform bust from Nemi identified him with Diana's consort Dianus or Ianus[3], a god incarnate in the *rex Nemorensis*. Prof. F. Granger in 1907[4] threw fresh light on the problem by remarking that the two ends of the moustache upon the bearded face are formed of oak-leaves, that the foliage round the necks of both figures is clearly to be explained as oak-leaves, and that the alleged fins are not fins at all, but merely conventionalised leafage. Hence he enquires 'whether the double bust may stand for Virbius-Hippolytus as a wood-spirit, perhaps the king of the wood.' The younger face with its barbaric type might represent the ruffian assailant; the older face, anxious and wrinkled, might portray the king-priest haunted by the dread of sudden attacks. In 1908[5] Sir James Frazer, after examining the cast of the herm at Nottingham, admitted 'that, whether accidentally or not, the modelling of the moustache on one side of the face does resemble an oak leaf,' but raised doubts with regard to the rest of the foliage. He concluded as follows:

'Thus the identification of the leaves on the bust as oak-leaves, and with it my theory of the priest as a personification of the oak, remains uncertain. I will only add that Miss Darwin's proposal to identify as leaves of some sort the

[1] *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 289 ff.

[2] Vibius Sequester, who in *s.* iv—v wrote for his son Virgilianus a guide to the geographical names of Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Silius Italicus, etc. (W. S. Teuffel—L. Schwabe *History of Roman Literature*[5] trans. G. C. W. Warr London 1892 ii. 436 f., Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 1108), includes in his list of rivers (p. 152, 6 f. Riese) Virbius Laconices, ubi Hippolytum Aesculapius arte medicinae reddidit vitae, unde et Virbius dictus, and in his list of springs (p. 152, 33 Riese) Virvinus Laconices. J. J. Oberlin (ed. Argentorati 1778 pp. 211 f., 242) thinks that Vib. Seq. invented the stream Virbius, and possibly the spring Virvinus to boot, prompted by Ov. *fast.* 6. 756 Aricino Virbius ille lacu. C. Bursian (ed. Turici 1867 pp. 10, 11) would alter *Laconices* into *lacu* (or *luco*) *Ariciae*, and treats *Virvinus* as a blundering repetition of *Virbius*. A. Riese (ed. Heilbronnae 1878 p. 152) cj. *in agrò Ariciae* for *Laconices*, and brackets *Virvinus Laconices* as a meaningless duplication. *Infra* p. 421.

[3] Accordingly I laid stress on the watery aspect of Ianus, husband of Iuturna (*supra* p. 368 n. 3) the old Latin goddess of lakes and rivers, and father of Fontus (*ib.*) the god of springs and wells, father also of the river Tiber (interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 330) and of Canens the water-nymph, whom king Picus preferred to the Naiads of Nemi (Ov. *met.* 14. 320 ff.). It was said that, when the Sabines on one occasion attempted to force their way into Rome, a raging flood of waters burst out from the temple of Ianus and drove them back (Ov. *met.* 14. 778 ff., *fast.* 1. 259 ff., Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 291, Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 9. 17 f.). See further W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 18 and 41.

[4] F. Granger 'A portrait of the Rex Nemorensis' in the *Class. Rev.* 1907 xxi. 194—197 with two figs.

[5] Sir J. G. Frazer 'The leafy bust at Nemi' in the *Class. Rev.* 1908 xxii. 147—149.

things which project from the mouth of the younger face seems to me excellent.... Perhaps...the candidate for the priesthood at Nemi chewed oak-leaves in order to nerve his arm for the fatal stroke. It may have been with oak-leaves in his mouth, as well as with sword in hand, that he advanced upon his adversary. Can it be that in the face of the older man the artist has purposely shewn us a grinning empty mouth as if to indicate that the sacred oak and with it the god had passèd from him to another?'

Later in 1908[1] Prof. Granger returned to the charge. Sir James Frazer had cited the opinion of Mr R. I. Lynch, Curator of the Botanic Garden at Cambridge, who 'thought the leaves more like nettle or perhaps dead-nettle (*Lamium*).' Prof. Granger would adopt this suggestion, but limit it to the scalloping under the eyes. He adds:

'To quote a local example, on Royal Oak Day (May 29) boys go about Nottingham armed with nettles, and they demand of passers-by to "show their oak" under penalty of being nettled. Whether, therefore, the nettle be intended, or some other vervain, a further and most interesting line of inquiry has been opened[2]. And Prof. Frazer's theory that the priest of Nemi personifies the oak, remains as convincing as ever.'

[1] F. Granger 'The leafy bust at Nemi' in the *Class. Rev.* 1908 xxii. 217.

[2] Of vervain in antiquity we possess two parallel accounts, that of Pliny transcribed from Sextius Niger *περὶ ὕλης* (10—40 A.D.: see M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1899 ii. 1. 315), and that of Dioskorides based on the same work with lists of synonyms etc. added from the illustrated *ῥιζοτομικόν* of Krateuas, physician to Mithradates vi Eupator (120—63 B.C. The most famous codex of this herbal, Vindob. Med. Gr. 1, written for the elder Iuliana Anicia, wife of Olybrius the consul of 379 A.D., has been published by A. W. Sijthoff in Scato de Vries *Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti* vol. x i, ii Dioscurides Lugduni Batavorum 1906: see further W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1911 ii. 1. 347 f.):

PLINY *nat. hist.* 25. 105—107.

nulla tamen Romanae nobilitatis plus habet quam hiera botane. aliqui aristereon, nostri verbenacam vocant. haec est quam legatos ferre ad hostes indicavimus (*nat. hist.* 22. 5); hac Iovis mensa verritur, domus purgantur lustranturque. genera eius duo: foliosa, quam feminam putant, mas rarioribus foliis. ramuli utriusque plures, tenues, cubitales, angulosi, folia minora quam quercus angustioraque, divisuris maioribus, flos glaucus, radix longa, tenuis. nascitur ubique in planis aquosis. quidam non distingunt et unum omnino genus faciunt, quoniam utraque eosdem effectus habeat. utraque sortiuntur Galli et praecinunt responsa, sed Magi utique circa hanc insaniunt: hac perunctos inpetrare quae velint, febres abigere, amicitias con-

DIOSKORIDES 4. 60—61 p. 548 ff. Sprengel.

[*περὶ περιστερεῶνος.*] *περιστερεὼν ὀρθός· οἱ δὲ περιστέριον, οἱ δὲ τρυγώνιον, οἱ δὲ βούνιον, οἱ δὲ ἱερὰ βοτάνη, οἱ δὲ φιλτροδότης,* [*Αἰγύπτιοι πεμψεμπτέ, προφῆται Ἥρας δάκρυον, οἱ δὲ αἷμα γαλῆς, οἱ δὲ αἷμα Ἑρμοῦ, Ῥωμαῖοι κρίστα γαλλινάκεα, οἱ δὲ φερράρια* (so cod. N. *φέρια* vulg.), *οἱ δὲ τριξαλίς, οἱ δὲ ἐξούπερανς* (so cod. N. *ἐξούπερα* vulg.), *οἱ δὲ ἕρβα σαγγουινάλις,* (cod. N. adds *παλουμβάρις,*)] *φύεται ἐν ἐνύδροις τόποις· δοκεῖ δὲ ὠνομάσθαι ἐκ τοῦ τὰς περιστερὰς ἡδέως διατρίβειν ἐν αὐτῇ. πόα δέ ἐστι σπιθαμὴν ἔχουσα τὸ ὕψος ἢ καὶ μεῖζον, πέταλα ἐντετμημένα ὑπόλευκα ἐκπεφυκότα* (*ἐμπεφυκότα* cod. C.) *ἐκ τοῦ καυλοῦ· μονόκλωνος* (*μονόκαυλος* cod. C.) *ὡς τὸ πολὺ καὶ μονόρριζος εὑρίσκεται. δοκεῖ δὲ τὰ φύλλα σὺν ῥοδίνῳ ἢ στέατι χοιρείῳ νεαρῷ προστιθέμενα ἀνωδυνίαν ὑστέρας ποιεῖν· στέλλει δὲ καὶ ἐρυσιπέλατα σὺν ὄξει καταπλασθεῖσα καὶ σηπεδόνας ἐπέχει· καὶ τραύματα κολλᾷ, καὶ ἀπουλοῖ τὰ παλαιὰ σὺν μέλιτι.*

[*περὶ περιστερεῶνος ὑπτίου.*] *περιστερεὼν ὕπτιος, οἱ δὲ ἱερὰν βοτάνην, οἱ δὲ ἡριγένιον, οἱ δὲ χαμαίλυκον, οἱ δὲ σιδηρῖτιν, οἱ δὲ κουρῖτιν, οἱ δὲ Περσεφόνιον,*

ciliare nullique non morbo mederi. colligi debere circa canis ortum ita, ne luna aut sol conspiciat, favis ante et melle terrae ad piamentum datis; circumscriptam ferro effodi sinistra manu et in sublime tolli; siccari in umbra separatim folia, caulem, radicem. aiunt, si aqua spargatur triclinium, <in (ins. C. Mayhoff)> qua maduerit, laetiores convictus fieri. adversus serpentes conteritur ex vino.

Cp. Isid. *orig.* 17. 9. 55, Macer Floridus (*i.e.* Odo Magdunensis: see W. S. Teuffel—L. Schwabe *History of Roman Literature*[5] trans. G. C. W. Warr London 1891 i. 424) *de virtutibus herbarum* ed. H. Ranzovius Lipsiæ 1590 i. 66 'de verbena.'

οἱ δὲ Διὸς ἠλακάτην, οἱ δὲ δίχρωμον, οἱ δὲ κάλλησιν, οἱ δὲ ἱππάρισον, οἱ δὲ Δημητριάδα, [Αἰγύπτιοι πεμφθεμφθάμ, Πυθαγόρας ἐρυσίσκηπτρον, Ῥωμαῖοι κιγκινάλις, (cod. N. adds οἱ δὲ βερβένακαμ, οἱ δὲ λουστράγω, οἱ δὲ κολουμβίνα, οἱ δὲ οὐερπίδιον,)] ῥάβδους ἀνίησι πηχυαίους ἢ καὶ μείζονας, γωνιοειδεῖς, περὶ ἃς τὰ φύλλα ἐκ διαστημάτων ἐοικότα δρυΐ, πλὴν στενώτερα καὶ ἥττονα, ἐντετμημένα δὲ τῷ κύκλῳ, ὑπόγλαυκα· ῥίζαν δὲ ὑπομήκη, λεπτήν (λευκήν codd. C. N.)· ἄνθη πορφυρᾶ, λεπτά. ταύτης τὰ φύλλα καὶ ἡ ῥίζα, ποτιζόμενα μετ' οἴνου καὶ καταπλασσόμενα, ποιεῖ πρὸς ἑρπετά (A. Lacuna cj. πρὸς ἕρπητας καὶ ἐρυσιπέλατα)· πρὸς δὲ ἴκτερον τὰ φύλλα, ὅσον < ὀλκήν, μετὰ λιβανωτοῦ τριωβόλου σὺν οἴνου παλαιοῦ καὶ θερμοῦ (so cod. N. and A. Lacuna. The editt. omit καὶ θερμοῦ) κοτύλῃ μιᾷ νήστει ἐφ' ἡμέρας τέσσαρας (so cod. C. ἡμέρας μ' vulg.) πινόμενα· οἰδήματά τε χρόνια καὶ φλεγμονὰς καταπλασθέντα πραΰνει· καὶ ῥυπαρὰ ἕλκη καθαίρει· ἐψηθεῖσα δὲ ὅλη σὺν οἴνῳ ἐσχάρας τὰς ἐν παρισθμίοις περιρρήττει, καὶ νομὰς τὰς ἐν στόματι ἀναγαργαριζομένη ἐφίστησι. ῥαινόμενόν τε ἐν συμποσίοις τὸ ἀπόβρεγμα εὐδιαγωγοτέρους ἱστορεῖται ποιεῖν· δίδοται δὲ τριταῖζουσι πιεῖν τὸ τρίτον γόνυ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς σὺν τοῖς περικειμένοις φύλλοις, τεταρταῖζουσι δὲ τὸ τέταρτον. καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν ἱερὰν βοτάνην διὰ τὸ εὔχρηστον ἐν τοῖς καθαρμοῖς εἶναι εἰς περιάμματα.

Cp. L. Apuleius ('Apuleius Barbarus': see W. S. Teuffel—L. Schwabe *op. cit.* 1892 ii. 244 f.) *de medicaminibus herbarum* 4 'nomina et virtutes hieras botanes' in J. C. G. Ackermann *Parabilium medicamentorum scriptores antiqui* Norimbergae et Altorfii 1788 pp. 151 ff., 309 f.

C. Sprengel in his note on the passage from Dioskorides identifies περιστερεὼν ὀρθός with *verbena officinalis*, περιστερεὼν ὕπτιος with *verbena supina*. And these identifications are borne out by the coloured drawings of Vindob. Med. Gr. 1 (fol. 268 recto περιστερεων ορθ[ος]=my fig. 301; fol. 269 recto περιστερεων υπ[τιος]=my fig. 302). See also the hand-painted plates of J. Sibthorp *Flora Græca* Londini 1827 vi. 43 f. pl. 553 *verbena nodiflora*, *ib.* 44 pl. 554 *verbena supina*.

On the folk-lore of vervain consult A. de Gubernatis *La Mythologie des Plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 367—369, H. Friend *Flowers and Flower Lore* London 1883 i. 171, 313, 315, ii. 429 f., 529 f., 534, 545, 547 f., 591, 607, 609 f., 665, R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 pp. 572—575 and Index p. 609, T. F. Thiselton Dyer *The Folk-Lore of Plants* London 1889 pp. 56, 101, 152, 282, 284 f., Schrader *Reallex.* p. 179, S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 i. 261, 285, 386, 394 ff., 399, ii. 6, 60 f., 102; J. Britten—R. Holland *A Dictionary of English Plant-Names* London 1878 i. 18 'Ashthroat,' 39 'Berbine,' 115 'Columbine,' 1879 ii. 224 'Grass, Pigeon's,' 264 'Holy Herb,' 282 'Juno's Tears,' 333 'Mercury's Moist Blood,' 1884 iii. 432 'Simpler's Joy,' 480 'Vervain' and 'Vervain, Base *or* Flat,' J. Cameron *The Gaelic Names of Plants*[2] Glasgow 1900 p. 73 f., P. Sébillot *Le Folk-Lore de France* Paris 1905 ii. 303, 1906 iii. 472, 476 f., 483 f., 494, K. Simrock *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie*[6] Bonn 1878 p. 272 f.

Here it is in point to observe that both Pliny and Dioskorides compare the leaves of vervain with those of the oak (*quercus*, δρῦς), associate the plant with Iupiter (Plin. *nat.*

hist. 25. 105 hac Iovis mensa verritur, Dioskor. 4. 61 p. 550 Sprengel *οἱ δὲ Διὸς ἡλακάτην*, cp. 'Apuleius Barbarus' *op. cit.* 4 iidem dios elacaten (the ed. of Albanus Torinus, Basileae 1528, reads *alii diosatim*). No proveable connexion with Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Ηλακάταιον· ὄρος Θεσσαλίας, ὅπου καὶ Διὸς 'Ηλακαταίου ἱερόν. τὸ ἐθνικὸν 'Ηλακαταιεὺς καὶ Ζεὺς 'Ηλακατεύς. H. Usener *Die Sintfluthsagen* Bonn 1899 p. 156, cp. *id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 43 n. 82, would connect Zeus 'Ηλακαταῖος with ἤλεκτρον, 'Ηλέκτρα, 'Ηλέκτωρ, 'Ηλεκτρυών as Zeus 'the Glittering.' But ??), and regard it as a panacea.

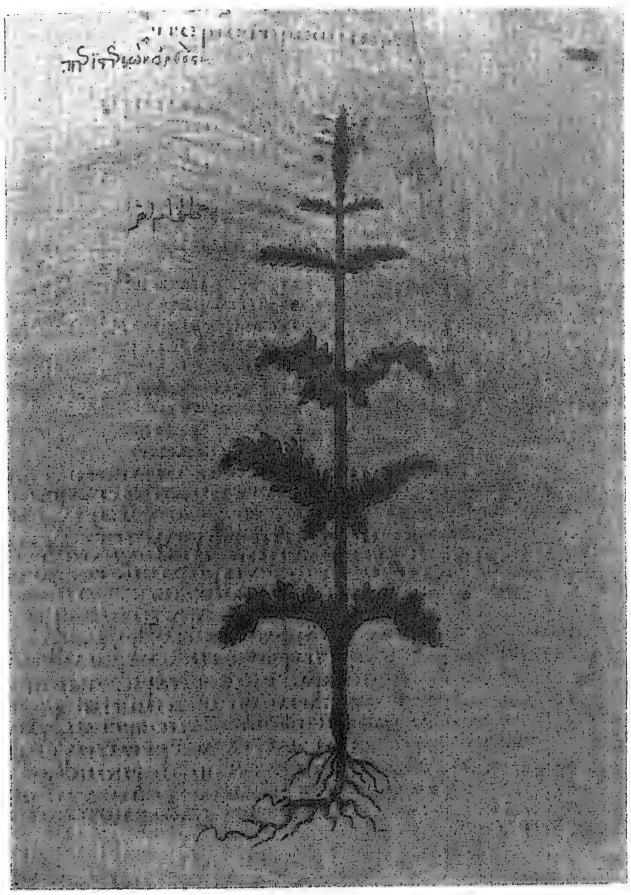


Fig. 301.

Such being its character, vervain would form an appropriate decoration for a bust of Virbius at Nemi. Indeed, there remains the possibility, already mooted by P. Buttmann (in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1819* p. 209=*id. Mythologus* Berlin 1829 ii. 152), Sir James Frazer (*Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 379 n. 5) and myself (*Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 290 n. 9), that *verbena* and *Virbius* are words of kindred origin. My friend Dr P. Giles tells me (May 1, 1918) that the difference of vowel may be a matter of dialect, as in *Mercurius* beside the Praenestine *Mircurios*, *Mirqurios* (Walde *Lat. etym.*

Finally, in 1909[1] Miss L. Morpurgo published a minute investigation of the herm. She claims that the leaves on the breast of either figure are beyond doubt those of the *quercus robur*, that the beard of the

Wörterb.[2] p. 478). Assuming that both *Virbius* and *verbena* were related to *viridis* (cp. L. Morpurgo in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1903 xiii. 356 n. 9), Sir James Frazer had rendered *Virbius*, 'The Green One,' and I had suggested, 'He of the sacred branch.' These, however, are uncertain conjectures; and there is a tempting alternative (see *infra* p. 421 f.).

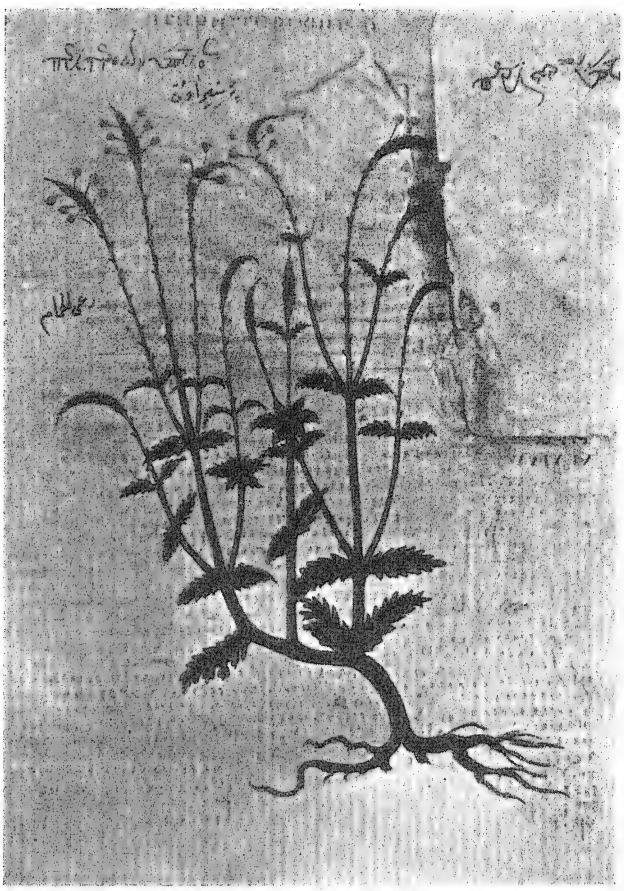


Fig. 302.

[1] L. Morpurgo 'La rappresentazione figurata di Virbio' in *Ausonia* 1909 iv. 109—127 with figs. 1—6 and pls. 5, A—C and 6, A—C (= my pl. xxii, 1—3). Miss Morpurgo's results are accepted by Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 150 f. But W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 439 still advocates his own identification of the double bust as the lakes of Albano and Nemi.

older head is surmounted by a series of lobes recalling the leafage on the breast, that the lower edge of the long moustache has a leaf-like dentation, that the mouth of the younger head shows similar leaves at its corners, that the Satyr-ears of both heads are lobed like leaves[1], that the eyebrows throughout are dentate, and that the appendages above the brows and beneath the ears exhibit veined vegetable forms.

The Capitoline herm has been commonly regarded as representing a pair of water-deities[2]. But Miss Morpurgo, pursuing her theme, contends that the foliation under the eyes of the two figures and over the beard of the elder is certainly meant for leaves—not whole leaves, but parts of leaves, which (to judge from size and shape) are those of the *quercus ilex*. She remarks that the chest on either side shows a continuous fringe of leaves, modified to look like the frilled edge of a *tunica* or *chitón*, that the moustache and eyebrows of the bearded head are, again, formed of *quasi*-leaves, that the ears of both heads are dentated, and that the appendages on head and neck are neither horns nor fins, but leafage like that which decorates the chest.

On the whole, I conclude (1) that the two herms represent the same personages; (2) that those personages, as I conjectured in 1902[3], are Hippolytos and Virbius, the mythical prototypes of the *rex Nemorensis*; (3) that Hippolytos-turned-Virbius is portrayed as a Janiform bust, partly because, as I argued in 1905[4], Diana's favourite is conceived as Diana's consort Dianus or Ianus, partly because, as Miss Morpurgo insisted in 1909[5], the ancients clung to the folk-etymology of *Virbius*, 'a man twice over' (*vir bis*); (4) that the

[1] In the large frieze from the great altar at Pergamon (*supra* i. 119 figs. 87 f.) the Giant fighting Phoibe has horns in his hair and a left ear like a pointed leaf (*Pergamon* iii. 2. 37 Atlas pl. 29, 3); another, opposed to Parthenos, has long serrated leaves on the heads of his two snake-legs and at the juncture of their scales with his skin (*ib.* iii. 2. 69 Atlas pl. 16). It may be suspected that Pergamene art contributed its quota to the style of the Nemi bust.

[2] *Supra* p. 393 n. 2.

[3] *Supra* p. 393 n. 7.

[4] *Supra* p. 394 n. 1.

[5] L. Morpurgo 'La rappresentazione figurata di Virbio' in *Ausonia* 1909 iv. 122 (cp. her 'Nemus Aricinum' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1903 xiii. 356 ff.), citing Cassiod. *de orthographia* 6 (in H. Keil *Grammatici Latini* Lipsiae 1880 vii. 181, 9 ff.) Virbius etiam abstractus a regula, quoniam virum bis factum esse memorant, quem numerum per b mutam scribi ante dicta declarant: quidam virum bonum, alii herobium, tamquam sit ἥρως ἀναβεβιωκώς, alii deum esse qui Viribus praeest interpretantur (Cassiodorus notes that his information is taken 'ex Martyrio de mediis syllabis.' Martyrius of Sardes, who lived in *s.* vi (?) A.D., was son and pupil of the Latin grammarian Adamantius: see De Vit *Onomasticon* iv. 383, G. Goetz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 343 f.) together with Hyg. *fab.* 251, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 761, Vib. Seq. p. 152, 6 f. Riese (*supra* p. 394 n. 2), Lact. Plac. *narr. fab.* 15. 45, schol. Pers. *sat.* 6. 56.

double bust is decorated, not, as Helbig suggested in 1885[1], with fins and aquatic plants, but, as Prof. Granger pointed out in 1907[2], with oak-leaves—those of the *quercus robur*, according to Miss Morpurgo[3], in the case of the first herm and those of the *quercus ilex* in the case of the second. I do not, however, agree with Sir James Frazer and Prof. Granger that the priest of Nemi personified the oak[4]. Rather I should maintain that the oak was the tree of Diana, and that Virbius is plastered with oak-leaves because he is her partner[5]—the local Dianus or Ianus.

(φ) Diana and the Oak.

Diana, as I have elsewhere shown[6], had a special liking for oak-trees. At Rome her chief temple was that founded by Servius Tullius on the Aventine[7], whose slopes in early days were shaded by a grove of holm-oaks, the haunt of Picus and Faunus[8]. A 'very great and venerable sanctuary of Diana' was on the Caeliolus[9], which formed part of the *Mons Querquetulanus*[10] or 'Mount of Oaks[11].' There was also an ancient Dianium at the upper end of the

[1] *Supra* p. 393 n. 4.
[2] *Supra* p. 394 n. 4.
[3] *Supra* p. 398 n. 1.
[4] *Supra* p. 395.
[5] *Supra* i. 1 n. 3.
[6] *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 369 ff., *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 281 ff. See also Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 380.
[7] H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 157 ff.
[8] Ov. *fast.* 3. 295 ff.
[9] Cic. *de har. resp.* 32 maximum et sanctissimum Dianae sacellum in Caeliculo.
[10] Tac. *ann.* 4. 65.
[11] G. Gatti in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1887 pp. 314—317 pl. 19 (=my fig. 303) publishes a large marble relief, originally found near the *Malum Punicum* between the Baths of Diocletian and the slope of the Quirinal towards the Viminal, which represents three male figures: (*a*) in the centre, Iupiter standing *en face*, with a *chlamys* over his left shoulder, a sceptre in his left hand, a thunderbolt (?) in his right, and an eagle at his feet; (*b*) to the left, Hercules (? a portrait of the youthful Commodus) erect facing the spectator, with lion-skin on his left arm, apples (restored) in his left hand, and club in his lowered right; (*c*) to the right, a mountain-god seated on a rock towards Iupiter, with a *himation* wrapped about his legs. Between Iupiter and Hercules grows an oak. Beside the mountain-god is a bay-tree. Beneath runs the inscription (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 334 with Add. no. 30739, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3080) Herculi | Iuliano, || Iovi | Caelio, || Genio | Caeli Montis || Anna sacrum. C. L. Visconti in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1887 p. 342 f. conjectures that the oak alludes to the *Mons Querquetulanus*. H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *op. cit.* i. 3. 221 n. 6 doubt it. Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 200 no. 3 is silent. Possibly in the oak planted near Iupiter *Caelius*, or else in the bay-tree clasped by the Genius Caeli Montis, we should recognise the *arborem sanctam* mentioned among the sights of the *Mons Caelius* by the *curiosum urbis regionum xiv* and the *notitia regionum urbis xiv* reg. 2 (H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1871 ii. 543).

Be that as it may, Iupiter *Caelius* was happily named. His worshippers would think, not merely of the *Mons Caelius*, but also of Iupiter *Caelus* (?) (*supra* i. 59 n. 11), *Caelestis*

Vicus Cuprius, where the Clivus Virbius turns to the right and leads up the Fagutal onto the Esquiline[1]. The existence of oaks on the Esquiline can be inferred from its chapel of the Lares *Querquetulani*[2].

(*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 1948 (Salonae in Dalmatia) Iovi O(pt)imo | Maximo | Celesti Patrono | G. Caesius Corym|bus et Faberia | Cara v.s.l.m., no. 8668 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3041 (Salonae in Dalmatia) T. Pinarius Eros | Iovi Caelesti v.s.|l.m., *Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 4852 = Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5618 (Venafrum) cult(ores) Iovis Cae(lestis) | etc., *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi no. 5643 (Matilica in Umbria) N. Ortori[us] | N. f. Pol(lia) | Ferox | Aesae | evocatus Aug. | Iovi Caelesti | v.s.l.m., cp. Cic. *de har. resp.* 20, Liv. 1. 32), *Caelestinus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 404 with Add. no. 30756 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1223 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3062 (Rome) Iovi Optimó Maximó |



Fig. 303.

Caelestino, Fontibus, et | Minervae, et collegió | sanctissimó, quod consis|tit in praedis Larci Mace|donis (cos. suff. in 122 A.D.) | in curia, | Flavius Successus cum suis. || T. Flavius | Successus | d.d., on which see G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1247), *caelipotens* (Plaut. *Pers.* 755). Popular etymology has often been pressed into the service of religion.

[1] Liv. 1. 48, Solin. 1. 25.

[2] Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 49 secundae regionis Esquili[n]ae. alii (*grammaticae antevarronianae ex incertis incertorum libris* frag. 8 Funaioli) has scripserunt ab excubiis regis dictas (cp. Ov. *fast.* 3. 245 f.), alii ab eo quod excultae (A. Spengel cj. *aescul<is*

Moreover, the beech-trees of the *Fagutal* may have been a ritual, as they were certainly an etymological, equivalent for oaks[1]. The same

consi>tae B.tenBrink cj. *<aesculis> excultae* G. Goetz—F. Schoell cjj. *excultae <arboribus>*) a rege Tullio essent (C. O. Müller suppl. *alii ab aesculetis*). huic origini magis concinunt loca vicini (G. Goetz—F. Schoell note that we must read either *loci vicini* with P. Canal or *loca vicina*), quod ibi lucus dicitur Facutalis et Larum (C. O. Müller ins. *et*) Querquetulanum sacellum et lucus Mefitis et Iunonis Lucinae, quorum angusti fines. I take it that *Querquetulanum* is an old gen. plur. agreeing with *Larum*, not a nom. sing. agreeing with *sacellum*. These *Lares Querquetulani*, of whom nothing more is known, presumably stood in some relation to the *Querquetulanae Virae* described as 'Nymphs presiding over a verdant oak-grove such as that said to have grown within the gate thence called *Querquetularia*' (Fest. p. 261 *a* 17 ff. Müller, p. 314, 11 ff. Lindsay Querquetulanae virae putantur significari nymphae praesidentes querqueto virescenti, quod genus silvae iudicant fuisse intra portam, quae ab eo dicta sit Querquetularia, cp. Paul. ex Fest. p. 260, 5 Müller, p. 315, 6 f. Lindsay, with Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 37 porta Querquetulana). It is therefore tempting to suppose with B. Borghesi *Œuvres complètes* Décades numismatiques Paris 1862 i. 365 ff. that *denarii* struck *c.* 41 B.C. by P. Accoleius Lariscolus have for obv. type the bust of Acca Larentia, and for rev. the Querquetulanae Virae—three statues in the form of archaistic Caryatids supporting a beam or stand, from which rise five trees: the nymph on the left holds a bow, the nymph on the right a lily (Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 2 pl. Accoleia, 1, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 98 ff. figs., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 569 f. (where H. A. Grueber says: 'the nymph on the l. holds a poppy') pl. 55, 19 (=my fig. 304) and 20. Fig. 305 f. are from specimens



Fig. 304.



Fig. 305.



Fig. 306.

in my collection). Nevertheless this popular explanation (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 9 fig.) is demonstrably wrong. The name *Lariscolus* cannot possibly mean 'Worshipper of the Lar or Lares,' but is a diminutive of *larix* (*laric-isco-lo->lariscolo-, cp. *cornix*, *Corniscae*) and denotes 'Young larch.' Cp. the name M. Caesius Larix (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 2019, 3 Puteoli). Again, the trees, of which three are springing from the heads of the alleged oak-nymphs, do not bear the least resemblance to oaks, but may well be intended for larches. I therefore fall back on the view adopted by Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] v. 118 (curiously misrepresented by H. A. Grueber *op. cit.* i. 569 n. 1) that the three female figures are those of Phaethon's sisters here conceived as transformed into larches. See further De Vit *Onomasticon* iv. 48, who defends Eckhel by citing Vitr. 2. 9. 14 larix vero, quae non est nota nisi is municipalibus qui sunt circa ripam fluminis Padi et litora maris Hadriani, etc. *Infra* § 3 (a) vi (λ) *med.*

[1] *Fagus*=φηγός. Several altars dedicated to a god Fagus have come to light in Aquitania (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 33 (*Ladivert* near *Saint-Béat*) Fago deo | Erdenius | Erdesci f(ilius) | v.s.l.m., no. 223=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4531 (near Lugdunum Convenarum (*Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges*)) Fago | deo | Bonxus | Taurini f(ilius), *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 224 (found with no. 223) Fago | deo | Iustus | v.s.l.m., no. 225 (found in the same neighbourhood as nos. 223, 224) Fago deo | Pompeia | C. filia | v.s.l.m.). The beech-tree seems to have retained something of its sanctity in this district, cp. A. de Gubernatis *La Mythologie des Plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 170 f. 'D'après une tradition toujours vivante aux Pyrénées, un homme, au moment même où le bon Dieu passait

change from oak to beech seems to have taken place on the hill called Corne near Tusculum, where Diana was worshipped in a remarkable grove of beeches[1]. But outside Rome the most famous

près de lui, murmurait et blasphémait; Dieu le changea immédiatement en ours. D'après une autre tradition [des Pyrénées] (cf. [E.] Rolland, *Faune populaire de la France* [Paris 1877 i. 42 f.]), un homme, en battant le fer chaud sur l'enclume, en fit jaillir les étincelles jusqu'aux yeux du bon Dieu lui-même, qui ne manqua point de le maudire, le condamnant à devenir ours, avec la condition qu'il pourrait monter à son gré sur tous les arbres, à l'exception du hêtre. Devenu ours, l'homme songea alors à déraciner cet arbre: "Ous bos esta, et ous seras, | En tout arbre puyeras, | Sous qu'en hau nou pouderas. | Arringa lou que harey."' [*i.e.* 'Ours tu veux être, ours tu seras, | à tout arbre tu grimperas, | hormis au hêtre.' | 'Eh bien je le déracinerai.']. In the Luxemburg Ardennes and in Lorraine it is believed that the beech is never struck by lightning (P. Sébillot *Le Folk-Lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 381, cp. R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 p. 250). A list of 253 trees venerated in the department of Oise, which was drawn up in 1854, included 74 elms, 27 oaks, 24 thorns, 15 walnuts, 14 beeches, 14 limes, etc. (P. Sébillot *op. cit.* iii. 424). It will be observed that the beech stands next to the oaks in the list of lucky trees preserved by Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 20. 2 ait enim Veranius de verbis pontificalibus (*frag.* 3 Funaioli): 'felices arbores putantur esse quercus, aesculus, ilex, suberies (so L. Jan for *suberius* cod. P.), fagus, corylus, sorbus, ficus alba, pirus, malus, vitis, prunus, cornus, lotus.' Iupiter *Fagutalis* was worshipped on the Fagutal (Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 152 Fagutal a fago, unde etiam Iovis Fagutalis, quod ibi sacellum, Paul. ex Fest. p. 87, 6 Müller, p. 77, 13 f. Lindsay Fagutal sacellum Iovis, in quo fuit fagus arbor, quae Iovis sacra habebatur, Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 37 silvarum certe distinguebatur (*sc.* Roma) insignibus, Fagutali Iove etiam nunc ubi lucus fageus fuit, etc.), where his cult is known to have lasted on till the year 109 A.D. (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 452 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3620 [Laribus A]ugust. vici Iovis Fagutal[is et | Genis Caesarum, i]mp. Nerva divi Nervae f. Traian[o | Aug. Germanico Dac]ico pont. max. trib. pot. xiii imp. vi [cos. v, | permissu].....Pollionis trib. pleb., aed(iculam) reg. iii vetusta[te | dilapsam a solo ma]gistri anni cxxi sua inpensa restitu[er.] | .....Phoebus, A. Nonius A. l. Onesimus, | .....Callistus, L. Valerius L. l. Eutichus): see H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 256 f.

[1] Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 242 est in suburbano Tusculani agri colle, qui Corne appellatur, lucus antiqua religione Dianae sacratus a Latino (so J. Hardouin for *Latio* codd.), velut arte tonsili coma fagei nemoris. in hoc arborem eximiam aetate nostra amavit Passienus Crispus bis cos. (cp. Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 7061), orator, Agrippinae matrimonio et Nerone privigno clarior postea, osculari conplectique eam solitus, non modo cubare sub ea vinumque illi adfundere. vicina luco est ilex, et ipsa nobilis xxxiv pedum ambitu caudicis, decem arbores emittens singulas magnitudinis visendae silvamque sola faciens. No doubt the big beech was a beauty: Theophr. *hist. plant.* 5. 8. 3 expressly comments on the enormous size of beech-trees in the lowlands of Latium. Nevertheless it is simply inconceivable that C. Passienus Crispus, a Roman of exceptional ability and distinction, the husband first of Domitia and then of Agrippina the younger (Suet. *v. Pass. Crisp.*), should have behaved thus towards a mere tree—kissing it, embracing it, lying beneath it, pouring wine over it,—unless he in some sense identified the tree with the goddess (Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art. i. 40 n. 4). Presumably he regarded himself, not only as her protector (cp. Hdt. 7. 31), but actually as her husband. This would be in strict accordance with local usage; for six or seven miles away, as the crow flies, the *rex Nemorensis* was even then playing a similar part. Diana's tree in the grove near Tusculum was, I take it, comparable with Diana's tree in the grove at Nemi. And, if Caligula posed as the priestly king of Nemi (Suet. *Calig.* 35 cited *supra* p. 147 n. 6: see also the imperial house-boats described and illustrated by R. Lanciani *New Tales of Old Rome* London 1901 p. 205 ff.), Passienus Crispus, his brother-in-law and intimate (Suet.

cult of the goddess was that on Mount Tifata some thirty furlongs north of Capua[1]; and the name *Tifata*, according to Verrius Flaccus, meant 'Woods of Evergreen Oak[2].' Another of her homes was Mount Algidus in Latium[3], where oaks and holm-oaks abounded[4]. And from Mount Algidus it is but a few miles to Nemi. That being so, we may fairly surmise that at Nemi too Diana had her favourite oaks.

In passing I may observe that this association of Diana with the oak has left its mark on the art of the Graeco-Roman age. Land-

v. Pass. Crisp.), may have done the same at Tusculum. In this connexion it must be remembered, on the one hand that Latinus Silvius, who founded Tusculum (Diod. 7. 5 (ii. 133, 30 ff. Vogel) *ap.* Euseb. *chron.* vers. Armen. (i. 287, 7 ff. Schöne)) and dedicated the beech-grove to Diana (Plin. *loc. cit.*), belonged to a dynasty of woodland kings (see the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 363 f., *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 285 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 178 ff., 192, 379) and would be likely enough to institute such a custom; on the other hand that Passienus Crispus hailed from Vitellia (in Suet. *v. Pass. Crisp.* read *Vitelliensis* for the meaningless *Viselliensis* codd.), an ancient Latin town, the home of the Vitellii, descendants of Faunus king of the Aborigines and the goddess Vitellia (Suet. *Vitell.* 1), and would be likely enough to revive such a custom.

[1] E. H. Bunbury in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* ii. 1207, P. Paris in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 155, G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 326 ff., *id. Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] pp. 247, 251.

[2] Paul. ex Fest. p. 366, 8 Müller, p. 503, 14 f. Lindsay Tifata iliceta. Romae autem Tifata Curia. Tifata etiam locus iuxta Capuam. Cp. Paul. ex Fest. p. 49, 18 Müller, p. 43, 13 Lindsay Curia Tifata (so Scaliger for *Curiati fana* codd.) a Curio dicta est, qui[a] eo loco domum habuerat, p. 131, 1 Müller, p. 117, 1 f. Lindsay Mancina Tifata appellabantur, quod Mancinus habuit insignem domum, quae publicata est eo interfecto. Paulus' information is ultimately derived from the dictionary of Verrius Flaccus (*infra* Append. N *init.*). F. Buecheler in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1884 xxxix. 421 f. connects *tifata* with the Sabine *teba*, 'hill' (Varr. *rer. rust.* 3. 1. 6), cp. R. S. Conway *The Italic Dialects* Cambridge 1897 i. 221, 358. And G. Meyer *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanesischen Sprache* Strassburg 1891 p. 430 *s.v.* '*timp*' and in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1892 i. 324 would relate *teba* to the Carian τάβα, 'rock' (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τάβαι). If so, all these words are probably survivals from a pre-Indo-European language, cp. Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 766 *s.v.* 'teba,' I. Thomopoulos Πελασγικά Athens 1912 pp. 212 f., 419. But Walde *op. cit.*[2] p. 778 *s.v.* 'tibulus' suggests that *tifata* is akin to *tibulus*, a variety of wild pine (Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 39), cp. A. Ernout *Les éléments dialectaux du vocabulaire latin* Paris 1909 pp. 27, 75, 237 ('C'est donc à l'osque que le latin a emprunté le mot'). We need more light.

The woods of Mt Tifata are mentioned by Sil. It. 13. 219 Tifata umbrifero...monte.

[3] E. H. Bunbury in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 103, P. Paris in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 154, C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1476.

[4] Hor. *od.* 3. 23. 9 f., 4. 4. 57 f., cp. *od.* 1. 21. 5 f. and Stat. *silv.* 4. 4. 16. When in 458 B.C. Roman envoys were sent to complain of a treaty broken by the Aequi, they were bidden to make their complaint to a huge oak-tree on Mt Algidus, under the shade of whose branches the Aequian commander had his quarters (Liv. 3. 25 eos Aequorum imperator, quae mandata habeant ab senatu Romano, ad quercum iubet dicere: se alia interim acturum. quercus ingens arbor praetorio imminebat, cuius umbra opaca sedes erat. tum ex legatis unus abiens 'et haec' inquit 'sacrata quercus et quidquid deorum est audiant foedus a vobis ruptum nostrisque et nunc querellis adsint et mox armis, cum deorum hominumque simul violata iura exsequemur').

scape-reliefs already described[1] twice represent an old oak growing beside a Diana-pillar, and once show its trunk spanned by an archway, which we now know to be a *ianus*, the very embodiment of Diana's consort Dianus[2].

(χ) Artemis and the Oak.

Similarly on Greek soil the earth-goddess, who under various names fulfilled the same functions as Diana, was frequently connected with the oak. The Amazons, when they founded the cult in the Artemision at Ephesos, set up the effigy of their goddess 'beneath an oak-tree of noble girth[3]'; and in Roman times the image of Artemis *Ephesia* wore a garland of flowers with a necklace of acorns hanging below it (figs. 307, 315)[4]. Again, Neleus, son of Kodros,

[1] *Supra* p. 150 n. 3 figs. 91, 92.

[2] *Supra* p. 354 ff. Cp. a fragmentary relief at Copenhagen (L. Müller *Musée-Thorvaldsen* Troisième partie. Antiquités. Section i et ii. Copenhague 1847 p. 140 f. no. 81, Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 359 pl. 111, 4, T. Schreiber *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder* Leipzig 1890 pl. 69, *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 1480 Mitte with Text v. 113 by P. Arndt), on which a Diana-pillar, with *líknon*, *phallós*, and *lagobólon*, is seen beneath an arched tripod (?) or round altar (?) bearing a goat's-head (?). Height 0·15m.

[3] Kallim. *h. Artem.* 237 ff. σοὶ καὶ Ἀμαζονίδες πολέμου ἐπιθυμήτειραι | ἔν ποτε (the older codd. read ἔν κοτε, whence O. Schneider cj. ἐγκυτὶ—a thoroughly bad emendation) παραλίῃ Ἐφέσῳ βρέτας ἱδρύσαντο | φηγῷ ὑπ' εὐπρέμνῳ (so A. Hecker, followed by A. Meineke and O. Schneider, for φηγῷ ὑπὸ πρέμνῳ codd. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff still retains in his text the impossible reading of the manuscripts)· τέλεσεν δέ τοι ἱερὸν Ἴππώ· | κ.τ.λ. With this cp. Dionys. *per.* 827 ff. παραλίην Ἔφεσον, μεγάλην πόλιν Ἰοχεαίρης, | ἔνθα θεῇ ποτε νηὸν Ἀμαζονίδες τετύκοντο | πρέμνῳ ἔνι πτελέης, περιώσιον ἀνδράσι θαῦμα. The oak-tree is here changed into an elm, perhaps because the original oak had long since decayed, whereas in later days the city (presumably one quarter of it) was called after a conspicuous elm-tree (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 115 Ephesus...multis antea expetita nominibus...vocata...et Ptelea, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἔφεσος·...ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ...καὶ Πτελέα. ὁ πολίτης Πτελεαῖος...καὶ Πτελεάτης ὁ πολίτης).

The scientific excavation of the Artemision, commenced by Mr Hogarth in 1904, has made it probable that the first sanctuary on the site was in fact a small tree-shrine (D. G. Hogarth *Excavations at Ephesus* London 1908 p. 72 'The tree-shrine may be held to be represented by our Basis *A* with its altar or dependent platform on the west, enclosed within a paved *temenos*; and the building erected over it, by the restoration *B*, which amplified these central structures and united them in one platform, in a manner hardly to be accounted for except on the supposition that a considerable superstructure was to be erected on the new platform' with p. 52 ff. fig. 13 ff. and Atlas pl. 1 f. See also W. R. Lethaby 'The earlier temple of Artemis at Ephesus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1917 xxxvii. 15 fig. 15). It is even possible that the isolated column, which in the sixth-century building (D. G. Hogarth *op. cit.* p. 283 f. Atlas pl. 12) and again in the fourth-century building (see Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 95) stood immediately behind the cult-image, was an architectural substitute for the sacred tree. A column in such a position might well be differentiated from the rest (cp. the one Corinthian column in the temple of Apollon *Epikoúrios* at Bassai: Durm *Baukunst d. Gr.*[3] p. 270 fig. 240 *b*, p. 346 fig. 331, p. 349 fig. 335, a, b, c, p. 429 fig. 391) and adorned with carving rightly or wrongly attributed to Skopas (Plin. *loc. cit.*, where the text *una a Scopa* has been needlessly altered by J. J. Winckelmann and K. L. von Urlichs to *uno scapo*, by A. S. Murray to *imo scapo*).

[4] Literary and inscriptional evidence concerning the cult of Artemis at Ephesos is

printed *in extenso* by O. Benndorf in the *Forschungen in Ephesos* Wien 1906 i. 237—274 (an exhaustive series of 435 extracts got together by E. Guhl for his *Ephesiaca* Berlin 1843) and 278—282 (83 inscriptions). A convenient summary and discussion of the *data* is contributed by O. Jessen to Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2753—2771. I must content myself with two or three typical illustrations. Among the statuettes etc. representing Artemis *Ephesia* (*ib.* p. 2764 f. The best monograph is still C. Menetreius *Symbolica Dianæ Ephesiæ statua*[2] Romae 1688, bound up with L. Holstenius *Epistola ad Franciscum Cardinalem Barberinum de fulcris seu verubus Dianæ Ephesiæ simulacro appositis* Romae 1688 and G. P. Bellori *Notæ in numismata tum Ephesia, tum aliarum urbium apibus insignita*) none is more remarkable than a small figure in the Capitoline Museum, described as follows by Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 157 ff. Sala delle Colombe no. 49 pl. 38 : 'H. ·86 m. to top of plinth, plinth ·246 m. Marble : head, hands, and feet of *bigio morato*, eyes of enamel; the rest of Luna. Restored: the crown has been broken off and refixed; one column on the l. and the whole row on the r. of the temple at the top; semicircular veil with three foreparts of griffins on l. of head, and the head of the top griffin on the r. (possibly the whole piece of veil on this side); forepart of lion on r. forearm; parts of breasts; little finger of r. hand and index finger of l.; heads of three stags in the top row on skirt. (The figure has been broken through below them.) Other small fragments. Amelung adds, the double tower, face, hands and feet.

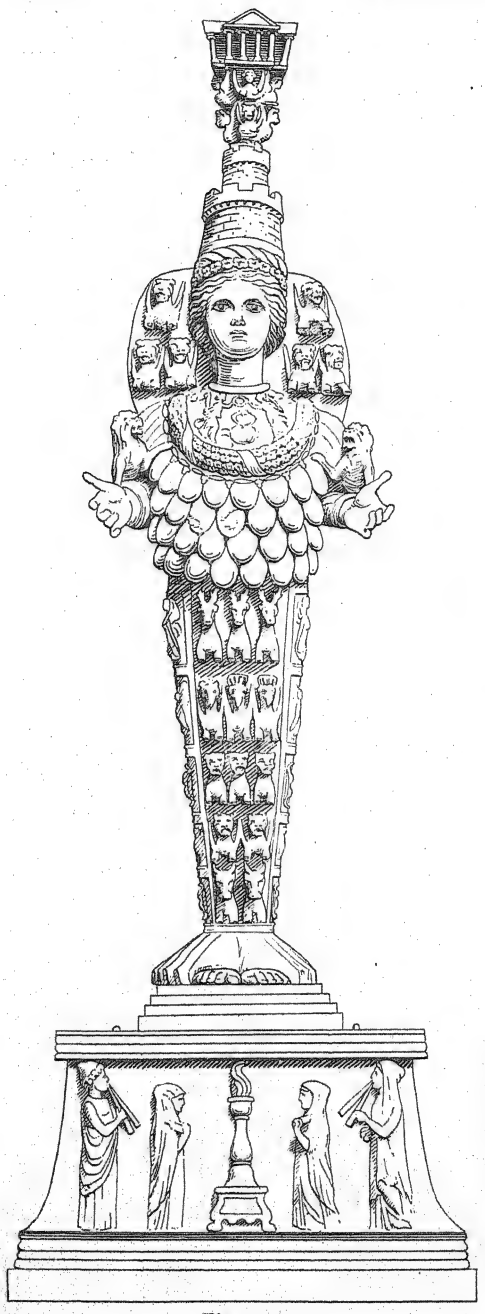


Fig. 307.

The relief on the base has been much broken. Restored: all the lower part of the base including the whole of the figure on the l. of

the thymiaterion, most of the thymiaterion, part of the figure on the r. of it, and the lower third of the figure on the extreme l.; the lower l. angle.

This statuette of the Ephesian Artemis has the usual hieratic attitude, with both feet together, the arms held out parallel, and the face looking straight forward. On her head is a lofty crown composed of several tiers, with a temple at the summit having porticoes on three sides. Below are circles of the foreparts (1) of sphinxes, and (2) of griffins; the next tier consists of a round tower with masonry and battlements indicated; and the whole rests on a pad formed of a twisted taenia with rosettes. Behind the head, on each side, is a semicircular disk with the foreparts of three griffins.

The upper part of the chest is adorned with a garland of flowers, encircled by a twisted taenia, and having acorns depending from it; it hangs from the shoulders, and encloses a relief of two Victories, with palms in their hands, holding up a single wreath, beneath which is a crab. Above each head is a flower. Parallel with the garland, and below it, hangs a fillet. Under this are four rows of breasts.

On each forearm, which is covered by a long sleeve, sits a small lion.

Below the breasts the body is enclosed in a kind of sheath gradually diminishing in size and reaching nearly to the feet; below it the folds of a long thin chiton spread fanlike above the feet. The sheath is divided horizontally, on each side and in front, into five compartments. Those each side bear reliefs of a Scylla, a bee, a rosette or flower, a bee, and a rosette again. Those in front are decorated with rows of the foreparts of animals: viz. (1) three stags, (2) three winged eagle-headed griffins, (3) three lion-headed griffins, (4) two winged lion-headed griffins, (5) two oxen.

The base on which the figure stands, and which probably does not belong, is surmounted by a plinth of four steps. The base grows larger in size at the lower edge and the sides are concave. The front bears a relief showing two female figures on each side approaching a lighted thymiaterion from opposite directions. The two outer figures play double flutes and wear a long chiton and himation, which in the right-hand figure goes over the head; the inner figure on the right, which is antique, is smaller, veiled, and draped, and has a fringe of tight curls; the figure probably carried some object (Amelung suggests a distaff), but the hand is restored. There is a similar base in the Vatican [Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* ii. 626 f. no. 411 a pl. 52].'

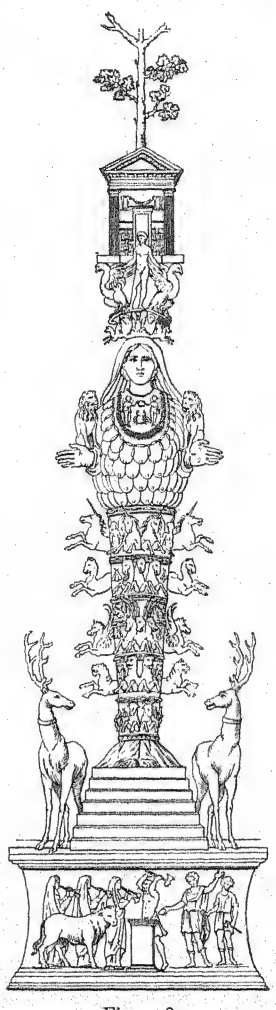


Fig. 308.

See further C. Menetreius *op. cit.*[2] p. 10 pl. on left, Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 97 pl. 46 (after Menetreius), P. Righetti *Descrizione del Campidoglio* Roma 1833 i. 193 pl. 192 (inexact), Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 396 pl. 307, 26 (bust only), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 321 no. 4 (text erroneous). W. Amelung in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1909 xii. 173 ff. figs. 83—85 notes that on the upper surface of the base, to right and left of the stepped plinth, there were originally two rectangular slabs supporting side-attributes. He also insists that the double turreted crown is a

mistaken modern addition. And he cleverly confirms the presence of the attributes and the absence of the turrets by citing one of Raphael's painted pilasters in the Gallery of the Vatican (G. Ottaviani [*Le Loggie di Raffaello nel Vaticano* Roma 176—] no. vi C. Savorelli pict., P. Camporesi delin.=my fig. 308), where by a curious coincidence the great artist has made an oak-tree with acorns to emerge from behind the back of the Ephesian goddess. Numismatic evidence proves that the missing attributes were two stags, and makes it likely that the hands of the goddess were tethered by means of fillets (Hesych. *s.v.* κληῖδες·...καὶ παρὰ Ἐφεσίοις τῆς θεοῦ τὰ στέμματα. The notion that these lateral appendages were solid supports called *verua* rests on Min. Fel. *Oct.* 22. 5 *et Ephesia mammis multis et veribus* (so cod. Par. *verubus* ed. princ. Romana ann. 1543) *exstructa*, where however F. Ursinus, followed by many critics including C. Halm, cj. *uberibus*. J. J. Scaliger's cj. *tuberibus* has met with less acceptance)—hardly bonds to prevent her from quitting her temple (M. Collignon *ap.* F. Cumont in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1915 p. 273 n. 4), but rather ties to bring the very ground into magic connexion with her hands (cp. Ail. *var. hist.* 3. 26 θώμιγγας, Plout. *v. Sol.* 12 κρόκην κλωστήν, Loukian. *Herc.* 3 σειραὶ λεπταὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἠλέκτρου εἰργασμέναι, etc.). The fillets are most clearly shown on silver coins struck at Ephesos by Claudius and Agrippina (Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 17 pl. 4, 23 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 324 f. fig., P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 78 pl. 15, 4=my fig. 309,



Fig. 309.


Fig. 310.

D. G. Hogarth *Excavations at Ephesus* London 1908 p. 332 pl. 52, 4, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 273 no. 1 fig.) or on coppers of Kadoi in Phrygia issued under the name of Domitia (L. Holstenius *op. cit.* p. 10 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 120 pl. 15, 2 =my fig. 310). And the general effect of the effigy is to be seen from a bronze coin of Apameia struck by Gordian, on which Artemis *Ephesia*, with a small tetrastyle temple on her head, fillets stretched from her hands to the ground, and a stag on either side



Fig. 311.


Fig. 312.



Fig. 313.

of her, appears in the midst of four river-gods Maiandros (ΜΑΙ), Marsyas (ϘΑΜ), Therma(s? -ios?) (ϘΘΘ), and Orgas (ϘΟ) (Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 ii. 398 f., 402 n. 2, 432 pl. 1, 1=my fig. 311, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 667 fig. 314, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. xxxix f.), or from a smaller bronze coin of Neapolis in Samaria, struck by Faustina Iunior, on which the goddess has a head-dress

on leading a band of colonists from Athens to Miletos, was bidden by an oracle to make an image of Artemis 'from very fruitful wood.' He started during a festival of Artemis *Chitóne*, discovered an oak with rich and varied fruitage hung upon it, made therefrom an image

of three plumes [?a Sphinx, cp. fig. 307. A.B.C.] surmounted by a tetrastyle temple, pectoral decoration of two Victories holding a wreath, large garland, panelled sheath, stags on either side, and fillets treated as dove-sceptres (G. F. Hill *Some Palestinian Cults in the Graeco-Roman Age* London 1912 p. 6 f. fig. 9 (extr. from the *Proc. Brit. Acad.* v), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine pp. xxxi, 54 pl. 6, 5=my fig. 312).

A figure so full of complex symbolism implies the growth of ages. The temple on top may be safely regarded as a late and perhaps Egyptising addition: cp. the small *naós* on the head of Nehemāuit (Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 435 f. pl. 174, 1—3.

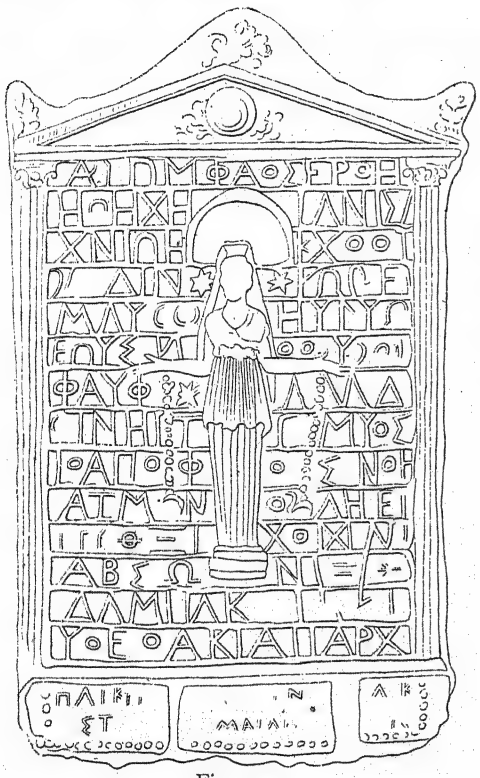


Fig. 314.

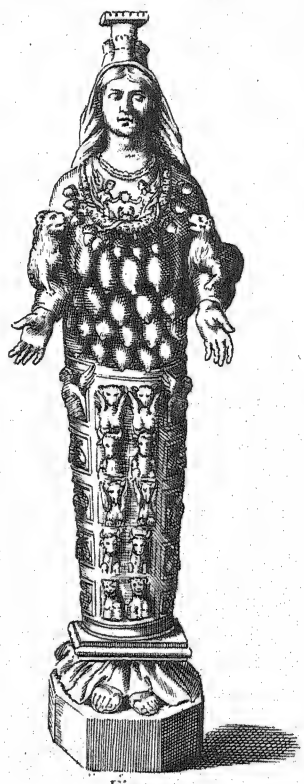


Fig. 315.

E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 421 f. pl. 14 calls it 'the sistrum'!) or of Hathor (Lanzone *op. cit.* p. 892 pl. 317, 2 f. E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* i. 430 pl. 19, bound up as pl. 20, calls it 'a pylon')—a possibility (suggested independently by Mr H. R. Hall *ap.* G. F. Hill *op. cit.* p. 7 n. 1 (=*Proc. Brit. Acad.* v. 417 n. 1)) which should have been considered by W. Amelung *loc. cit.* The attachment of the fillets to the ground was also an afterthought. Sometimes they are represented as swinging clear: *e.g.* on a bronze coin of Ephesos struck by Domitian (T. Schreiber in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1883 xli. 284 fig. 4=my fig. 313). Indeed, this manner of representation can be traced

of the goddess, and so settled at Miletos[1]. We need not attach

back to the first or second century B.C.; for it occurs on an Ephesian amulet of terra cotta in the Museum at Syracuse (L. Stephani 'Ueber ein Ephesisches Amulett' in the *Mélanges gréco-romains tirés du Bulletin historico-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg* St.-Pétersbourg 1855 i. 1—5 with pl. = my fig. 314. The inscription, plausibly described by Stephani as Ἐφέσια γράμματα (collected by C. Wessely *Ephesia Grammata* aus Papyrusrollen, Inschriften, Gemmen etc. Wien 1886 pp. 1—38 and by R. Heim 'Incantamenta magica graeca latina' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1893 xix. 525 ff. See also E. Kuhnert in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2771 ff., Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 332), is in part deciphered by C. F. Graefe, who (*ap.* Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 4 n.*) would read the first words as ΑΡΤΕΜΙ ΦΑΟΣ ΙΕΡΟΝ, *i.e.* Ἄρτεμι, φάος ἱερόν, and the last as ἀπαρχή. The original, of which this is a blundered copy, appears to have been a hexameter invocation beginning with Ἄρτεμι, φῶς ἱερόν, and ending with some such phrase as Δαμναμενῆι δέχου θεοαλκέ' (?) ἀπαρχήν). Again, the breasts of the goddess were multiplied at some date prior to the period 159—133 B.C. (B. V. Head *On the chronological sequence of the coins of Ephesus* London 1880 p. 63 pl. 4, 11, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 63 no. 144, D. G. Hogarth *op. cit.* p. 323) to emphasise her nutrient motherhood (cp. *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 282). I cannot, however, agree with Mr D. G. Hogarth (*op. cit.* p. 323 ff.) that the whole type current in Roman times was descended from that of the πότνια θηρῶν, whose curled wings became successively heart-shaped, piriform, oval, circular, and whose lions, degraded into meaningless lines, were finally duplicated as attendant stags.

The cult-statue at Ephesos, attributed to Endoios (*c.* 550 B.C.), was said to be of ebony or, according to one witness, of vine-wood (Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 213 de simulacro ipso deae ambigitur. ceteri ex hebeno esse tradunt, Mucianus iii cos. ex iis, qui proxime viso eo scripsere, vitigineum et numquam mutatum septies restituto templo, hanc materiam elegisse Endoeon, etc.). But the original Amazonian image, erected φηγῷ ὑπ' εὐπρέμνῳ (*supra* p. 405 n. 3), was probably itself made of oak, which would blacken as the centuries passed till it became indistinguishable from ebony. On some statuettes of the type known to the Greeks as πολύμαστος and to the Romans as *multimammia* (Hieron. *in* Paul. *ad Ephes.* prolog. (xxvi. 441 Migne)) the necklace of acorns attains considerable importance (*e.g.* C. Menetreius *op. cit.*[2] p. 10 pl. on right = my fig. 315 'Apud March. Vinc. Iustinianum'). It is even possible that the pendent acorns first suggested the pendent breasts.

[1] Schol. Kallim. *h. Zeus* 77 Νηλεὺς ὁ Κόδρου ἀποικίαν θέμενος ἀπὸ Ἀθηνῶν ἔλαβε χρησμὸν ἐγεῖραι ξόανον τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἀπὸ παγκάρπων ξύλων. καὶ δή ποτε ἑορτῆς τελουμένης τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν τῇ Χιτώνῃ (ἔστι δὲ δῆμος Ἀττικῆς) ἀπελθὼν εὗρε δρῦν πάμπολυν καὶ διάφορον ἔχουσαν ἠρτημένον (ἠρτημένην cod. M. A. Meineke cj. ἀπηρτημένον) καρπόν. καὶ ἐκ τούτου (A. Meineke cj. ταύτης) ἐποίησεν ἄγαλμα τῇ θεᾷ, καὶ οὕτω μετώκησεν (μετώκισεν cod. E., followed by O. Schneider) ἐν Μιλήτῳ. ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου οὖν ἔσχε τὴν ὀνομασίαν ἡ Ἄρτεμις. ἢ ὅτι τικτομένων τῶν βρεφῶν ἀνετίθεσαν τὰ ἱμάτια τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. The existence of a deme Chitone is very questionable (Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 575 n. 27, A. Milchhöfer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2335). But Artemis bore the title Χιτώνη (Kallim. *h. Zeus* 77 f., Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Χιτώνη, cp. *s.v.* Ἑρμιών), or Χιτωνία (Parmenon of Byzantion and Epicharmos *frag.* 127 Kaibel *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Χιτώνη, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Κιθωνέα), probably at Athens (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 778 *A*, 16 κιτωνεῖα with U. Koehler's n. *ad loc.*), certainly at Miletos (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 225 f.) and Syracuse (Athen. 629 E): see further T. Schreiber in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 572 f., K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1381 f., 1401 f., O. Jessen *ib.* iii. 2335, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 444, 568, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 242 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 369 n. 2, 1272 n. 7, 1295 n. 1. The epithet Χιτώνη, Χιτωνία, popularly derived from χιτών, was in all likelihood a pre-Greek appellative. I incline to suspect that the word thus Grecised meant originally 'the Hittite' (cp. the forms *Khatti*, *Kheta*, *Heth*, etc.: H. R. Hall *The Ancient History of the Near East* London 1913 p. 327). Be that as it may, the scholiast on Kallimachos does not definitely state whether the oak hung with fruitage was growing

much weight to Ovid's description of the Colchian Diana as a golden three-faced goddess, whose marble temple had 'a grove black with pitch-pines and leaves of the evergreen oak[1].' But in Thrace Artemis was certainly conceived as a vegetation-deity. Tetradrachms of Abdera, struck *c.* 400—390 B.C., show her standing in profile with a stag at her side, a bow and arrow in her left hand, and a wreath (fig. 316)[2] or branch[3] in her right, or else facing



Fig. 316.



Fig. 317.



Fig. 318.

us on a pedestal with stag, bow, and branch (fig. 317)[4]. Bendis, a Thracian form of the goddess[5], seems to have been specially associated with the oak-tree. A. Wilhelm[6] in 1902 drew attention to a *stéle* in the Peiraieus Museum, on which are inscribed two resolutions touching her cult. The first directs that Olympos, son of Olympiodoros, for his official services to her sanctuary and *orgeônes* be

in Attike or in Ionia. Perhaps we may assume that it marked the site of the new settlement. If so, the foundation-legend of Miletos resembled that of Ephesos (*supra* p. 405).

[1] Ov. *her.* 12. 67 ff., on which see P. Wagler *Die Eiche in alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1891 ii. 15 n. 43.

[2] *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* ii. 1. 1. 83 pl. 3, 8 (=my fig. 316), *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 105 no. 63 pl. 4, 34.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 231 no. 52 β fig., J. N. Svoronos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 101 pl. 2, 23. Cp. the type of Diana *Nemorensis* (?) on Italian gems (*supra* i. 274 fig. 199).

[4] *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* ii. 1. 1. 83 no. 136 fig. (=my fig. 317) Berlin.

[5] *Supra* p. 115.

[6] A. Wilhelm in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1902 v. 133 (publication by J. Dragatsis promised).

In an inscription from Thessalonike a priestess of Πρινοφόρος, the 'Bearer of the Evergreen Oak,' who speaks of herself as θύσα and εὐεία, leaves certain vineyards to her θίασος, the πρινοφόροι: if the conditions of the bequest are not fulfilled, the property is to go to another θίασος, that of the δροιοφόροι or 'oak-bearers' (P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 321 ff. *B* ἱέρεια θύσα | εὐεία Πρινο|φόρου κατα|λίπω εἰς μνί|ας χάριν αἰω|νίας ἀνπέλων | πλέθρα δύω | σὺν τῆς τάφροις | ὅπως ἀποφ|[έρω]νται αἰμοί | – – – and *C* καὶ οἱ μύστε | μικρὸς μέ|γας ἕκαστος | στέφανον ῥό|δινον. ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐ|νένκας μὴ μετε|χέτω μου τῆς | δωρεᾶς. αἰὰν | δὲ μὴ ποιήσω|σιν, εἶνε αὐτὰ | τοῦ δροιοφό|ρων θειάσου ἐ|[πὶ τ]οῖς αὐτοῖς. Perdrizet adds: 'Pour le chêne-vert, c'est un arbre fort répandu dans la Macédoine orientale; le Pangée lui doit son nom actuel (*Pournar-dag*).' See further the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 82 n. 1, where I have cited the copper coins of Thessalonike with a wreath of oak-leaves enclosing the word ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ or ΘΕCCΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, Etc. pp. 108, 113).

honoured with a wreath of oak[1]. The second, proposed by Sosias, son of Hippokrates, on Skirophorion 8 in the archonship of Lykeas, ordains that Eukleides, son of Antimachos, for his services as secretary receive the oak-wreath. Wilhelm infers that this was the national wreath of the goddess. Was it accident or design that combined the obverse Artemis with the reverse oak-wreath on the shield-like tetradrachms issued in Makedonia from 158 to 149 B.C.[2]? A silver coin of the Acarnanian League, referable to the year 192—191 B.C., shows a torch-bearing Artemis in a wreath of oak (fig. 318)[3]. And literary allusions tell the same tale. An Orphic hymn to Artemis invokes her as 'haunting the oak-woods of the mountains' and again as 'goddess of oak-woods[4].' Aristophanes similarly describes her as 'the Maid that ranges the oak-clad hills[5].' And Statius not only makes Atalante dedicate a choice oak to her in Arkadia[6], but also speaks of her effigy as carved on 'pitch-pine and cedar and every oak-tree' of her grove near Thebes[7].

The goddess was perhaps even identified with her own tree. The Saronic Gulf, according to Pliny, was formerly fringed with forests of oak and drew its name from the fact[8]. On its shore, near

[1] δρυὸς στεφάνωι.

[2] *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* iii. 53 ff. nos. 156 ff., 189 ff. pl. 2, 2—4, 10—13, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, Etc. p. 7 fig., p. 8 fig., Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 96 pl. 54, 10, 11, 12, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 354 pl. 24, 12. For the history of these issues see H. Gaebler 'Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens iii' in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1899 xxii. 141 ff., G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 148 ff. pl. 12, 87 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 238 f. fig. 151 f.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly, etc. p. 169 pl. 27, 5, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 97 pl. 55, 20, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 333 f. Fig. 318 is drawn from an electrotype of the specimen in the British Museum.

[4] Orph. *h. Artem.* 36. 10 ἣ κατέχεις ὀρέων δρυμούς, 12 δρυμονίη.

[5] Aristoph. *Thesm.* 114 f. τάν τ' ἐν ὄρεσι δρυογόνοισι | κόραν ἀείσατ' Ἄρτεμιν ἀγροτέραν.

[6] Stat. *Theb.* 9. 585 ff. nota per Arcadias felici robore silvas | quercus erat, Triviae quam desacraverat ipsa | electam turba nemorum numenque colendo | fecerat : hic arcus et fessa reponere tela, | armaque curva suum et vacuorum terga leonum | figere et ingentes aequantia cornua silvas. | vix ramis locus, agrestes adeo omnia cingunt | exuviae, et viridem ferri nitor impedit umbram. etc. (608 virgo potens nemorum, 627 nemoralis Delia). In 591 C. von Barth cj. *vix radiis locus*. But Statius may have been thinking of the Italian Diana-trunks (*supra* p. 143 ff.).

[7] Stat. *Theb.* 4. 425 ff. nec caret umbra deo : nemori Latonia cultrix | additur; hanc picea cedroque (so O. Müller for *piceae cedrique* vulg.) et robore in omni | effictam sanctis occultat silva tenebris. Mr E. Harrison in the *Cambridge University Reporter* Feb. 21, 1911 p. 663 comments : 'As things stand, we read that in a forest sacred to Diana the image of the goddess was carved on every tree of three several kinds. If the poet is worth relieving of a folly, we had better read *in unam* or *in unum* for *in omni*, supposing a triple ξόανον of the triune goddess (cf. Pausanias ii. 30. 2). Yet see what this poet does at x. 100.'

[8] Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 18 sinus Saronicus, olim querno nemore redimitus, unde nomen, ita Graecia antiqua appellante quercum.

Troizen, stood a sanctuary of Artemis *Saronís*, whose cult-epithet can be taken to mean 'the Gnarled Oak[1].' If so, the implication is that some ancient trunk was viewed as her very embodiment[2]. Tradition said that the cult had been founded by a woodland king, Saron the hunter, who met his death by pursuing a doe[3] or a boar[4] into the sea and lay buried in the precinct of his goddess[5]. Saron, we may suppose[6], stood to Artemis *Saronís*[7] in much the same

[1] Schol. Kallim. *h. Zeus* 22 σαρωνίδας : δρῦς· παρὰ τὸ σεσηρότα καὶ συνεστραμμένον τὸν φλοιὸν ἔχειν, Hesych. *s.v.* σαρωνίδες· πέτραι. ἢ αἱ διὰ παλαιότητα κεχηνυῖαι δρύες (cp. *id. s.vv.* σορωνίς· ἐλάτη παλαιά and σωρωνίς· ἐλάτη. καὶ πόλις. M. Schmidt remarks : 'σορωνίς Dorismus est Melius pro *σαρωνίς*.' See now K. Brugmann—A. Thumb *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 p. 84), *et. gen.* in E. Miller *Mélanges de littérature grecque* Paris 1868 p. 264 σαρωνὶς καὶ ἡ δρῦς διὰ τὸ σεσηρέναι· ἢ σορονὶς (*leg.* σορωνὶς) διὰ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν σοροὺς γίνεσθαι, *et. Gud.* p. 496, 32 f. σαρωνίς, ἡ δρύς, διὰ τὸ σεσειρέναι (*leg.* σεσηρέναι)· ἢ σωρωνὶς (*leg.* σορωνὶς) διὰ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν σωροὺς (*leg.* σοροὺς) γίνεσθαι, *et. mag.* p. 709, 5 καὶ σαρωνίδες, αἱ κοῖλαι δρύες (=Favorin. *lex.* p. 1636, 34). The word occurs in an elegiac fragment published by B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1898 i. 37 f. no. 14, 10]ο σαρωνίδας οὔδας ἐνε[, Kallim. *h. Zeus* 22 f. ἦ πολλὰς ἐφύπερθε σαρωνίδας ὑγρὸς Ἰάων | ἤειρεν, Parthen. *narr. am.* 11. 4 (=*poes. frag.* 29, 4 ff.) καί ῥα κατὰ στυφελοῖο σαρωνίδος αὐτίκα μίτρην | ἀψαμένη δειρὴν ἐνεθήκατο (*sc.* ἡ Βυβλίς).

[2] Cp. Demeter Χλόη, Dionysos Βότρυς, Dionysos Κισσός. But the direct identification of deity with plant-form in a cult-title was rare. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 4 rashly assumes a Zeus Φηγός on the strength of Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη·...καὶ τὴν αἰτιατικὴν φησιν Εὐφορίων Δωδῶνα ἐν Ἀνίῳ· 'ἴκομεν ἐς Δωδῶνα Διὸς φηγοῖο προφῆτιν.'

[3] Paus. 2. 30. 7 ἔλαφον διώκοντα (the words ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων κατακλυζόμενον imply a derivation of Σάρων from σαρόω, cp. Lyk. *Al.* 389 with Tzetz. *ad loc.*=*et. mag.* p. 708, 56 ff.), schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 1200 διώκων ἔλαφον. We need not with S. Wide (*De sacris Troezeniorum, Hermionensium, Epidauriorum Commentatio academica* Upsaliae 1888 p. 26 f., cp. *id. Lakon. Kulte* p. 125 n. 3 and in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 p. 14 ff.) and M. P. Nilsson (*Gr. Feste* p. 226 f.) assume that the doe was Artemis herself in animal shape, still less with O. Keller (*Thiere des classischen Alterthums in culturgeschichtlicher Beziehung* Innsbruck 1887 p. 97, cp. *id. Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 277) take it to be a symbol of the starry midnight sky. After all, ordinary deer can swim well and take readily to the water (see *e.g.* R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1894 ii. 347, 354, *id. Wild Life of the World* London s.a. i. 28). There is a good parallel in Paus. 8. 22. 9.

[4] Euphorion *ap.* schol. Dionys. *per.* 420 (cp. *et. mag.* p. 708, 51 ff.) and Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 420 ἐπιδιώκων σῦν. This too is a possible occurrence (R. Lydekker *Wild Life of the World* London s.a. i. 34).

[5] Paus. 2. 30. 7.

[6] So at least I have argued in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 370, cp. O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 389.

[7] Artemis Σαρωνίς (Paus. 2. 30. 7) was also called Σαρωνία at Troizen (Paus. 2. 32. 10, cp. Achaios *Theseus frag.* 18 Nauck[2] *ap.* Hesych. *s.v.* Σαρωνία· Ἄρτεμις· Ἀχαιὸς Θησεῖ· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Τροιζῆνι Σαρωνικοῦ κόλπου=Phot. *lex.* *s.v.* Σαρωνία) and Epidauros (P. Kabbadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 51 f. no. 85=*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1083 a *stèle* of *s.* iii (?) B.C. Ἀριστεί|δας Ἀρισ|τοκρά|τευς | δὶς πυρο|φορήσας | τ(ῶ)ι Ἀσ|κλαπιῶι | Ἀρτέμι|τι Σαρω|νίαι | ἀνέθηκε, *Fouilles d'Épidaure* i. 57 no. 128=*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1198 a rectangular block inscribed in archaistic lettering of *s.* iv A.D. or later Ἀρτέ‖μιτος | Σαρωνίας with a numeral ξβ′ below and a circle, perhaps meant for a wreath, in the middle of the name Ἀρτέμιτος: on this symbol see further C. Blinkenberg in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 381, 383 and M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i. 187, *infra* Append. L *init.*). Her festival the Σαρώνια (Paus. 2. 32. 10) is discussed by Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 226 f.

relationship as Virbius to Diana *Nemorensis*[1]. Unfortunately, little or nothing is known about the early kings of Troizen[2]. It is, however, noteworthy that the later Troezenian hero Hippolytos to some extent repeated the career of Saron. He too was a hunter, was intimate with Artemis, had the *entrée* of her *ábaton*[3], and died a violent death on the margin of the sea. He is not indeed linked by

The existence of the alternative title Σαρωνία at first sight tells against my interpretation of Σαρωνίς; for Σαρωνίς and Σαρωνία may both be derivatives of Σάρων, a place-name (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σάρων· τόπος Τροιζῆνος) or river-name (Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 420 ἢ ἀπὸ Σάρωνος ποταμοῦ Τροιζῆνος, whence L. Holstein cj. ποταμός for τόπος in Steph. Byz. *loc. cit.*). But these names themselves in all probability connoted oaks, cp. Paus. 8. 23. 8 ἐπὶ δρυμὸν ἀφίξῃ Σόρωνα (C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1868—1872 ii. 263 n. 2 'Σόρων ist wahrscheinlich arkadische Form für Σάρων,' L. Grasberger *Studien zu den griechischen Ortsnamen* Würzburg 1888 p. 259), so that on this showing Σαρωνίς, Σαρωνία would be 'She of the Oak-land,' 'She of the Oak-river.'

There is yet another possibility. Starting from Hesych. *s.v.* σαρῶνες· τὰ τῶν θηρατῶν λινά W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 ii. 1349 render Σάρων 'Netzold, Netze'—a view adopted by Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 613, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 192 (but see *ib.* p. 1281 n. 4), Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 227, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 388 (but see *ib.* p. 389). Artemis Σαρωνίς, Σαρωνία would then be a kind of Δίκτυννα. But it is far from certain that Δίκτυννα was originally connected with δίκτυον (*supra* i. 541 n. 6); and the Hesychian gloss may rest on a confusion (cp. Hesych. *s.v.* σάρδονες· ἐν κυνηγετικῷ μέρη τινὰ δικτύων δηλοῦνται. The reference is to Xen. *cyneg.* 6. 9. Hence L. Dindorf restored σαρδόνες to Hesych. and σαρδόνων to Xen. In Poll. 5. 31 G. Jungermann notes the manuscript reading σαρδῶνες for σαρδόνες. A. Fick in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1894 p. 245 relates σαρδών to σέσηρα; but see Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 853).

[1] Saron, like Virbius (*supra* p. 393 f.), came to be deemed an aquatic divinity (Aristeid. *or.* 46. 208 (ii. 274 Dindorf) οὐδ' ἵνα τὸν πάντα χρόνον τὴν θάλατταν οἰκῶσιν, ὥσπερ τὸν Γλαῦκόν φασι τὸν Ἀνθηδόνιον, ἢ τὸν Σάρωνα τὸν ἐπώνυμον τοῦ πελάγους with schol. Aristeid. p. 639, 1 ff. Dindorf κατὰ κοινοῦ τὸ δαίμονά φησι γίνεσθαι ναυτικώτατον. κ.τ.λ., Apostol. 15. 34 Σάρωνος ναυτικώτερος· οὗτος ὁ Σάρων δαίμων ἦν ναυτικώτατος. κ.τ.λ.), being worshipped on the western side of the Bosporos in the bay called Bathykolpos, the modern *Boyukdere* (Dionys. Byz. *per Bosporum navigatio* frag. 71 versionis Gillianae (p. 26 Wescher) 'Fluvius in sinum exit, cui idem quod sinui nomen est. Hic exsistit *Saronis* herois Megarici ara, et jactus piscium,' etc.), and presumably also at Megara (F. Pfister *Die mythische Königsliste von Megara und ihr Verhältnis zum Kult und zur topographischen Bezeichnung* Heidelberg 1907 p. 41 = *id. Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* Giessen 1909 i. 41). On him see further the excellent article of O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 387—389.

[2] The *locus classicus* is Paus. 2. 30. 5—8, where we are told that the succession was (1) Ὧρος, (2) Ἄλθηπος, son of Poseidon by Λῆις daughter of Ὧρος, (3) Σάρων, (4) after an interval of forgotten names Ὑπέρης and Ἄνθας, sons of Poseidon by Alkyone daughter of Atlas, (5) Αἴτιος, son of Ἄνθας, in whose reign Troizen and Pittheus, the sons of Pelops, entered the country. F. Pfister *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* Giessen 1909 i. 50 ff. ('Die mythische Königsliste von Troizen') contends that the names Horos (*sic*), Leïs, Althepos, Anthas, Hyperes all refer to the fertility of the Troezenian land. Here it is *ad rem* to observe that Anthas is comparable with Anthos of Arkadia, whose descendants hung their clothes on an oak-tree before swimming across a pool to become were-wolves (*supra* i. 71 ff.), and that the Arcadian Anthos was perhaps, like Anthos the son of Autonoos and Hippodameia, destroyed by horses—a fate which would connect him with Hippolytos (*supra* i. 75).

[3] Eur. *Hipp.* 70 ff.

legend with a sacred oak. But it is possible that here, as elsewhere[1], the oak had given place to the olive. In Pausanias' time a certain



Fig. 319.



Fig. 320.



Fig. 321.

wild-olive, growing near the sanctuary and known as the Writhen Olive, was held to be the tree in which Hippolytos' reins had got

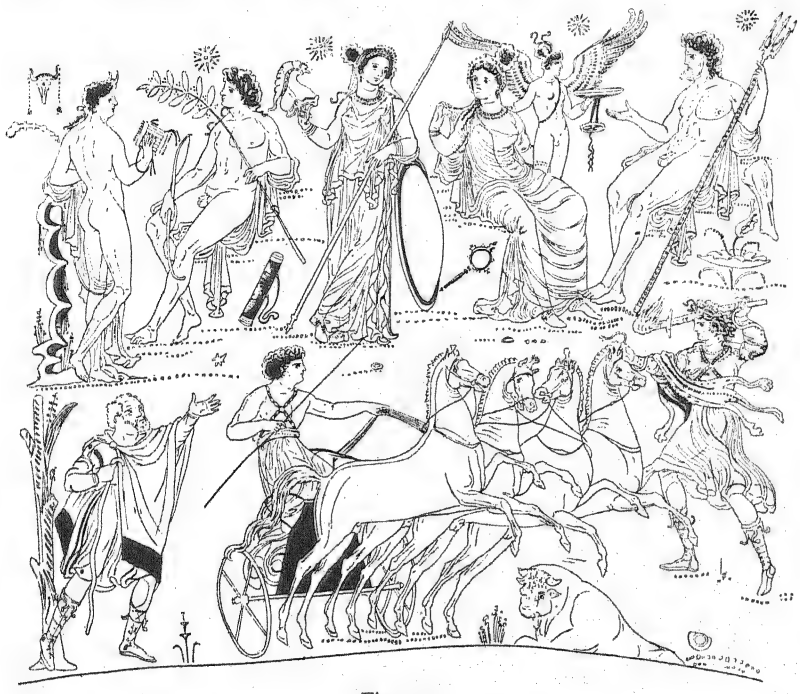


Fig. 322.

entangled[2]. Ovid and Seneca speak of it as a mere stump: the

[1] *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 273, *ib.* 1904 xviii. 82 n. 2, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 298.

[2] Paus. 2. 32. 10 ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ τὴν Ψιφαίαν (ψηφαίαν codd. Angelicus and Riccardianus, the latter with ι over η,—followed by Schubart and Walz. Siebelis cj. Φοιβαίαν) πορευομένοις κότινος πέφυκεν ὀνομαζόμενος ῥᾶχος στρεπτός. ῥάχους μὲν δὴ καλοῦσι Τροιζήνιοι πᾶν ὅσον ἄκαρπον ἐλαίας, κότινον καὶ φυλίαν καὶ ἔλαιον· στρεπτὸν δὲ ἐπονομάζουσι τοῦτον, ὅτι ἐνσχεθεισῶν αὐτῷ τῶν ἡνιῶν ἀνετράπη τοῦ Ἱππολύτου τὸ ἅρμα. τούτου δὲ οὐ πολὺ τῆς Σαρωνίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἀφέστηκε τὸ ἱερόν, κ.τ.λ. Of the ῥᾶχοι here mentioned the φυλία at least was ὅμοιον πρίνῳ (Hesych. *s.v.* φυλείης).

former describes how the hero's sinews were caught on it[1]; the latter makes him fairly impaled by it[2]. Coppers of Troizen, struck by Septimius Severus (fig. 319)[3] and Iulia Domna (fig. 320)[4], show the citadel crowned by a distyle temple and flanked by a couple of

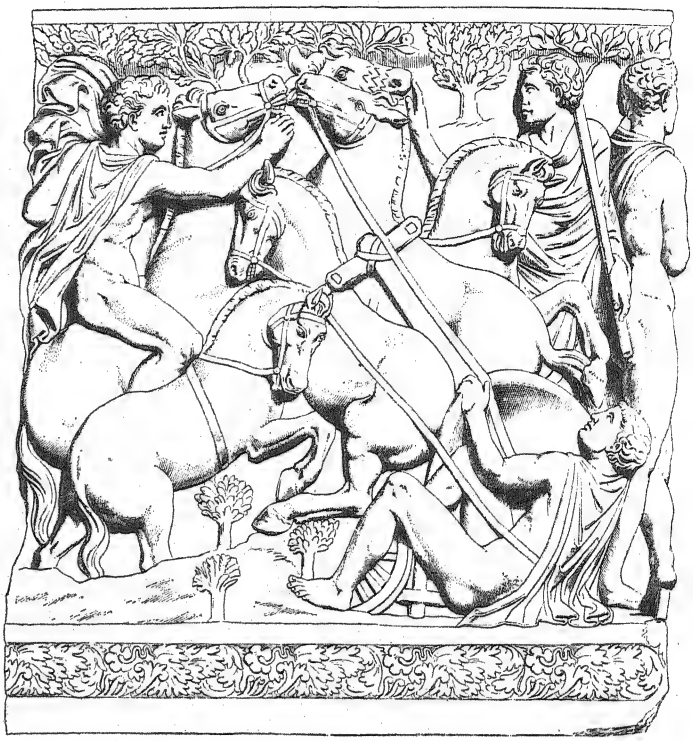


Fig. 323.

trees, apparently olive and cypress. Another copper of the same town, issued by Commodus (fig. 321)[5], represents Hippolytos, with hunting-spear and hound, leaning on a knotted tree-stump. An Apulian *kratér* from Ruvo, now in the British Museum (fig. 322)[6],

[1] Ov. *met.* 15. 521 ff. [2] Sen. *Phaedr.* 1107 f.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 167 pl. 31, 8 (=my fig. 319), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 47 pl. M, 4. The temple is that of Athena *Sthenìs* (Paus. 2. 30. 6, 2. 32. 5: see further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1532 f.).

[4] *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 156 pl. 39, 14 (=my fig. 320), Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. iv. 271 no. 208, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 47.

[5] C. R. Fox *Engravings of unedited or rare Greek Coins* London 1856 i. 25 no. 100 pl. 9 (=my fig. 321), W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 European Greece p. 165 Add. (electrotype), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 48 pl. M, 8.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 136 ff. no. F 279, T. Panofka in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1848 ii. 245 f., A. Kalkmann *ib.* 1883 xli. 43 ff. pl. 6=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 446, Overbeck *Gr.*

introduces the fatal trunk into the death-scene. The tree thus connected with Hippolytos by literature and art very possibly presupposes the sacred oak of Artemis. In any case Hippolytos and Artemis *Saronis* must have borne an obvious resemblance to Virbius and Diana *Nemorensis*; for Virgil and later writers told how Hippolytos, restored by Asklepios at Artemis' request, lived again as Virbius in Diana's grove at Nemi[1]. His tragic death and triumphant resurrection made him a favourite theme alike on Greek and on Roman *sarcophagi*[2] (fig. 323)[3].

(ψ) Diana's tree at Nemi.

It is clear, then, that Diana in Italy and Artemis in Greece were often conceived as oak-goddesses. But have we any special reason to think that Diana's tree at Nemi was an oak? Sir James Frazer, as is well known, has conjectured that such was the case and has immortalised his opinion in that amazing monument of helpful research, *The Golden Bough*[4]. Nevertheless, with regard to this particular point, his argument admittedly rests on probabilities, not proofs[5],

Kunstmyth. Apollon pp. 327 no. 57, 330 Atlas pl. 22, 3 (Apollon only), J. H. Huddilston *Greek Tragedy in the light of Vase Paintings* London 1898 pp. 108—112 fig. 15. My fig. 322 is after Kalkmann *loc. cit.*

[1] *Supra* p. 399 n. 5. See also S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1866.

[2] Robert *Sark.-Relfs* iii. 169—219 pls. 44—56 and figs. in text.

[3] In the death of Hippolytos as carved on one of the smaller sides of a fine Greek *sarcophagus* at the Petrograd Hermitage (H. Brunn in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1857 xxix. 36 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* vi pl. 2 = my fig. 323, Robert *op. cit.* iii. 182 ff. pl. 47—48 fig. 154 *a*) the sculptor has apparently adapted the type of Phaethon's overthrow (Robert *op. cit.* iii. 170). He adds a background etc. of oaks and olives.

[4] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 379, *alib.*

[5] Apart from the general association of the oak with the Aryan thunder-god (*Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 356 ff.), Sir James Frazer urges the following special considerations: (1) Diana at Nemi was called Vesta (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 2213 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1455 = Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 1767 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3243 Dianae | Nemoresi Vestae | sacrum, etc.) and presumably had a perpetual fire in her sanctuary. The Vestal fire at Rome was fed with oak-wood (*Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 185 f., 372, 378). Latin ritual is so uniform that we may assume a like custom at Nemi: hence 'it becomes probable that the hallowed grove there consisted of a natural oak-wood, and that therefore the tree which the King of the Wood had to guard at the peril of his life was itself an oak' (*Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 379). (2) Verg. *Aen.* 6. 203 ff., cp. *ib.* 136 ff., speaks of the golden bough as growing on an evergreen oak (*opaca | ilice*) near Lake Avernus (*Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 379, *ib.*[3]: Balder the Beautiful ii. 284 f., 315). Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 6. 136 quotes as a popular belief (*publica...opinio*) the view 'that the Golden Bough was the branch which a candidate for the priesthood of Diana had to pluck in the sacred grove of Nemi' (*Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful ii. 284 n. 3). (3) Verg. *Aen.* 6. 772 represents the old Alban dynasty of the Silvii as crowned with oak (*civili...quercu*) (*Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 178 ff., 379). 'It is not impossible that the King of the Wood...was the lawful successor ...of this ancient line' (*ib.* p. 379). (4) The double-headed bust at Nemi, which probably portrays the old King of the Wood and his younger rival, shows both of them plastered

and I was formerly disposed to question its validity[1]. I still hold that the evidence is incomplete; but I believe that I am in a position to strengthen it by sundry fresh facts of local significance.

Some years ago in looking through an old book on the Campagna I came across an etching of the Lake at Nemi, published in 1805 (fig. 324)[2]. The accompanying text by Miss Ellis Cornelia Knight[3],

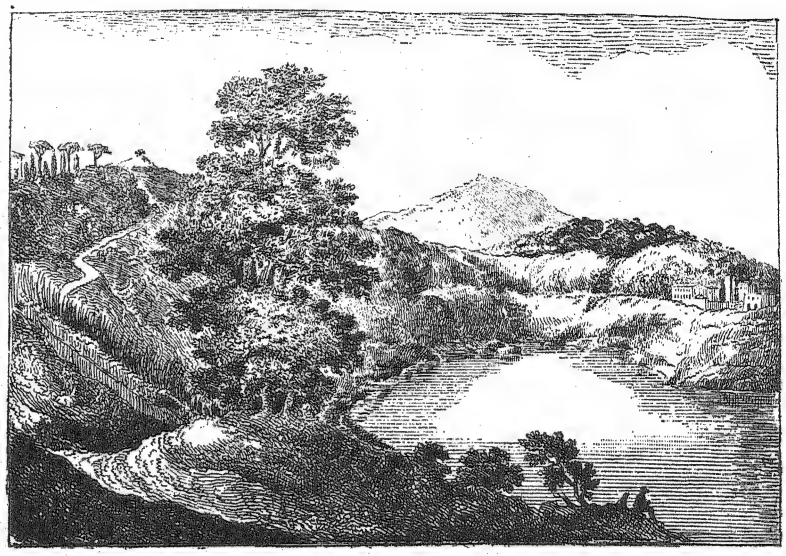


Fig. 324.

who lived in Italy from 1776 to 1799, describes the lake-side and incidentally remarks:

'There is a tree which tradition reports to be near two thousand years old, but some of the inhabitants content themselves with saying, that it was planted by Augustus; its spreading branches hang over the lake, and produce a noble effect.'

It occurred to me at once that the tree in question might be the successor of the tree guarded by the *rex Nemorensis*, the obscure

with oak-leaves (*Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 41 f.). (5) Egeria, perhaps a local form of Diana (*Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 171 ff., 267, 380), was described as an oak-nymph (*ib.* ii. 172, 267, 380). Val. Max. i. 2. 1 speaks of her as *dea Aegeria*, which may mean 'the Oak Goddess' (*ib.* i. 22 n. 5, ii. 172 n. 3).

[1] *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 371, 374, 378 n. 4 (but see *ib.* 1904 xviii. 369 f.), *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 445 f.

[2] *Description of Latium; or, La Campagna di Roma* London 1805 p. 85 f. pl. 6 (=my fig. 324).

[3] My friend Prof. R. C. Bosanquet informed me that the anonymous author of the *Description of Latium* was Miss E. C. Knight, on whom see Dr R. Garnett's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* ed. by S. Lee London 1892 xxxi. 249 f.

woodland king having been replaced in popular memory by the famous emperor[1]. Anxious therefore to ascertain the species of the tree, I asked my former pupil Miss E. M. Douglas (Mrs Van Buren) to go over from Rome to Nemi and question the peasants on the spot. Miss Douglas kindly consented to do so, and on Sept. 13, 1912 reported that they knew nothing about it, having—she said—'just enough modern ideas to hold everything old in detestation.' But a week later a postcard from her drew my attention to the following passage in G. Tomassetti's great work on the Campagna:

'Among the scattered memories of this country I must record that of the gigantic oak-tree, which grew on the banks of the Lake and was said to have been planted by no less a person than Augustus (Kircher *V. Lat.* p. 50); it was capable of containing twenty-five people in the hollow of its trunk, and it is said that the women of Genzano caused it to wither because they used to boil the water for the washing in it (Ratti p. 87, who saw it cut down)[2].'

A. Kircher, whose *Latium* appeared at Amsterdam in 1671, duly mentions that the big tree below Genzano could house a family of twenty-five in its hollow trunk and was believed to have been planted by Caesar Augustus[3]. N. Ratti's *Storia di Genzano* I failed to find at Cambridge, and there is no copy in the British Museum. So I induced my old colleague Prof. P. J. Harding, when next he visited Rome, to take up the quest. Four months afterwards he ran down the book in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele and on Jan. 16, 1913 sent me an extract, showing that Ratti, whose *Storia* is dated 1797, had seen the tree lying on the ground and was prepared to support Kircher's estimate of its size[4]. It would seem,

[1] It is perhaps noteworthy that one of the chief festivals of modern Nemi is the *Esposizione della Croce* on Sept. 24, a day which was celebrated in antiquity as Augustus' birthday (Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] pp. 446, 587).

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and I was formerly disposed to question its validity[1]. I still hold that the evidence is incomplete; but I believe that I am in a position to strengthen it by sundry fresh facts of local significance.

Some years ago in looking through an old book on the Campagna I came across an etching of the Lake at Nemi, published in 1805 (fig. 324)[2]. The accompanying text by Miss Ellis Cornelia Knight[3],



Fig. 324.

who lived in Italy from 1776 to 1799, describes the lake-side and incidentally remarks:

'There is a tree which tradition reports to be near two thousand years old, but some of the inhabitants content themselves with saying, that it was planted by Augustus; its spreading branches hang over the lake, and produce a noble effect.'

It occurred to me at once that the tree in question might be the successor of the tree guarded by the *rex Nemorensis*, the obscure

with oak-leaves (*Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 41 f.). (5) Egeria, perhaps a local form of Diana (*Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 171 ff., 267, 380), was described as an oak-nymph (*ib.* ii. 172, 267, 380). Val. Max. 1. 2. 1 speaks of her as *dea Aegeria*, which may mean 'the Oak Goddess' (*ib.* i. 22 n. 5, ii. 172 n. 3).

[1] *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 371, 374, 378 n. 4 (but see *ib.* 1904 xviii. 369 f.), *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 445 f.

[2] *Description of Latium; or, La Campagna di Roma* London 1805 p. 85 f. pl. 6 (=my fig. 324).

[3] My friend Prof. R. C. Bosanquet informed me that the anonymous author of the *Description of Latium* was Miss E. C. Knight, on whom see Dr R. Garnett's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* ed. by S. Lee London 1892 xxxi. 249 f.

woodland king having been replaced in popular memory by the famous emperor[1]. Anxious therefore to ascertain the species of the tree, I asked my former pupil Miss E. M. Douglas (Mrs Van Buren) to go over from Rome to Nemi and question the peasants on the spot. Miss Douglas kindly consented to do so, and on Sept. 13, 1912 reported that they knew nothing about it, having—she said—'just enough modern ideas to hold everything old in detestation.' But a week later a postcard from her drew my attention to the following passage in G. Tomassetti's great work on the Campagna:

'Among the scattered memories of this country I must record that of the gigantic oak-tree, which grew on the banks of the Lake and was said to have been planted by no less a person than Augustus (Kircher *V. Lat.* p. 50); it was capable of containing twenty-five people in the hollow of its trunk, and it is said that the women of Genzano caused it to wither because they used to boil the water for the washing in it (Ratti p. 87, who saw it cut down)[2].'

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then, that the great trunk was felled some time between 1776, when Miss Knight went to Italy, and 1797, when Ratti brought out his account of Genzano. Its identification as an oak rests on the statement of Tomassetti. If that is reliable, then Sir James Frazer's surmise concerning Diana's tree receives at least a supplementary prop[1].

We need not, therefore, scruple to admit that Virbius was represented as a Janiform herm covered with oak-leaves just because he was the consort of Diana[2]. How long he persisted in folk-memory and how widely he was recognised, our meagre records do not permit us to determine. As to the former question, C. G. Leland in 1892 published a curious tale current among the Romagnoli of northern Italy, in which we can readily detect a moralising reminiscence of Diana, Virbius, and his successful rival[3]. As to the latter question,

stanza, a poco a poco non ne avesse seccato le radici, e l' albero stesso, per il che anni indietro bisognò venirne al taglio. Noi lo abbiamo veduto dopo reciso, e possiamo assicurare, che l' assertiva del Kircher riguardo alla straordinaria di lui grandezza non è punto esaggerata. Un albero di questa natura non poteva essere, che di un età vecchissima, e quando non voglia credersi coevo di Cesare Augusto almeno non gli si potran negare molti secoli di vita.'

[1] If it be objected that Genzano is on the opposite side of the Lake to Nemi, we must bear in mind the constant tendency of the early population to move down from the mountain towards the sea (G. Tomassetti *La Campagna Romana* Roma 1910 ii. 263 f.). As Diana's temple at Nemi was duplicated by Diana's temple at Aricia (*id. ib.*), so *ex hypothesi* the oak at Nemi was duplicated by the oak at Genzano.

Two other possibilities are worth weighing. (1) Quite conceivably the sacred tree of Diana *Nemorensis* was an apple-tree. I have erenow been half-inclined to maintain that view: see *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 445 f., *supra* i. 274 f. And further reasons for adopting it could be adduced. In 1744 the site of the precinct at Nemi was occupied by the *pomario* of P. Frangipani (Tomassetti *op. cit.* ii. 264). Miss Douglas writes to me (Sept. 13, 1912): 'There are a good number of apple trees on the slopes of the lake, some of them fairly large.' Also it is a well-known fact that mistletoe very commonly grows on an apple-tree. (2) Again, something might be said for the conjecture that Diana's tree was a beech. She was certainly a beech-goddess in the near neighbourhood (*supra* p. 402 f. and especially p. 403 n. 1). And the whole district is called *La Faiola* (=La Faggiuola) from its beeches (L. Morpurgo in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1903 xiii. 297 n. 1).

[2] *Supra* p. 400.

[3] C. G. Leland *Etruscan Roman Remains in Popular Tradition* London 1892 p. 124 f. "*Verbio* was a beautiful youth, as good as he was beautiful, and he loved with all his heart a maid who seemed to return his love. "But she soon was tempted, | Tempted by another | Youth of greater beauty, | Which was like enchantment; | Yet he was a stranger, | And he had no story, | For this handsome stranger, | Verbio was slighted. "Then Verbio fell ill in despair, and seemed to be dying, and the girl learning this repented, and in grief said to her new lover: 'I have done wrong, and I now see that Verbio loved me truly as thou dost not and no one can.' Then her lover gazed at her and she saw he was not a man but a devil. And he said :—"'See what thou hast done, | See how thou art wicked, | Leaving one who loved thee | With all soul sincerely! | Yet for me you left him, | Yes, for me, a devil; | Now you both are lost, | For thou'st truly promised | To be mine for ever, | As thou holdest Verbio. | But if you will sign | With your blood a contract | To be mine, I'll grant ye | Many, many years | Of happiness together.' "Now Verbio did

a priest of Virbius is mentioned in an inscription at Naples[1], and there was a Clivus Virbius in the immediate vicinity of an ancient Dianium at Rome[2]. Servius' statement that Diana was transferred from Aricia to Sparta[3] leads me to suggest that at a comparatively late date Virbius, the associate of Diana *Nemorensis*, was attached to Artemis *Orthía* also. Vibius Sequester actually gives Virbius as the name of a Laconian river[4]. And Pausanias says that the image of Artemis *Orthía* was found by Astrabakos and Alopekos the sons of Irbos. He adds that Irbos was the son of Amphisthenes, son of Amphikles, son of Agis[5]. I suspect that *Írbos* is a late Grecised form of *Virbius*; and in his forbears *Amphi*sthenes and *Amphi*kles I find a hint of his Janiform nature[6]. The connexion of Virbius with Artemis *Orthía* would be doubly appropriate if, as is certainly possible, the Greek *Orthía* was the older phonetic equivalent of the Latin *Virbius*[7], both names being akin to the word *arbor*[8]. On this

not believe in the power of devils, and was only too glad to get his love again, and so signed the contract, as she did also. And they lived happily indeed for many years; but years must end, and so it came to pass that when the time of the contract expired both died at once. And all at once there was an awful storm over all the land, the heavens grew dark by day, and horrible fires flashed out of the darkness, and amid the storm was heard a voice which sang:—"'Women, learn to love | One true love, and truly; | When you're truly loved | Be warned by my example! | Now I pay the fee | For my fatal falsehood.' "And since that time the two have gone about as spirits knowing no rest."

Leland has been accused of inaccuracy—a charge which he hotly rebuts (*op. cit.* p. 13 ff.). He was no doubt an erratic genius, and there is a good deal of chaff mixed with his grain. But he certainly meant his tales from La Romagna Toscana as a serious contribution to folk-lore: see his letters to Mrs Pennell written from Florence in 1890—1891 and printed by E. R. Pennell *Charles Godfrey Leland* London 1906 ii. 339 ff.

[1] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 1493, 6 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 6457, 6 flamini Virbiali. See further Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 20 n. 3.

[2] *Supra* p. 400 f. See further *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 380 n. 3.

[3] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 2. 116 Colchos petierat (*sc.* Orestes), et cum his occiso Thoante, simulacrum sustulit absconditum fasce lignorum: unde et Facelitis dicitur...et Ariciam detulit. sed cum postea Romanis sacrorum crudelitas displiceret, quamquam servi immolarentur, ad Laconas est Diana translata, ubi sacrificii consuetudo adulescentum verberibus servatur, qui vocabantur Bomonicae, quia aris superpositi contendebant, qui plura posset verbera sustinere. *Infra* § 3 (c) i (*σ*).

[4] *Supra* p. 394 n. 2.

[5] Paus. 3. 16. 9 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀστράβακος καὶ Ἀλώπεκος οἱ Ἴρβου τοῦ Ἀμφισθένους τοῦ Ἀμφικλέους τοῦ Ἀγιδος τὸ ἄγαλμα εὑρόντες αὐτίκα παρεφρόνησαν. Cp. 3. 16. 11 καλοῦσι δὲ οὐκ Ὀρθίαν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λυγοδέσμαν τὴν αὐτήν, ὅτι ἐν θάμνῳ λύγων εὑρέθη, περιειληθεῖσα δὲ ἡ λύγος ἐποίησε τὸ ἄγαλμα ὀρθόν.

[6] *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 290 n. 9. Note also the title *Ambi*sagrus (*supra* p. 328).

[7] My expert friend Dr P. Giles tells me (May 1918) that **Vurbia*, the strict equivalent of *Fορθία* (for *ɣordhiiā*), involves a sound *Vu* which the Latins disliked and would therefore alter by dissimilation (cp. **vucus* > *vicus*). He thinks that the first *i* of *Virbius* may perhaps be due to the influence of the second *i* (cp. *filius*).

[8] According to Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] pp. 55 f., 58 and Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 711 f., *arbor*, *arduus*, and *ὀρθός* are all of kindred origin.

showing *Orthía* might be rendered 'Goddess of Growth[1]' and *Virbius*, 'He who is concerned with Growth' or the like[2].

vi. Zeus and the Twins.

Thus far we have traced the fortunes of the divine Sky, which was represented, not only as a celestial archway, but also—since it was bright by day and dark by night—as a double-faced god[3] with a tendency to differentiation of the two faces[4]. It remains to notice yet another development of the same primitive conception. To put it briefly, the twofold Sky split into twins. The phrase sounds extravagant. Fissiparism savours more of biology than of mythology[5]. Nevertheless we can mark the process by which the very vault of heaven first produced a pair of pendant divinities and afterwards underwent complete dichotomy.

(*a*) The supports of the Sky personified.

The initial step is taken when the supports of the Sky become personified[6] as its supporters, the result being a couple of contrasted sky-powers. The pillars of Herakles at one end of the Mediterranean[7], formerly called the pillars of Briareos[8] and earlier still the pillars of Kronos[9], together with the analogous pillars of Proteus at the other end[10], those of Herakles in Pontos[11] or far beyond Babylon[12],

[1] The alternative form Ὀρθωσία (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 161 n. 12, 1284 n. 3, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1210 ff., 1214 f.) is definitely transitive in meaning and would denote 'She who makes to grow.' Cp. Zeus Ὀρθώσιος (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 50 Ὀρθωσίῳ Διΐ = Iovi *Statori*, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 no. 73 (Διὸς) ὀρθωσίου, *ib.* i. 266 no. 65 (Διὸς) ὀρθωσίου) with Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* i. 58, 15 ὀρθώσω Ὀρθώσιος, Arkad. *de accent.* p. 41, 12 f. Barker ὀρθώσομαι, ὀρθώσιος.

[2] See, however, another possible explanation given *supra* p. 395 n. 2 *fin.*

[3] *Supra* p. 378.

[4] *Supra* p. 387 ff.

[5] Something of a parallel is provided by the Orphic theogonies, in which the primal egg splits into Ouranos and Ge (*infra* Append. G).

[6] Cp. *supra* p. 57 n. 1.

[7] Greek references are collected by Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 752 A—C, W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 i. 469; Latin references, by De Vit *Onomasticon* i. 21, ii. 76, 386, iii. 349, *Thes. Ling. Lat.* iii. 1741, 22 ff. Tac. *Germ.* 34 locates the pillars on the German coast.

[8] Aristot. *frag. dub.* 628 Rose *ap.* Ail. *var. hist.* 5. 3, Hesych. *s.v.* Βριάρεω στῆλαι. Cp. the hexameter line quoted by schol. Pind. *Nem.* 3. 40 with E. Abel's note *ad loc.*

[9] Euphorion and Charax *frag.* 16 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 640 Müller) *ap.* schol. Dionys. *per.* 64 and Eustath. *ad loc.*

[10] Verg. *Aen.* 11. 262 f. with Serv. *ad loc.*

[11] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 11. 262.

[12] Iul. Valer. 3. 49 p. 157, 14 ff. Kuebler (two inscribed *stelae* of solid gold and silver respectively, fifteen cubits high, two cubits thick, at a distance of ninety-five days' journey from Babylon), cp. the *itinerarium Alexandri* 54 (ed. D. Volkmann, Naumburg 1871, p. 29, 3 ff.) (two inscribed *stelae* of solid gold and silver respectively, twelve cubits high, two cubits thick, at a distance of ninety days' journey from Babylon).

those of Herakles and Dionysos in India[1], imply the belief that the sky rests upon solid and tangible supports[2]. But these as yet are mere columns or columnar heights[3]. The two pillars before the altar of Zeus on Mount Lykaion were likewise in all probability conceived as sky-props. And here a certain advance may be discerned: the pillars are divinised, so to say, by the sky-god, who rests upon each in the form of a gilded eagle[4].

The Phoenicians in their sacred architecture went a step further towards personification. The two inscribed columns of bronze, eight cubits high, in the Herakleion at Gadeira, which some took to be the original pillars of Herakles[5], were at least masses of shining metal. They were excelled in brilliance by the two pillars, which Herodotos saw in the sanctuary of Herakles at Tyre: of these, one was made of pure gold[6], the other of 'emerald-stone large enough

[1] The pillars of Herakles and Dionysos on Indian soil (Strab. 171) are sometimes called boundary-stones (Curt. 3. 10. 5, 9. 4. 21), sometimes altars (Plin. *nat. hist.* 6. 49, Solin. 49. 4, Mart. Cap. 692). The pillars of Dionysos (Apollod. 3. 5. 2, Avien. *descr. orb. terr.* 824 ff., 1384. The *epitome rerum gestarum Alexandri Magni* 12 (ed. O. Wagner Leipzig 1900) mentions one pillar only) are also termed *metae* (Claud. *de tert. cons. Honor. Aug. paneg.* 208).

[2] Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 562 n. 1, 565, 624 n. 1, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 383, R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 325, 369, 392 n. 5, ii. 619, 624, 627, 631. *Supra* p. 141.

[3] Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 64 φασὶ δὲ αὐτὰς ἢ ἀνδριάντας εἶναι Ἡρακλέος, κ.τ.λ. is an isolated vagary, which cannot be held to justify the assertion of F. Dürrbach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 93 that the pillars of Herakles 'ne sont pas autre chose sans doute que les simulacres de la divinité chez les Phéniciens.' Priscian. *per.* 617 ff., 1057 f. (*Poet. Lat. min.* v. 296 and 311 Baehrens) in like manner describes the pillars of Dionysos as *statuae*: see De Vit *Onomasticon* i. 655.

I add what seems to be a northern parallel. At Cape Sölfar in the southern part of Porsanger Fjord the Lapps of the eighteenth century had their most famous cult-centre. Here at a distance of half a mile from the sea rose two lofty rocks, one of them coated with moss. Near the rocks lay the spits (*Bassem-Morak*) used at festivals of the god, to whom his worshippers offered only the bare bones of the animals sacrificed, expecting him to reclothe the same with flesh [cp. Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 257]. Stakes of dry firwood were set up crosswise against the rocks, each marked with the signs |||XXX|||+++|||XXX. [Longish stakes called *Liet-Morak*, smeared with the blood of the victim, were commonly set up on the place of sacrifice.] Towards the south stood a tall square beam bearing the same marks: the lower part of it was driven into the ground, the upper part was pierced by an iron nail like a trenail. Knud Leem supposes that the deity here worshipped was Thor, though he admits that no idol named Thor was then known among the Lapps of Finmark (Canutus Leemius *De Lapponibus Finmarchiæ, eorumque lingua, vita et religione pristina commentatio* Riφbenhavn 1767 p. 437 f. with p. 428 f. pl. 86 = my fig. 329, Knud Leem *Nachrichten von den Lappen in Finmarken, ihrer Sprache, Sitten, Gebräuche, und ehemaligen heidnischen Religion* Leipzig 1771 p. 221 with p. 216). *Supra* p. 57 n. 1.

[4] *Supra* i. 66, 83 f.

[5] Poseidonios of Apameia *frag.* 96 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 294 Müller) *ap.* Strab. 170.

[6] Eupolemos, a Jewish historian writing *c.* 150 B.C. (Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa

to shine by night[1].' Brighter still were the two slender shafts, which on some coins of Kypros (figs. 325, 326)[2], Sardeis (fig. 327)[3], and

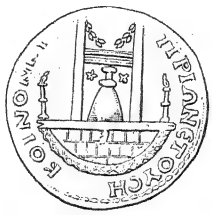


Fig. 325.



Fig. 326.



Fig. 327.



Fig. 328.

Pergamon (fig. 328)[4] representing the temple of Aphrodite *Paphía* flank and possibly duplicate the main standards of its *façade*[5]; for here and elsewhere (fig. 330)[6] they are treated as *candelabra*, on

Real-Enc. vi. 1227 ff.), as quoted by Alex. Polyhist. *frag.* 18 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 228 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 9. 34. 18 makes this pillar sent by Solomon to Souron king of Tyre etc.: *τῷ δὲ Σούρωνι εἰς Τύρον πέμψαι τὸν χρυσοῦν κίονα τὸν ἐν Τύρῳ ἀνακείμενον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διός.* See F. X. Kortleitner *De polytheismo universo* Oeniponte 1908 p. 229.

[1] Hdt. 2. 44. Cp. *supra* i. 356 and 583 n. 2.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus p. 77 pl. 15, 4 Vespasian, p. 82 f. pl. 16, 6—9 Trajan. Figs. 325 and 326 are from specimens in my collection, struck by Vespasian (ΚΟΙΝΟΝΚΥ ΠΡΙΩΝΕΤΟΥΣΗ = 76/77 A.D.) and Trajan (ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕ ΞΥΠΑΤΟΣ and ΚΟΙΝΟΝΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ).

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus p. cxxxi f. pl. 26, 8 (=my fig. 327), 9—12, *ib.* Lydia p. 256 pl. 26, 8 = Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 29 no. 199 pl. 5 Hadrian ΠΑΦΙΗ CΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus p. cxxix f. pl. 26, 7 (Paris) = my fig. 328 referable to the time of Trajan or Hadrian ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝΕΠΙCΤΡΙΠΩΛΛΙΩΝΟC and ΠΑΦΙΑ.

[5] *Supra* i. 767 n. 1.

[6] Fig. 330 represents a small gold ring in my possession. The incised design (scale $\frac{2}{1}$) shows the sanctuary of the Paphian Aphrodite with its sacred cone, towered *pylón*, flanking *candelabra*, and paved semicircular court. For similar gold rings see L. P. di Cesnola *Cyprus: its ancient cities, tombs, and temples* London 1877 p. 390 no. 10 (wrongly described) pl. 41, 20 (figured upside down), p. 391 no. 18, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings* p. 25 nos. 134, 135, 136 ('on either side of the central chamber is a column surmounted by a blazing torch'), p. 29 no. 175, p. 44 no. 253 fig. 51 pl. 6 (relief with enamel filling), p. 240 f. nos. 1640 and 1641 pl. 35 (reliefs of *appliqué* work). Cp. the engraved gems in A. P. di Cesnola *Salaminia* London 1882 p. 40 f. fig. 39, Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 134 no. 2977 pl. 25, *id. Antiken Gemmen* i pl. 64, 81, ii. 296, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings* p. 76 no. 432, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus p. cxxviii f.

the top of which flares are burning[1]. Again, the two pillars of

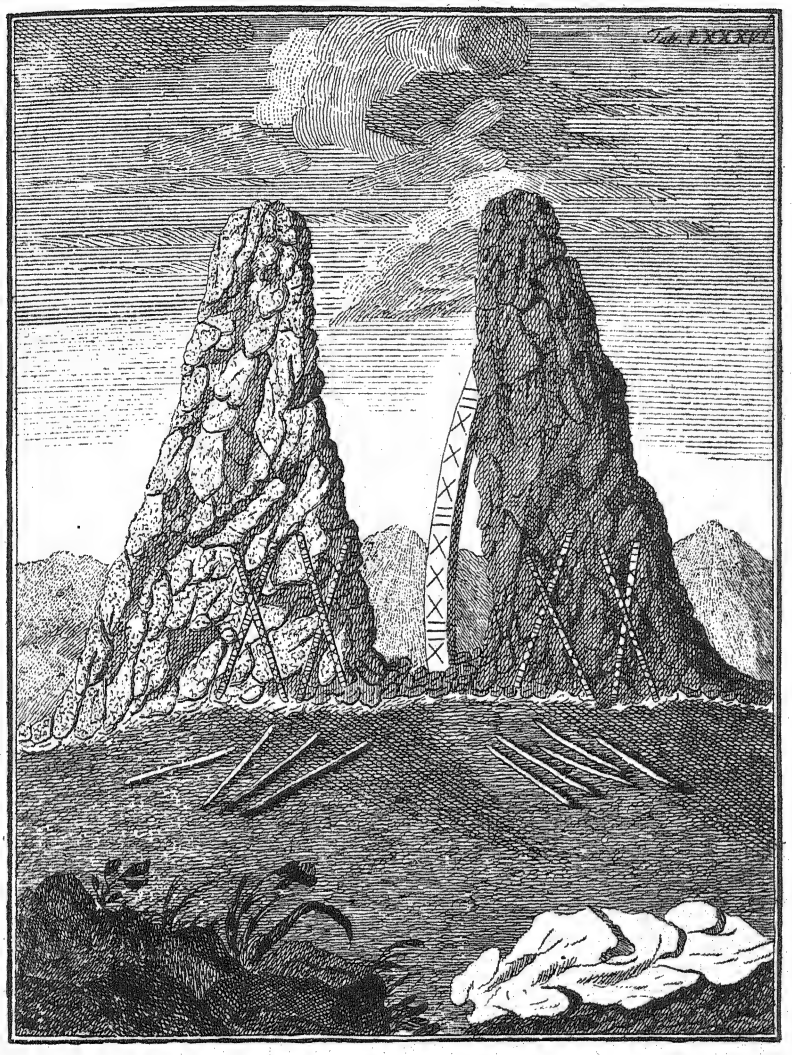


Fig. 329.

burnished bronze made by the Phoenician Hiram for the forefront

no. 1 Paris ('Between these columns and the central portion are burning torches') pl. 26, 13, no. 2 Paris pl. 26, 15, no. 3 Berlin pl. 26, 14, no. 4 British Museum pl. 26, 16 and the bronze mirror in A. P. di Cesnola *Salaminia* pp. 40, 59 fig. 66.

[1] The best general account of the Paphian structure as figured on coins and gems is that given by Mr G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus pp. cxxvii—cxxxiv. But the subject is deserving of a well-illustrated monograph.

of Solomon's temple[1] were, according to W. Robertson Smith, in the nature of huge candlesticks or cressets, perhaps in actual use as fire-altars[2]. The names given to them—*Jachin*, 'He will establish,' 'the Stablisher,' and *Boaz*, 'in Him is Strength' (?)[3]—imply that they were in some sense personified supports[4], though still aniconic in shape[5]. And their original character as sky-pillars has been detected by R. Eisler[6]. When broken by the Chaldeans and carried off

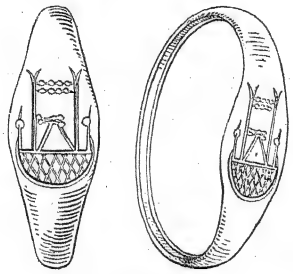


Fig. 330.

[1] 1 Kings 7. 13—22, 40—42, 2 Kings 25. 16 f., 2 Chron. 3. 15—17, 4. 11—13.

[2] W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[2] London 1907 p. 487 ff. J. B. de Rossi 'Verre représentant le temple de Jérusalem' in the *Archives de l'orient latin* Paris 1884 ii. 444 remarks *à propos* of these columns: 'Il y en avait aussi à Rome, dans la basilique constantinienne du Latran; elles étaient au nombre de quatre, en bronze doré, dans l'abside, et supportaient des lampes[17]. [[17] Le livre pontifical, vie de Sylvestre, ne parle pas de ces colonnes; mais il en est question dans la *Descriptio sanctuarii ecclesiæ romanæ* contenue dans le ms. Vat. Reg. 712 et dans un ms. de Valenciennes du XII[e] siècle (V. *Musaici di Roma*, texte relatif à la mosaïque de la chapelle des S[tes] Rufine et Seconde). Leur antiquité n'est pas douteuse et leur position isolée ne me paraît pas pouvoir être attribuée aux restaurations de la basilique pendant le Moyen Age.] Je ne dis pas que sur celles de Jérusalem il y eut des lampes au dessus des chapiteaux terminés en forme de lys; bien que, dans l'art chrétien et dans la liturgie chrétienne, le terme de *lilia* ait designé des chapiteaux et des candélabres.'

[3] 1 Kings 7. 21, 2 Chron. 3. 17.

[4] *Alii aliter.* (1) E. L. Curtis—A. A. Madsen *A critical and exegetical commentary on the Books of Chronicles* Edinburgh 1910 p. 329: 'These pillars were in Solomon's Temple because they were a usual feature of Semitic temples, symbols of the deity, a survival in this form of the ancient stone pillars the *Mazzeboth*.' (2) G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* trans. M. L. McClure London 1896 p. 746 n. 1: 'we may...see in them merely an equivalent of the Egyptian Stele-Pillars—as, for instance, those of the temple of Karnak.' (3) R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 629 n. 2: 'Die phallische Bedeutung der beiden Säulen, die der Ps.-Lucian den Exemplaren in Bambyke ausdrücklich beilegt [*supra* i. 591 n. 3], ist auch für den salomonischen Tempel durch die kabbalistische Tradition (KARPPE, Le Zohar p. 433) bezeugt. Dort wird überdies erzählt, dass diejenigen Frauen, die sich Nachkommenschaft wünschten, vegetabilische Opfergaben am Fusse der beiden Säulen niederzulegen pflegten.' (4) W. Robertson Smith *op. cit.* p. 208 n. 1: 'doubtless symbols of Jehovah.' (3)+(4) T. W. David in *A Dictionary of the Bible* ed. by J. Hastings Edinburgh 1898 i. 308 f.: 'the pillars stood for deity, and they formed a part of that Phallic worship of which we are finding more and more traces in the ancient world...even to the Israelites these pillars were symbols of J", so that...the true God was set forth by these Phallic emblems... Possibly the two pillars stood for male and female, the active and passive principle in nature.'

[5] Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 120, iv. 288 ff., 314 ff. fig. 164 (restoration by C. J. M. de Vogüé), figs. 165 and 166 with pls. 6 and 7 (restorations by C. Chipiez). See also O. C. Whitehouse in *A Dictionary of the Bible* ed. by J. Hastings Edinburgh 1900 iii. 881, F. Vigouroux in his *Dictionnaire de la Bible* Paris 1899 ii. 856 ff.

[6] R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 48, ii. 624. *Id. ib.* ii. 603 n. 8 cites from the *Midraš tadše* ii (S. Funck *Monumenta Judaica*, altera pars,

to Babylon[1], they by no means passed into oblivion. A gilded glass, found beneath the ruins of a burial chamber in the cemetery *ad duas lauros*, on the *via Labicana* three miles out from Rome, shows the temple of Jerusalem as it yet lived in the memory of

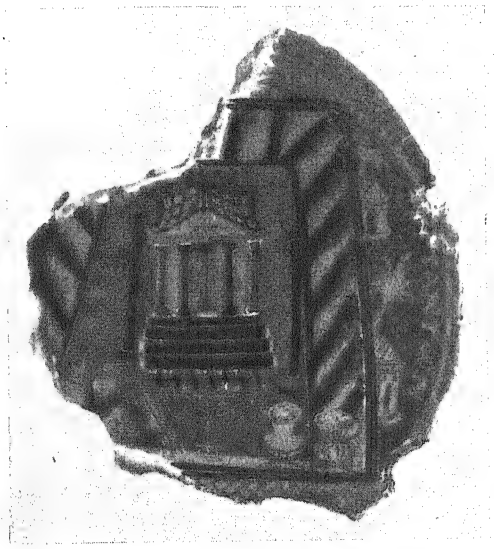


Fig. 331.

a pious Jew *c.* 250—350 A.D. (fig. 331)[2]. *Jachin* and *Boaz* appear as two free-standing columns much taller than those of the *façade* and of a dark metallic hue. Even in the twelfth century Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela in Navarre records[3] among the sights of Rome

Monumenta Talmudica, Erste Serie Wien 1907 ii. 239 no. 798): 'die zwei Säulen Jachin und Boz entsprechen der Sonne und dem Mond.'

[1] Jer. 52. 17, 20—23.

[2] J. B. de Rossi 'Insigne vetro rappresentante il tempio di Gerusalemme' in his *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana* 1882 pp. 137—158 pl. 7, 1 (lithograph), *id.* 'Verre représentant le temple de Jérusalem' in the *Archives de l'orient latin* Paris 1884 ii. 439—455 with col. pl. (=my fig. 331), Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 292 f. fig. 151, F. Vigouroux in his *Dictionnaire de la Bible* Paris 1899 ii. 856 ff. with col. pl. (the steps to the temple and the pillars of its colonnade are here shown in silver). Inscribed ΟΙΚ ΟCΙΡΗ[··]C ΛΑ ΒΕ ЄVΛΟΓΙΑ and [– – – – –] CΩ[·] ΠΑΝΤΩΝ = *οἶκος (ε)ἱρή[νη]ς. λάβε εὐλογία(ν)* and *[πίε, ζήσαις μετὰ τῶν] σῶ[ν] πάντων.*

[3] *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela.* Translated and edited by A. Asher London and Berlin 1840 i. 40 f. I am indebted for my knowledge of this passage to R. Eisler *op. cit.* i. 48, who has done good service by drawing attention to it. When, however, he goes on to suggest that Georgios Monachos *de Basilio Macedone* 14 (p. 844, 3 ff. Bekker) *ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν στήλην Σολομῶντος ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ οὖσαν μεγίστην κατεάξας προσέταξεν ἐν ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἐκτυπωθῆναι καὶ τεθῆναι κάτωθεν ἐν τοῖς θεμελίοις τῆς αὐτῆς Νέας ἐκκλησίας, ὡς θυσίαν ἑαυτὸν τῷ τοιούτῳ κτίσματι τῷ θεῷ προσάγων* may refer to one of

'Also St. Giovanni in porta latina in which place of worship there are two copper pillars constructed by king Sh'lomo o. b. m. whose name "Sh'lomo Ben David" is engraved upon each. The Jews in ROME told him[1], that every year about the time of the 9th of Ab[2], these pillars sweat so much that the water runs down from them.'

From pillars with personal names we go on to pillars with individual effigies. At Antiocheia on the Orontes, close to Mount Silpion with its cult of Zeus *Keraúnios*[3], Tiberius built a sanctuary of Dionysos and outside the temple set up two great statues-on-columns (*stêlai*) in honour of the Dioskouroi Amphion and Zethos[4]. My friend Dr Rendel Harris has justly compared them with the two extant columns of Edessa (*Ourfa*), which he regards as originally '*representative of or votive to the great twin-brethren*[5].' He holds that the Edessan columns were surmounted by statues of the Twins, and he has even attempted to decipher in that sense the Syriac inscription graven on the more southerly shaft[6]. Further, he has cited in this connexion an important passage from Julian, who shortly before 361 A.D.[7] writes:

'The inhabitants of Edessa, a place sacred from time immemorial to Helios, associate with him in cult Monimos and Azizos. Iamblichos, from whose ample stores I have taken all this, states that by Monimos they mean Hermes, by Azizos Ares, consorts of Helios, conveying many a benefit to the region round the earth[8].'

It looks as though the local Twins had been identified with Azizos, 'the Strong' (*'azîz*), and Monimos, 'the Beneficent' (*moun'ím*),

the two pillars of the temple at Jerusalem, he is forgetting that these pillars were both demolished (*supra* p. 427 n. 1) and that στήλη in late Greek means 'statue-on-pillar' and so 'statue' (C. d. F. Ducange *Glossarium ad Scriptores mediæ & infimæ Græcitatis* Lugduni 1688 ii. 1447, Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 752 D).

[1] *Sc.* Benjamin of Tudela.

[2] The anniversary of the destruction of Jerusalem.

[3] *Infra* Append. N.

[4] Io. Malal. *chron.* 10 p. 234 Dindorf ἔκτισε δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν τῷ Διονύσῳ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ὁ αὐτὸς Τιβέριος βασιλεύς, στήσας δύο στήλας μεγάλας τῶν ἐξ Ἀντιόπης γεννηθέντων Διοσκούρων ἔξω τοῦ ναοῦ εἰς τιμὴν αὐτῶν, Ἀμφίονός τε καὶ Ζήθου. On the force of στήλας see *supra* n. o.

[5] J. Rendel Harris *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* London 1903 p. 29 ff., *id. The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 p. 105 ff. pls. (2) and (3), *id. Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 pp. 250 ff., 407 f.

[6] See, however, the revised reading and rendering of F. C. Burkitt 'The "Throne of Nimrod"' in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* 1906 xxviii. 149—155. Prof. Burkitt, on the strength of a fresh photograph (*ib.* pl. 1), rules out the supposed allusion to the Dioskouroi and concludes that 'we do not yet know to what deity it [the column] was dedicated.'

[7] *Supra* i. 187.

[8] Ioul. *or.* 4. 150 C—D οἱ τὴν Ἔδεσσαν (E. Spanheim's cj. Ἔμεσαν is wrongly adopted by W. C. Wright) οἰκοῦντες, ἱερὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος Ἡλίου χωρίον, Μόνιμον αὐτῷ καὶ Ἄζιζον συγκαθιδρύουσιν. αἰνίττεσθαί φησιν Ἰάμβλιχος, παρ' οὗ καὶ τἄλλα πάντα ἐκ πολλῶν μικρὰ

Arabic divinities of the morning- and evening-star[1]. I would support Dr Rendel Harris' main contention by pointing out that on coppers of Edessa struck under Elagabalos (fig. 332)[2], Gordianus



Fig. 332.



Fig. 333.



Fig. 334.



Fig. 335.

Pius (figs. 333, 334)[3], and Tranquillina (fig. 335)[4] Tyche, the city-goddess, faces towards a column, on which is a small male figure in military costume (?) bearing a shield (?) on his left arm and brandishing a weapon of some sort with his right[5]. This warlike

ἐλάβομεν, ὡς ὁ Μόνιμος μὲν Ἑρμῆς εἴη, Ἄζιζος δὲ Ἄρης, Ἡλίου πάρεδροι, πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τῷ περὶ γῆν ἐποχετεύοντες τόπῳ. Cp. *ib.* 154 A—B ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι μὲν Ἄρης Ἄζιζος λεγόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκούντων τὴν Ἔδεσσαν (E. Spanheim and W. C. Wright would again read Ἔμεσαν) Σύρων Ἡλίου προπομπεύει, καίπερ εἰδὼς καὶ προειπὼν ἀφήσειν μοι δοκῶ.

[1] *Supra* i. 706 n. 2. See further W. M. Calder in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1913 xxxiii. 103 and F. Cumont *Études syriennes* Paris 1917 pp. 269 n. 2, 353.

[2] *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 308 pl. 79, 2 (=my fig. 332). MAPAVPANTOK ΟΛЄΔ – – –

[3] Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 527, Suppl. ii. 720, E. Babelon in the *Revue belge de numismatique* 1893 xlix. 25 no. 85 pl. 3, 1, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 312 f. Fig. 333 is from a specimen given to me by Dr Rendel Harris; fig. 334, from another specimen in my collection. ΜΗΤ·ΚΟΛ·ЄΔЄCCHNΩN.

[4] Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 527 f., Suppl. ii. 720 f., E. Babelon in the *Revue belge de numismatique* 1893 xlix. 27 no. 91 pl. 3, 3 [ΜΗΤ·ΚΟΛ·]ЄΔЄCCHNΩN, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 313 pl. 79, 8 (=my fig. 335) ΜΗ[ΤΚΟΛ]ЄΔЄCCHNΩN.

[5] The little figure has often been fancifully interpreted. Thus J. F. Vaillant *Numismata ærea Imperatorum, Augustarum, et Cæsarum, in coloniis, municipiis, et urbibus iure Latio donatis, ex omni modulo percussa* Parisiis 1695 ii. 145 fig. says: 'columna, in qua Diana ut videtur Venatricis habitu, dextrâ extensâ telum, lævâ arcum' <tenens> (cp. Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 527). Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 511 has: '*simulacrum Palladis, ut videtur, columellae impositum*' (cp. Rasche *Lex. Num.* Suppl. ii. 720). E. Babelon *locc. citt.* speaks of 'un petit génie,' which is vague. Head *Hist. num.*[1] p. 689

personage can hardly be other than Azizos, whom Iamblichos compared with Ares. If so, he was one, and the more important one, of the Edessan Twins. The identification is borne out by the fact that coppers of Edessa struck by Alexander Severus and Iulia Mamaea (fig. 336)[1] show a somewhat similar little figure standing on the turreted crown of the goddess in the attitude of a fighting



Fig. 336.

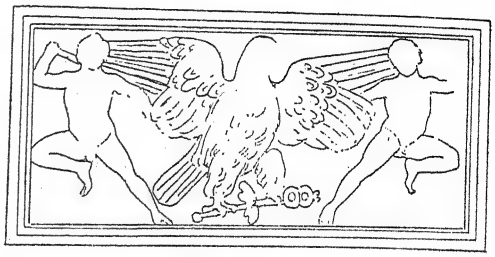


Fig. 337.

giant and probably intended for the constellation Orion[2], whose position in the starry sky is contiguous to that of the Twins[3]. Whether Azizos and Monimos were, as R. Dussaud[4] supposes, parallel forms arising from the duplication of a single god or rather, as F. Cumont[5] suggests, originally distinct divinities on their way towards ultimate fusion, we cannot with the *data* at our disposal

'the figure of a divinity on a column' is hardly less so. G. Macdonald in the *Hunter Cat. Coins locc. citt.* hazards 'statue (of Aquarius?)' and is followed by Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 815.

[1] E. Babelon in the *Revue belge de numismatique* 1893 xlix. 20 f. no. 79 pl. 2, 9: 'un petit génie qui, peut-être, tire de l'arc.' *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 312 pl. 79, 7: 'small statue (of Aquarius?).' Fig. 336 is from a specimen given to me by Dr Rendel Harris. ΜΗΤΚΟΛ ЄΔЄCCHNΩN. The city-goddess is seated on a stool with a small temple in her right hand, the river-god Skirtos at her feet, and four stars round about her.

[2] For type see G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 p. 119 ff. fig. 45, Küentzle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1027 f. fig. 3.

[3] A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 129 with pl. 1 f. ('Sternbilderkarte' and 'Sternkarte').

[4] R. Dussaud—F. Macler *Mission dans les Régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne* (extr. from the *Nouvelles Archives des Missions scientifiques* x) Paris 1903 p. 57 ff., R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 129 f. = *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 9 f., *id. Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam* Paris 1907 p. 131 f. Dussaud argues that various deities identified with the planet Venus were thereby duplicated into hypostases corresponding with the morning- and evening-star. Thus the Sabaean god 'Athtar, 'equivalent onomastique d'Ichtar et forme masculine d' 'Achtoret-Astarté,' produced the pair Azizos and Monimos, the Arabian counterparts of Phosphoros and Hesperos.

[5] F. Cumont *Études syriennes* Paris 1917 p. 269 n. 2: 'On pourrait, il est vrai, se demander si ce n'est pas le phénomène inverse qui s'est produit ici: les dieux de l'étoile du matin et de l'étoile du soir, primitivement distincts, seraient confondus lorsque l'astronomie reconnut que les deux planètes n'en faisaient qu'une. C'est ce qui arriva en Grèce pour Phosphoros et Hespéros.' But see R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 129 n. 1 = *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 9 n. 1.

determine. It is, however, permissible to think that their columns on the citadel of Edessa were conceived as sky-supports. For at Baitokaikę (fig. 337)[1] and elsewhere throughout the Syrian area

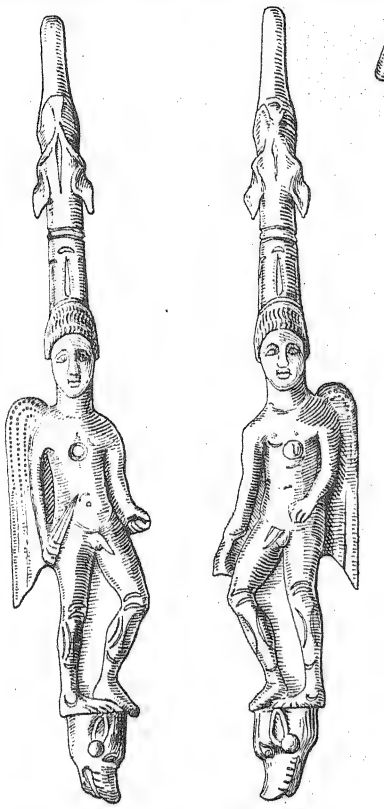


Fig. 338.

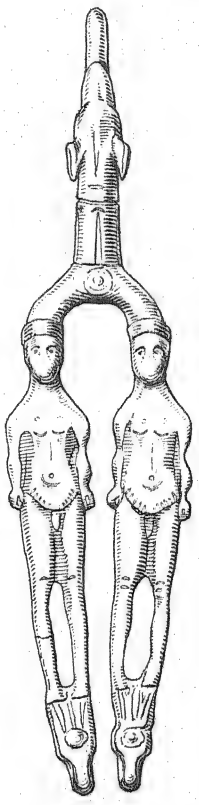


Fig. 339.

Azizos and Monimos are found as the regular supporters of the solar eagle carved on the soffits of sacred lintels[2].

Finally, Etruscan mirrors show the starry roof actually resting on the heads of the Dioskouroi[3]. The great majority of these

[1] E. G. Rey in the *Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires* Paris 1866 Deuxième série iii. 338 with woodcut, R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 131 fig. 3 (reproduced in my fig. 337)=*id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 11 fig. 3. Dussaud thinks that each of the *ἐpheboi* was holding in both hands a torch (probably added in paint), and that one of these torches was raised, the other lowered. But?

[2] R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 131 ff. =*id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 11 f. *Supra* i. 565.

[3] *Supra* i. 769 f. figs. 561, 562, 563, 565. I have (*ib.* p. 767 n. 1) compared the Dioscuric arch with the structure of the Japanese *torii*. Prof. Takeo Wada of Kyoto University kindly informs me that at Yamagata there is a *torii*, the two side-posts of

mirrors[1], by a curious convention, gives the heroes but one arm apiece, as though to indicate their conjoint being[2]. Other bronzes of Etruscan make represent them with two arms each, but only a single wing (fig. 338)[3].

(β) The Dioskouroi as the halves of the Sky.

Looking back, we realise that the divine Sky has little by little transformed its supports into anthropomorphic supporters. Tyndareos has been joined by the Tyndaridai. Zeus has begotten the Dioskouroi. But the process is still incomplete. For it cannot be said that the Sky itself has as yet suffered cleavage or split into a pair of Twins. The fact is that, so long as men believed in a flat earth overarched by a solid sky resting on side-props, further development was impossible. But with the dawn of philosophy a better cosmology appeared[4]. Ionic speculation in the sixth century B.C. led on to the view, first clearly enunciated by Parmenides and zealously propagated by the Pythagoreans, that this earth of ours is a sphere[5]. It then became natural to conceive of the Sky as composed of two hemispheres, respectively light and dark. And some unknown thinker, perhaps Empedokles[6], more likely a Stoic[7], ventured to identify them with the Dioskouroi. His explanation appealed to rational minds and found favour in a materialistic age. For instance, Philon the Jew, speaking of ingenious mythologists in his treatise *On the Decalogue* (*c.* 40 A.D.), says :

which are carved in relief with standing figures of temple-servitors wearing their official caps. The resemblance to the scene on the Etruscan mirrors is singularly complete.

[1] For a larger collection of evidence see Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 33 ff. pls. 45 ff.

[2] *Supra* i. 768. Since writing on the subject I have acquired a mirror (pl. xxiv), which retains the usual type of the Dioskouroi with Phrygian cap, short *chitón*, bent leg, single arm, and connective pediment, but adds between the brothers their mother Leda (?) in a Phrygian cap and their sister Helene (?) with rayed hair. The stars are here absent, unless the pattern on the two shields can be claimed as stellar. Length 0·245^{m}. Breadth 0·116^{m}. Cp. Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 317 pl. 227, 2 = Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 525 f. no. 1313 fig.

[3] I figure a pair of belt-hooks, obtained by Mr E. J. Seltman in Capri, and now in my possession. The Twins, whose heads are rayed, bear a dagger and a knife in their right hands. The left hand in each case is empty and clumsily rendered, being perhaps no part of the original design. A wolf's head terminates each hook above and below; but it must not hastily be assumed that this is due to contamination with Romulus and Remus (*infra* p. 440 ff.). Height 0·104^{m}. Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 351 no. 2858. Another belt-hook of the same *provenance* and of similar design (fig. 339) omits the wings, but connects the heads of the Twins by means of a forked bar.

[4] For a clear perception of this sequence of ideas I am indebted to friendly criticisms received from Miss Harrison (Sept. 23, 1918).

[5] O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 p. 273 ff.

[6] *Id. ib.* pp. 112, 490, 683 f.

[7] *Id. ib.* p. 284 n. 1.



Etruscan mirror: the Dioskouroi with Leda(?) and Helene(?) between them.

See page 432 *n.* 2.

'They bisected the sky theoretically into hemispheres, one above, the other below, the earth, and called them Dioskoroi, adding a marvellous tale about their life on alternate days[1].'

Again, that acute doubter Sextus Empiricus (*c.* 180 A.D.), *à propos* of men raised to the rank of gods, writes as follows:

'Moreover, they say that the Tyndaridai usurped the reputation of the Dioskouroi, who were thought to be gods. For in those days wise folk spoke of the two hemispheres, the one above the earth and the other below it, as Dioskouroi. Wherefore also the poet, hinting at this, says of them:

> One day they are alive, the next day dead
> In alternation, honoured like to gods.

And men put *pîloi* on their heads with stars atop, hinting at the arrangement of the hemispheres[2].'

An anonymous *Introduction to the Phaenomena of Aratos* (later than *s.* i A.D.) alludes briefly to the same 'Homeric allegory[3].' And Julian attacks it in his oration on *The Sovereign Sun* (361 A.D.):

'Who, think you, are the Dioskouroi, my wise friends, you that accept tradition without criticism?... Some have supposed that the theogonists meant the two hemispheres of the universe. But this is absurd. For how each of the hemispheres is "alternate of days" it is not easy to imagine, since the increase of their light each day is imperceptible[4].'

Ioannes the Lydian (*c.* 490—*c.* 570 A.D.) repeats the theory:

'The philosophers declare that the Dioskoroi are the hemisphere below, and the hemisphere above, the earth; they take it in turns to die, according to the myth, because turn and turn about they pass beneath our feet[5].'

[1] Philon *de decalogo* 12 (iv. 258 Richter) *τόν τε οὐρανὸν εἰς ἡμισφαίριον τῷ λόγῳ διχῇ διανείμαντες, τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ γῆς, Διοσκόρους ἐκαλέσαντο, περὶ τῆς ἑτερημέρου ζωῆς αὐτῶν προστερατευσάμενοι διήγημα.*

[2] Sext. *adv. math.* 9. 37 *καὶ τοὺς Τυνδαρίδας δέ φασι τὴν τῶν Διοσκούρων δόξαν ὑπελθεῖν πάλιν (an leg. πάλαι?) νομιζομένων εἶναι θεῶν· τὰ γὰρ δύο ἡμισφαίρια, τό τε ὑπὲρ γῆν καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν, Διοσκούρους οἱ σοφοὶ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἔλεγον. διὸ καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς τοῦτο αἰνιττόμενός φησιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν "ἄλλοτε μὲν ζώουσ' ἑτερήμεροι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε | τεθνᾶσιν· τιμὴν δὲ λελόγχασιν ἶσα θεοῖσι" (Od.* 11. 303 f.). *πίλους τ' ἐπιτιθέασιν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀστέρας αἰνισσόμενοι (αἰνιττόμενοι?) τὴν τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων κατασκευήν.*

[3] Anon. i *isag. in Arati phaen.* praef. p. 89, 24 ff. Maass *εἰ δέ τῳ φίλον καὶ τὰς παρ' Ὁμήρῳ ἀλληγορίας ἐξετάσαι, ῥᾴδιόν ἐστιν ἰδεῖν καὶ τοῦ πόλου καὶ τὴν ἀΐδιον κίνησιν καὶ τὰ ἡμισφαίρια καὶ τὴν εἰς φῶς αὐτῶν ἀμοιβήν... "ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ<τε>| τεθνᾶσι"* (*Od.* 11. 303 f.). *μὴ βλασφημήσῃς, ἄνθρωπε· οὐκ ἀποθνήσκει θεός. τὸ ἀφανὲς τούτου θάνατος ἦν. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ζωγράφοι τέμνουσι τῶν θεῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς ἴσον ἑκατέρῳ <τῶν> τοῦ πόλου ἡμισφαιρίων* (so E. Maass for *τὴν ἰσομοιρίαν* cod. V.).

[4] Ioul. *or.* 4. 147 A—B *οἱ Διόσκουροι τίνες ὑμῖν εἰσιν, ὦ σοφώτατοι καὶ ἀβασανίστως τὰ πολλὰ παραδεχόμενοι;... οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς ὑπέλαβον εἰρῆσθαί τινες πρὸς τῶν θεολόγων ἡμισφαίρια τοῦ παντὸς τὰ δύο λόγον ἔχει τινά· πῶς γάρ ἐστιν ἑτερήμερον αὐτῶν ἕκαστον οὐδὲ ἐπινοῆσαι ῥᾴδιον, ἡμέρας ἑκάστης ἀνεπαισθήτου τῆς κατὰ τὸν φωτισμὸν αὐτῶν παραυξήσεως γινομένης.*

[5] Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 17 p. 78, 17 ff. Wünsch *οἱ φιλόσοφοί φασι Διοσκόρους εἶναι τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν καὶ <τὸ> ὑπὲρ γῆν ἡμισφαίριον· τελευτῶσι δὲ ἀμοιβαδὸν μυθικῶς, οἱονεὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς ἀντίποδας ἐξ ἀμοιβῆς φερόμενοι.*

Finally, Eustathios in the second half of the twelfth century includes this notion along with others in his commentary on the Homeric couplet[1]. It would seem, then, that Greek speculation from Hellenistic to Byzantine times sought to identify the sons of Zeus with the two segments of the animate Sky. T. H. Martin[2] has plausibly conjectured that this is why the Pythagoreans regarded semicircles as sacred to the Dioskouroi[3].

(γ) Twins as Children of the Sky.

I would dwell for a moment on some aspects of this mythological development. In the first place, it solves without more ado an otherwise baffling problem with regard to twins in general. Sir James Frazer, in his survey of superstitions as to twins in Africa, remarks concerning the Baronga of Delagoa Bay: 'They bestow the name of *Tilo*—that is, the sky—on a woman who has given birth to twins, and the infants themselves are called the children of the sky[4].' He adds in a footnote: 'The reason for calling twins "Children of the Sky" is obscure. Are they supposed in some mysterious way to stand for the sun and moon[5]?' Dr Rendel Harris, who has contributed so much to the study of twins[6], carries the enquiry a stage further by pointing out 'that we have here among the Baronga the exact equivalent of the Greek' *Dióskouroi*[7]. But if that be so, there is no need to prolong discussion. The

[1] Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1686, 33 ff. ἕτεροι δὲ οὐ πάνυ πιθανῶς νοοῦντες τὸ ἑτερήμερον ἐπὶ τοῦ τὸν μὲν τῇδε ζῆν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὡς τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐν νεκροῖς ὄντος, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ τὸν λοιπὸν ὡς θατέρου τεθνεῶτος, εἰς τὰ δύο κατ' οὐρανὸν ἡμισφαίρια τοὺς Διοσκούρους ὑπονοοῦσιν, ὧν θάτερον μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀεί ἐστι, θάτερον δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν. ὅπερ ἀνατρέπων ὁ παραβάτης φησὶν ὡς οὐκ ἔχει λόγον εἰρῆσθαι Διοσκούρους παρ' Ὁμήρῳ τὰ δύο ἡμισφαίρια τοῦ παντός. κ.τ.λ. (the reference is to Ioul. *or.* 4. 147 B cited *supra* p. 433 n. 4). Cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 410, 18 ff. ὅτι δὲ οἱ Διόσκουροι καὶ εἰς τὰ δύο ἡμισφαίρια τοῦ παντὸς ἐνοήθησαν, καὶ εἰς τοὺς τροπικοὺς δὲ μάλιστα κύκλους, ὁ παραβάτης Ἰουλιανὸς ἔγραψεν, ὡς δηλοῦται καὶ ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν.

[2] T. H. Martin *La foudre l'électricité et le magnétisme chez les anciens* Paris 1866 p. 297 f.

[3] Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 261 (ii. 127, 7 ff. Ruelle) διὰ τί γὰρ τῷ μὲν τὸν κύκλον ἀνιέρουν οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι, τῷ δὲ τρίγωνον, τῷ δὲ τετράγωνον, τῷ δὲ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο τῶν εὐθυγράμμων τῶν σχημάτων, ὡς δὲ καὶ μικτῶν, ὡς τὰ ἡμικύκλια τοῖς Διοσκούροις; κ.τ.λ.

A different view is cited by Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 155 σπένδειν δὲ πρὸ τραπέζης παρακαλεῖ Διὸς Σωτῆρος καὶ Ἡρακλέους καὶ Διοσκούρων, τῆς τροφῆς ὑμνοῦντας τὸν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τὸν ταύτης ἡγεμόνα Δία, καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὴν δύναμιν τῆς φύσεως, καὶ τοὺς Διοσκούρους τὴν συμφωνίαν τῶν ἁπάντων. On this see A. Delatte *Études sur la littérature pythagoricienne* Paris 1915 p. 115 f.

[4] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 267 f., citing H. A. Junod *Les Ba-ronga* (*Bulletin de la société neuchâteloise de géographie* x) Neuchâtel 1898 pp. 412, 416 ff.

[5] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 268 n. 1.

[6] *Supra* i. 760 n. 7.

[7] J. Rendel Harris *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 p. 26.

question is already answered. Twins are 'Children of the Sky' because the Sky itself, appearing alternately as Day and Night, is essentially of a twin character. And the savage who saw twins born of an earthly mother was logical (or should we say illogical?) enough to dub her *Tilo*, 'the Sky.' Obviously this explanation does not exclude the possibility that the twinhood of the Sky was sometimes expressed in terms of Sun and Moon[1], or—for that matter—of Morning- and Evening-Star[2]. These are but secondary modes of denoting the great primary contrast between Day and Night.

(δ) The Twins contrasted.

In the second place, the bisection of the divine Sky naturally produced Twins of differing complexion. Sundry scholars have even supposed that the contrast might be crudely indicated by means of colour. Thus W. Watkiss Lloyd[3] as far back as 1850 published a black-figured *amphora*, then in possession of a London dealer, which represents two warriors, with helmets, shield, and lances, riding side by side on a black horse and a white horse towards a youth greeting them with uplifted hand. The learned author interpreted the scene as the Dioskouroi welcomed by Hyakinthos, and remarked 'the common relation of the brothers to alternating light and darkness.' F. F. Ravaisson[4] in 1875 pointed out that on the red-figured *amphora* from Melos, now in the Louvre[5], which shows the Dioskouroi taking part in a grand Gigantomachy, one of the heroes is charging on a white horse, the other on a red horse. And E. Bethe[6] as late as 1903 thought it significant that on a vase of the Blacas collection published by Panofka[7] the Dioskouroi have a black *pîlos* and a white *pîlos* respectively. But the fact is that in all these cases the use of white and black is merely an artistic

[1] Indeed, a whole set of European folk-tales points in that direction (*infra* Append. F).

[2] Cp. the description of the Dioskouroi in Mart. Cap. 83 post hos duorum una quidem germanaque facies; sed alius lucis sidere, opacae noctis alius refulgebat.

[3] W. Watkiss Lloyd in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom* Second Series 1853 iv. 261 f., 289 ff. with woodcut and col. pl.

[4] F. F. Ravaisson 'Notice sur une amphore peinte du Musée du Louvre représentant le combat des dieux et des géants' in the *Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études grecques en France* No. 4 1875 p. 1 ff. pl. 1 f.

[5] Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* iii. 1109, Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 193 ff. pl. 96 f., J. D. Beazley *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge (Harvard University Press) 1918 p. 184, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 450 no. 3. Attic work from the end of *s.* v B.C., probably by the same artist as the Talos-vase (*supra* i. 721 pl. xli) and very possibly inspired by the Gigantomachy painted on the inner surface of the shield of Athena in the Parthenon (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 18 (cp. 35. 54) with Sir C. Smith's convincing article in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1896—1897 iii. 131 ff.).

[6] E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1091, 1111.

[7] T. Panofka *Musée Blacas* Paris 1829 pl. 82 (*sic*: ? pl. 32).

convention entirely devoid of mythological meaning[1]. The contrast between the Dioskouroi, when they really are contrasted, goes much deeper than surface-colouring and is a matter of constitution and character.

(ε) Kastor and Polydeukes.

Kastor and Polydeukes, for example. The *Iliad*[2], it is true, describes them as a pair of princely athletes buried in Lakedaimon, and only distinguishes Kastor the 'tamer of horses' from Polydeukes the 'good boxer.' The poet, in fact, conceives both to have been mortal men; and this early evidence might be thought to negative any connexion with the diurnal and nocturnal Sky. But just here we must walk warily. It will be remembered that in Hellenic times the two Spartan kings were priests of Zeus *Lakedaímon* and of Zeus *Ouránios*[3], that is, apparently, of Zeus in his ordinary daylight guise and of Zeus as god of the starry midnight sky[4]—the very sources from which, on my showing, the Dioskouroi derived their divinity. Further, the kings claimed descent from the twin sons of Aristodemos[5], whose death by lightning at Naupaktos[6] marks him as a 'Zeus-struck' man[7]. Moreover, so intimately was each successive pair of kings related to Kastor and Polydeukes that, if both kings went out to battle, both the Tyndaridai went with them, and, if one king stayed at home, one of the Tyndaridai was left to keep him company[8]. These customs and beliefs, if I am not deceiving myself, suggest that in early Doric days the two kings of Sparta were regarded as incarnations of Polydeukes and Kastor[9]. The Homeric allusion to the heroes' burial may well be based on hard

[1] The simplest proof of this is furnished by the fact that, on the Gigantomachy-vase at Paris, the chariot of Zeus has two white horses and two red, that of Ares three red and one white. Such variation in colour assists the eye to pick out and appreciate individual forms: see K. Reichhold in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 105 ff.

[2] *Il.* 3. 236—244. [3] Hdt. 6. 56. [4] *Supra* i. 8.

[5] Paus. 3. 1. 5. P. Poralla *Prosopographie der Lakedaimonier bis auf die Zeit Alexanders des Grossen* Breslau 1913 p. 137 ff. discusses the extant pedigrees.

[6] Apollod. 2. 8. 2. Other versions are noted by B. Niese in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 921.

[7] *Supra* p. 376 f.

[8] Hdt. 5. 75. See further Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 48 ff., who urges that the Dioskouroi 'may have been thought to accompany the march of a Spartan army in a visible form, appearing to the awe-stricken soldiers in the twilight or the darkness either as stars in the sky or as the sheen of spears on earth.' But Herodotos' language points rather to something portable, which could be taken with the troops, or left behind —hardly the *dókana* (W. W. How—J. Wells *ad loc.*), more probably the sepulchral jars (*infra* Append. H *med.*).

[9] If so, no wonder that Aristomenes and his friend were able to impose on the Spartans by appearing to them at night on white horses with *pîloi* and golden stars all complete (Polyain. 2. 31. 4).

fact. The *Odyssey*[1]—or, to be precise, a passage interpolated into the *Odyssey*—speaks of them in language borrowed from the *Iliad*, but explains that, though buried, they were yet alive, and adds that even below ground by a special privilege received from Zeus they were living and dead on alternate days. This remarkable arrangement is set out more fully by Pindar. Writing in 474 B.C.[2] he mentions the fame 'of the mighty Castor, and of thee, king Polydeucês, ye sons of the gods—ye that dwell, for one day, in the homes of Therapnê, and, for the other, within the halls of Olympus[3].' And *c.* 463 B.C.[4] he says: 'In alternate changes the twin brethren spend the one day beside their dear father Zeus and, the other, down in the hollow earth in the depths of Therapnê, thus fulfilling an equal lot, since, when Castor was slain in war, Polydeuces preferred this life to being wholly a god and dwelling in heaven[5].' The sequel tells of their feud with Idas and Lynkeus, the sons of Aphareus. The quarrel was occasioned by a cattle-raid, in which Idas had been defrauded of the booty[6]. Lynkeus, gazing with his keen sight from Mount Taygeton, descried the Tyndaridai seated in the trunk of an oak[7], and with his brother at once hastened to attack them. Idas speared Kastor. Polydeukes came to the rescue. Idas and Lynkeus in vain hurled at him the tomb-stone of their father Aphareus. Polydeukes succeeded in spearing Lynkeus. And Zeus, flinging a thunderbolt at Idas, consumed him and his brother together. Polydeukes, returning to Kastor, found him not yet dead, but gasping for breath. In deep distress Polydeukes prayed to Zeus: 'Bid me also die, O king, with this my brother.' Then, as Pindar puts it,

'He ceased, and before him came Zeus, and spake in this wise:—"Thou art my son, whereas Castor was begotten by thy mother's husband, of mortal seed,

[1] *Od.* 11. 298—304.

[2] O. Schroeder 'Fasti Pindarici' in his ed. 1908 p. viii, Sir J. E. Sandys in his ed. 1915 p. 296.

[3] Pind. *Pyth.* 11. 93 ff. trans. Sir J. E. Sandys.

[4] O. Schroeder 'Fasti Pindarici' in his ed. 1908 p. ix, Sir J. E. Sandys in his ed. 1915 p. 412.

[5] Pind. *Nem.* 10. 103 ff. trans. Sir J. E. Sandys.

[6] See Apollod. 3. 11. 2. P. Weizsäcker's article in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 97 ff. is superseded by that of E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1113 ff., which was written after the discovery of the sixth-century metope from the treasury of the Sicyonians at Delphoi (*Fouilles de Delphes* iv. 1. 24 ff., 32 pl. 4, 1, É. Bourguet *Les ruines de Delphes* Paris 1914 p. 63 f. fig. 18, F. Poulsen *Delphi* trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 p. 86 ff. fig. 25, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 455 ff. fig. 227).

[7] Pind. *Nem.* 10. 114 ff. ἀπὸ Ταϋγέτου πεδαυγάζων ἴδεν Λυγκεὺς δρυὸς ἐν στελέχει | ἡμένος (J. B. Bury rightly restores the Doric acc. pl. from the scholia on ἥμενος codd. B.D. Aristarchos cj. ἧμενον. See further *infra* p. 439 n. 1 and E. Abel *Scholia vetera in Pindari Nemea et Isthmia* Berolini 1884 p. 314 ff.).

after thine own conception. But lo! I grant thee thy full choice in this; if thou desirest to escape death and grievous eld, and to dwell thyself in Olympus with me, and with Athênê, and with Arês of the darksome spear, thou canst have this lot appointed thee. But, if thou contendest for thy brother, and art minded to have an equal share with him in all things, then mayest thou breathe for half thy time beneath the earth, and for half thy time in the golden homes of heaven." When thus the god had spoken, the hero had no double purpose in his heart; and Zeus opened once more the eye, and then released the voice of the bronze-clad warrior, Castor[1].'

It has long been recognised that the interpolator of the *Odyssey* and Pindar were alike indebted to the *Kypria*[2], of which certain fragments are extant covering approximately the same ground. One such fragment draws the essential contrast:

> Kastor was mortal, being doomed to die,
> But Polydeukes, War's own wight, immortal[3].

Another relates the beginning of the fray:

> And then in haste
> Lynkeus with fleet foot sought Taygeton,
> Climbed to its topmost peak, and looked abroad
> Through the whole isle of Pelops son of Tantalos.

[1] Pind. *Nem.* 10. 148 ff. trans. Sir J. E. Sandys.

[2] F. Staehlin 'Der Dioskurenmythus in Pindars 10. nemeischer Ode. (Ein Beispiel einer Mythenidealisierung.)' in *Philologus* 1903 lxii. 182—195 claims to show that in various points Pindar is intentionally improving on the tale as told by the *Kypria*:

KYPRIA	PINDAR
Kastor the mortal and Polydeukes the immortal are both sons of Zeus.	Only Polydeukes is the son of Zeus.
They carry off their cousins the Leukippides without giving bride-gifts to Leukippos.	The rape of the Leukippides is omitted.
The Apharidai taunt the Dioskouroi with the rape; whereupon the Dioskouroi lift the cattle of the Apharidai and present them to Leukippos.	Only Kastor is concerned with the cattle-raid.
The Dioskouroi hide themselves in a hollow oak from the pursuit of the Apharidai. Idas, thrusting through the oak, pierces Kastor.	The Apharidai basely attack Kastor, while he is seated (*ἥμενον*) on a stump of oak.
Polydeukes therefore slays Lynkeus. Idas with the *stêle* of Aphareus all but slays Polydeukes.	Idas and Lynkeus with the *stêle* of Aphareus attempt to stop Polydeukes, but fail.
Zeus helps Polydeukes by killing Idas with a thunderbolt.	Polydeukes slays Lynkeus, and would have slain Idas, had not Zeus, to honour Polydeukes, hurled the fatal bolt.

But see Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 482 f.

[3] *Cypria frag.* 5 Kinkel *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 30. 5 p. 22, 22 ff. Stählin *Κάστωρ μὲν θνητός, θανάτου δέ οἱ αἶσα πέπρωται* (H. Köchly cj. *πέπρωτο*)· | *αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἀθάνατος Πολυδεύκης, ὄξος Ἄρηος.* The concluding phrase does not, of course, imply that Polydeukes was the son of Ares: see H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1880 ii. 31. *Supra* i. 279.

Right soon the noble hero keen of eye
Saw both of them inside a hollow oak,
Horse-taming Kastor, prizeman Polydeukes.
Then drew he near and smote the mighty oak[1].

A later author likewise much beholden to the *Kypria* was the enigmatic Lykophron—witness the following extract from his *Alexandra*[2]:

One[3] with his cornel striking hollow trunk
Of a black oak[4] shall slaughter one[6] of twain,
To wit the lion[6] pitted 'gainst the bull[7].
The other[8] with his lance shall rip the flank
O' the bull[9] and bear him groundwards. Yet once more
The dauntless ram[10] shall butt him[11], brandishing
The glory of the Amyclaean tomb.
Howbeit bronze[12] and far-flung thunderbolts
Shall slay both bulls[13] together, one[14] of whom
By doughty deeds had satisfied enow
The god of Skias, Orchia, Tilphossa,
What time he[15] bent his horn and fought his fight.
The one pair Hades, but the other Olympos
Shall welcome guestlike on alternate days,
Mortal immortals, saved by brotherly love[16].

Now we may be very sure that the original explanation of the Twins' in-and-out career was not, as Pindar and Lykophron would

[1] *Cypria frag.* 9 Kinkel *ap.* schol. Pind. *Nem.* 10. 114 *ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος ἀξιοῖ γράφειν "ἥμενον," ἀκολούθως τῇ ἐν τοῖς Κυπρίοις λεγομένῃ ἱστορίᾳ· ὁ γὰρ τὰ Κύπρια συγγράψας φησὶ τὸν Κάστορα ἐν τῇ δρυῒ κρυφθέντα ὀφθῆναι ὑπὸ Λυγκέως· τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ γραφῇ καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος* (3. 11. 2) *κατηκολούθησε. πρὸς οὓς φησι Δίδυμος· ἀμφοτέρων ὑπὸ τῇ δρυῒ λοχώντων, τοῦ τε Κάστορος καὶ τοῦ Πολυδεύκους, μόνον ὁ Λυγκεὺς τὸν Κάστορα εἶδε* (M. Schmidt cj. *ἀνεῖλε*)*; μήποτε οὖν φησι δεῖν ἀναγινώσκειν τὴν παραλήγουσαν συλλαβὴν ὀξυτόνως "ἥμενος" ὡς ἠρμένος ἵνα κατ' ἀμφοῖν ἀκούηται· ἴδε* (so T. Mommsen for *ὁ δὲ*) *Λυγκεὺς δρυὸς ἐν στελέχει ἡμένος, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡμένους, δηλονότι τοὺς Διοσκούρους· ὡς ἀελλόπος καὶ τρίπος·* [*οὐχ ἕδος ἐστί, γεραιέ* (*Il.* 11. 648), *ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐχ ἕδους.*] *παρατίθενται δὲ καὶ τὸν τὰ Κύπρια γράψαντα οὕτω λέγοντα· "αἶψα δὲ Λυγκεὺς | Τηΰγετον προσέβαινε ποσὶν ταχέεσσι πεποιθώς.| ἀκρότατον δ' ἀναβὰς διεδέρκετο νῆσον ἅπασαν | Ταναλίδου* (W. Ribbeck cj. *Ταναλίδεω*) *Πέλοπος, τάχα δ' εἶσιδε κύδιμος ἥρως | δεινοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔσω δρυὸς ἀμφω κοίλης, | Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ ἀεθλοφόρον Πολυδεύκεα, | νύξε δ' ἄρ' ἄγχι στὰς μεγάλην δρῦν" καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κάστωρ ἐλόχα τὸν Ἴδαν, φησίν, ἐν κοίλῃ δρυῒ κρυφθεὶς καὶ τὸν Λυγκέα. ὁ δὲ Λυγκεὺς ὀξυδερκὴς ὤν, ὥστε καὶ διὰ λίθων καὶ διὰ γῆς τὰ γινόμενα βλέπειν, ἰδὼν διὰ τῆς δρυὸς τὸν Κάστορα ἔτρωσε λόγχῃ. ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὄρους περισκοπῶν ὁ Λυγκεὺς ἐθεάσατο αὐτοὺς ἐγκαθεζομένους ἐν στελέχει δρυὸς καὶ ἐλλοχῶντας. τοῦ γὰρ Λυγκέως ὑπὲρ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὀξύτατον ἦν τὸ ὄμμα.* See also Tzetz. *chil.* 2. 710—716 and *in* Lyk. *Al.* 511.

[2] Lyk. *Al.* 553—566.

[3] Idas.

[4] *ὁ μὲν κρανείᾳ κοῖλον οὐτάσας στύπος | φηγοῦ κελαινῆς κ.τ.λ.*

[5] Kastor.

[6] Kastor.

[7] Idas.

[8] Polydeukes.

[9] Idas.

[10] Idas.

[11] Polydeukes.

[12] The spear of Polydeukes, which slew Lynkeus.

[13] Idas and Lynkeus.

[14] Idas, when Apollon fought him for Marpessa.

[15] Apollon.

[16] *τοὺς δ' Ὀλύμπιοι πλάκες | παρ' ἦμαρ αἰεὶ δεξιώσονται ξένους, | φιλαυθομαίμους, ἀφθίτους τε καὶ φθιτούς.*

have us believe, sheer brotherly affection. The notion is edifying, but not primitive. Rather, the alternate life was a fifth-century[1] improvement upon the harsh contrast of a mortal Kastor with an immortal Polydeukes. And this contrast is best regarded as a simple but graphic expression of the obvious fact that the divine Sky is half dark, half bright. The Tyndaridai inherited the essential duality of their sire, and at Sparta were appropriately embodied in a double line of kings.

(ζ) Romulus and Remus.

Proto-Doric institutions presumably have an Illyrian ancestry behind them, and may be expected to have left their traces in Italy as well as in Greece[2]. At Rome, for instance[3], there seems to have been a definite and persistent tendency towards a dual kingship. Romulus and Remus—whatever the precise history of their names[4] —were certainly conceived as a pair of royal twins. According to one version of their legend, they reigned with equal rights over their rustic subjects[5]. According to another, Romulus after the death of Remus was bidden by an oracle to place a curule seat for him with sceptre, crown, etc. in order that the two brothers might still appear to be associated in the government[6]. A curious ampli-

[1] Cp. Eur. *Hel.* 137 f. ΕΛ. *οἱ Τυνδάρειοι δ' εἰσὶν ἢ οὐκ εἰσὶν κόροι;* | ΤΕΤΚ. *τεθνᾶσι κοὐ τεθνᾶσι· δύο δ' ἐστὸν λόγω.* Cp. later *e.g.* Min. Fel. *Oct.* 22. 7 Castores alternis moriuntur ut vivant.

[2] *Supra* p. 340 ff. Sir James Frazer points out to me (Aug. 14, 1918) that the octennial tether of the Spartan kings and the periodic test to which they were subjected (*Golden Bough*[3]: The Dying God p. 58 f., Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 82, 85) fit in well with my hypothesis of them as sky-powers incarnate. It is interesting to find that the Illyrians had the same eight-year cycle (Strab. 315 *ἴδιον δὲ τῶν Δαλματέων τὸ διὰ ὀκταετηρίδος χώρας ἀναδασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι* with G. Dottin *Les anciens peuples de l'Europe* Paris 1916 p. 154).

[3] I have pursued the subject further in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 300 f.

[4] On this intricate problem see Th. Mommsen 'Die Remuslegende' in *Hermes* 1881 xvi. 1—23, P. Kretschmer 'Remus und Romulus' in *Glotta* 1909 i. 288—303, W. Soltau '*Ῥῶμος* und Remus' in *Philologus* 1909 lxviii. 154—157, *id.* 'Die Entstehung der Romuluslegende' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 101—125, J. B. Carter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 164 ff., Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 896 f., Rosenberg in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 597 f., 1074 ff.

[5] L. Cassius Hemina (not before 146 B.C.) *frag.* 11 Peter *ap.* Diomed. *art. gramm.* 1 (in H. Keil *Grammatici Latini* Lipsiae 1857 i. 384, 3 ff.) pastorum vulgus sine contentione consentiendo praefecerunt aequaliter imperio Remum et Romulum, ita ut de regno pararent inter se (so J. F. Gronovius for *parent inter se* codd. A.B.M. and cod. Scioppii, *pares inter se essent* editiones interpolatae). Cp. schol. Bob. *in* Cic. *Vatin.* 23 p. 119, 3 ff. Hildebrandt: primumque sex vultures Remum vidisse, dein postea Romulum duodecim, atque ita et Romam conditam et ipsos reges appellatos: illum, quod prior auspicium cepisset, Romulum vero, quod maius. See, however, Th. Mommsen *loc. cit.* p. 20 n. 5.

[6] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 276 (cp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 6. 780). S. Eitrem in the *Class. Rev.* 1921 xxxv. 20 well compares the two crowns set out on the couch depicted in the *Tomba del Letto funebre* at Corneto (*infra* Append. N).

fication of the tale related that Romulus, obeying the Pythia, had a golden bust made from the features of Remus, set it as a statue on his brother's throne, and ever afterwards reigned with this effigy of gold beside him; he also sent golden busts of himself and his brother to be installed beside the magistrates of all towns under the Roman sway. Hence (says our authority[1]) the still prevalent use of the royal 'we'! Again, the tradition that Romulus later ruled conjointly with Titus Tatius the Sabine suggests conformity with the custom of a dual kingship. No doubt, the absorption of foreign elements into the Roman state prevented the unbroken continuity of that *régime*. But, when the Tarquins were driven out, the same ancient principle reasserted itself and possessed sufficient

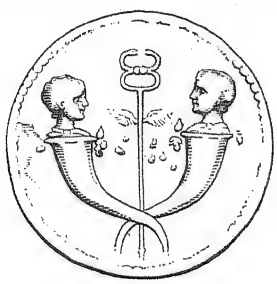


Fig. 340.



Fig. 341.

vitality to produce the double consulship, if not also the ultimate duplication of the titles *Caesar* and *Augustus*[2]. There was a certain dramatic fitness in the belief that the battle of Lake Regillus, which sealed the fate of monarchy for the next five centuries, was won by the help of the great twin brethren Castor and Pollux. Even when the republic developed into the empire, the beneficent influence of twins, at once human and divine, was not forgotten. Tiberius was overjoyed when in 19 A.D. Livia or Livilla, the sister of Germanicus, bore to Drusus Caesar the twins Tiberius and Germanicus[3]. A large brass of Drusus Caesar, struck in 23 A.D., has for obverse design (fig. 340)[4] the busts of the two boys emerging from *cornua copiae* to right and left of a winged *caduceus*. The significance of

[1] Io. Malal. *chron.* 7 p. 172 Dindorf.

[2] The facts, concisely stated *e.g.* by K. J. Neumann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1287, are of course open to other interpretations than that here given.

[3] Tac. *ann.* 2. 84. H. Furneaux (ed.[2] Oxford 1896) cites *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2630 (*Famagusta*, near Salamis in Kypros) [- - - - - - - -] | [- - - - - ἀρχιερέως] | διὰ βίου, αὐτοῦ [τε καὶ τῶν] | διδύμων υἱῶν Δ[ρούσου,] | Τιβερίου καὶ Γερμανικοῦ, | γυμνασιάρχων τῶ[ν - -] | [- - - - - - - -] and provides a *stemma* (*op. cit.* p. 165).

[4] Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 1001, iii. 463 ff., Suppl. ii. 144, 671, Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* i. 519 pl. 9, 7—9, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 289 fig., p. 349 f., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 217 no. 1. I figure a specimen in my collection.

the type is clear, for it recurs on gold and copper (fig. 341) coins of Antoninus Pius, struck in 149 A.D., with the inscription TEMPORVM FELICITAS, 'the Luck of the Times[1].' Again, Nero Caesar and Drusus Caesar, sons of Germanicus by the elder Agrippina[2], though



Fig. 342.



Fig. 343.

not actually twins—since one was born in 6, the other in 7 A.D.,—are represented on second brasses, struck under Caligula in 37 (fig. 342)[3] and 40 A.D., as a pair of youthful horsemen closely resembling the Dioskouroi (fig. 343)[4]. Oddly enough both types, the



Fig. 344.



Fig. 345.



Fig. 346.

cornua copiae and the horsemen, were imitated on bronze pieces issued in Kommagene and Lakanatis *c.* 72 A.D. by Antiochos iv to honour his sons Epiphanes and Kallinikos (figs. 344 and 345)[5].

[1] Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 1001, ix. 901 f., Suppl. ii. 144, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 782, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 350 nos. 811, 812 fig. gold; 813 first brass, 814 second brass, 815 (dated 157 A.D.) first brass. These coins probably commemorate the birth of a son, T. Aelius Antoninus, in 147 A.D. and that of a second daughter, Annia Lucilla, *c.* 148 A.D. to the future emperor Marcus Aurelius and his wife the younger Faustina (*stemma* by P. von Rohden in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2289 f.).

[2] *Stemma* by H. Furneaux *op. cit.* p. 163.

[3] Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 469 f., v. 1253 f., Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* i. 540 f. pl. 16 *b*, 1—3, 5 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* pp. 350, 572 fig., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 234 no. 1 (37 A.D.) fig., nos. 2 f. (40 A.D.). Fig. 342 is from a specimen of the earlier date in my collection.

[4] From a *denarius*, of 268 B.C. or later, given to me by Dr Rendel Harris (cp. Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 39 no. 2 fig., G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 pp. 27, 33 f. pl. 9, 13).

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. pp. xlvii f., 110 f. pl. 15, 5 (=my fig. 345 ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΥΙΟΙ) and 6 (traces of ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΥΙΟΙ, cp. E. Babelon *Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue*: Les Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène Paris 1890 p. 223 no. 45), *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 123 pl. 71, 5 (ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC [Υ]ΙΟΙ) and 6 (=my fig. 344 ΒΑCΙΛΕ ΩCΥΙΟΙ), Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 89 nos. 595 pl. 14, 597 pl. 25.

Leake, *à propos* of a unique specimen in his collection (fig. 346), shrewdly remarks: 'Epiphanes and Callinicus, sons of Antiochus, as Dioscuri[1].' Assimilation to the Dioskouroi is yet more marked on gold, silver, and copper (fig. 347) coins of Faustina the younger[2],



Fig. 347.



Fig. 348.

which show L. Aurelius Commodus and Antoninus, the twins born of the empress in 161 A.D.[3], sitting on one and the same throne-like couch encircled by the legend SAECVLI FELICIT(AS), 'the Luck of the Age.' The design is obviously intended to recall the *Theoxénia*[4]



Fig. 349.



Fig. 350.



Fig. 351.

or *lectisternium*[5] of the heavenly Twins—witness the two stars, which on many examples (fig. 348) are seen glittering above the infants' heads. Finally, coppers of the post-Constantinian period often portray Romulus and Remus, the prototypes of all these

[1] W. M. Leake *A Supplement to Numismata Hellenica* London 1859 p. 6. Fig. 346 is from the coin, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. The rev. is inscribed [B]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ.

[2] Rasche *Lex. Num.* vii. 1515 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 507 fig., p. 708 ('*Commodus and Antoninus*, whom Faustina brought forth at one birth, are here dedicated in worship to the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux)'), Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 152 no. 189 gold, nos. 190—192 silver, no. 193 f. copper, R. Ratto *Catalogo di monete greche e imperiali romane* Milano 1911 p. 93 nos. 1039 f. copper. Figs. 347 and 348 are from two specimens in my collection.

[3] For *stemma* see *supra* p. 442 n. 1.

[4] *Infra* Append. H *med.*

[5] *Infra* Append. N.

princely twins, themselves surmounted by the same Dioscuric device (figs. 349—351)[1].

Whether the dyarchy of the Phoenician *sufetes*[2] was similarly related to a cult of Phoenician Twins, is a question more easily asked than answered. In any case it need not here detain us.

(η) Zetes and Kalaïs.

Confining ourselves to the Greek area, we note that Kastor and Polydeukes were not the only pair of Twins differentiated out of the divine Sky. Boreas, the bifrontal[3] wind-god of Thrace, whom we have already compared with Zeus[4], became by Oreithyia, daughter of Erechtheus, the father of two winged sons, Zetes and Kalaïs[5]. Their names were explained by the ancients as alluding to foul and fair weather respectively: *Zétes* was rendered "Very Blowy, Blustery,' and *Kálaïs*, 'Fair-blowing[6].' The former etymology might indeed pass muster[7], but the latter is impossible[8]. Rather we should suppose that *Kálaïs* was the Thracian equivalent of the Phrygian *Kalaós*, father of Attes[9]. Be that as it may,

[1] Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 914 fig. (=my fig. 349), Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.* vi. 178 f. no. 7 pl. 4 (=my fig. 351), *ib.*[2] vii. 322 n. 1, 330 f. nos. 15 fig., 16 fig., 17—21, 22 fig. Fig. 350 is from a specimen in my collection: PLG=*percussum Lugduni*, or *pecunia Lugdunensis*. Cp. Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 1888 'supra lupam duo astra, fausti ominis ergo, vti Castor et Pollux repraesentare (*sic*) solent.'

[2] Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 998.

[3] *Supra* p. 380.

[4] *Supra* i. 142 n. 10, ii. 444.

[5] Simonid. *frag.* 3 Bergk[4] *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 211 f. and Eudok. *viol.* 1021, Ap. Rhod. 1. 211 f., Apollod. 3. 15. 2, Orph. *Arg.* 218 ff., Ov. *met.* 6. 702 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 14, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 209, 10. 350, Myth. Vat. 1. 26, 1. 27, 1. 204, 2. 142, cp. 3. 5. 5.

[6] *Et. Gud.* p. 231, 40 ff. Ζήτης, ὁ υἱὸς Βορρᾶ...παρὰ τὸ ζα καὶ τὸ πνέω, ὁ μεγάλως πνέων. ἤτοι παρὰ τὸ σφοδρὸν τοῦ βορέου καὶ μεγαλοπνοῦν. υἱὸς γὰρ τοῦ Βορρᾶ, *et. mag.* p. 411, 4 ff. Ζήτης· ὁ υἱὸς Βορρᾶ... Ζαήτης, παρὰ τὸ ζα καὶ τὸ ἀήτης, ὁ μεγάλως πνέων· υἱὸς γάρ ἐστι τοῦ Βορρᾶ, schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 324 Ζήταν Κάλαΐν τε· οἱονεὶ Ζαήτην, ὅ ἐστιν ἄγαν ἄοντα καὶ πνέοντα, καὶ Κάλαϊν οἷον καλῶς ἄοντα, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1547, 15 f. ὁ μὲν οἱονεὶ ζαήτης ὅ ἐστι σφοδρὸς ἀήτης Βορρᾶς, ὁ δὲ καλὸν ἢ ἀκαλὸν ἤγουν ἥσυχον ἄημα Βορέου δηλαδή. Myth. Vat. 2. 142, 3. 5. 6 derive absurdly from ζητῶν καλόν. O. Schroeder in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Juli 9, 1898 p. 868 assumes connexion with ζητέω, which is disputed by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 560 n. 5.

[7] Gruppe *loc. cit.* finds a difficulty in the Doric Ζάτας (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1293 *A* 89 f. καὶ Ζάταν καὶ | Κάλαιν [υἱὼ] Βορέα τοῦ Θραικὸς | κ.τ.λ.). But the crucial vowel is uncertain (G. Kaibel in *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It. loc. cit.* prints Z.TAN P. Victorius read ZATAN, Leo Allatius and F. Bianchini ΣATAN, L. Stephani ...AN) and in any case might be a hyperdorism. Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 306 regards the Homeric ζᾱής as dissimilated from *ζηής (ζα- + *αϝε- of ἄημι). It is tempting to connect Hesych. ζάει·... καὶ πνεῖ. Κύπριοι with Ζητήρ· Ζεὺ(ς) ἐν Κύπρῳ; but see *infra* Append. M.

[8] Since the -ᾱ- of Κάλᾱϊς could scarcely represent -αη-!

[9] Paus. 7. 17. 9. Cp. F. Bechtel *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* Halle a.d.S. 1917 p. 573. Note also Hesych. Καλλαΐς· γένος ἰθαγενῶν (a passage to which Mr J. Whatmough drew my attention). We can hardly connect

H. Usener justly observed that these twins attest the twofold nature (*Doppelseitigkeit*) of their father[1].

(θ) Zethos and Amphion.

Zétes can hardly be separated from *Zêthos*[2], whose twin brother *Amphion* bore a name again indicative of a twofold father[3]. That father, whether Zeus or Epopeus—for the two were one[4]—, was a sky-god, whose diverse aspects found mythological expression in the diverse characters of his children, Zethos the stern hunter and herdsman, Amphion the milder and more civilised musician[5].

(ι) Herakles and Iphikles.

Somewhat similar is the relation of Herakles to his less valiant brother Iphikles[6]. It is even possible that this pair of twins was originally conceived as a single dicephalous god[7]. S. Reinach among his miscellaneous types of Herakles has recently included a bronze statuette in the Museum at Sens, which represents a two-headed personage with a curved knife (?) or club (??) in one hand and an apple (?) in the other (fig. 352)[8]. A. Héron de Villefosse

Κάλαϊς with κάλ(λ)αϊς, 'turquoise' (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 860 D—862 C), though Hyg. *fab.* 14 says that Zetes and Kalaïs had 'crines...caeruleos.'

[1] H. Usener 'Zwillingsbildung' in the *Strena Helbigiana* Leipzig—Berlin 1900 p. 329 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 351 f.). *Id. ib.* n. 57 quotes an interesting Lithuanian parallel from M. Prätorius *Deliciae Prussicae oder Preussische Schaubühne* ed. W. Pierson Berlin 1871 p. 27: 'Prätorius...berichtet: "Mir fällt ein, was ich einsmahls bey einem Fischer in dem Dorf Karckel gesehen. Derselbe hat anstatt der Fahnen auf den Mast seines Bootes eine *statuam* beim Ruder (d. h. dem Steuerruder) aufgerichtet. Er hatte nemblich von Borken gemacht ein Bild eines Menschen, dass am Kopf zween Gesichter, eins vornen, eins hinten waren, an beyden aber war das Maul aufgesperret (der Wind wird also aus dem Mund geblasen); an den Schultern waren zween ziemlich grosse Flügel, daneben er seine Hände ausgestrecket, die rechte aufwärts, die linke erdwärts; in der linken hielt er einen Fisch, in der rechten ein Fässchen. Auf dem Haupt war ein Hahn gemacht. Das bildt nente er *Wejopatis* (Herr des Windes)." Es wird noch hinzugefügt, dass der Pfarrer des Ortes diesen Fischer "vor einen recht alten preussischen Heyden" gehalten habe, der nicht zu bewegen war, die Kirche zu besuchen, dass man ihn aber für den reichsten Fischer ansah. Man möchte vermuten, dass das Doppelgesicht den *uentus secundus* und *aduersus* bedeutete.'

[2] The two names are confused in Palaiph. 22 (23) Ζῆθος καὶ Κάλαϊς (where A. Westermann restored Ζήτης) and Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 10. 350 a Zetho et Calai (so G. Thilo: H. A. Lion prints *Zeto*).

The ancients derived Ζῆθος from ζητέω (Eur. *Antiop. frag.* 181 Nauck[2] *ap. et. Gud.* p. 230, 55 ff. and *et. mag.* p. 411, 12 ff., cp. Hyg. *fab.* 7) or ζάω (*et. Gud.* p. 230, 54 f., *et. mag.* p. 411, 11 f.). K. B. Stark *Niobe und die Niobiden in ihrer literarischen, künstlerischen und mythologischen Bedeutung* Leipzig 1863 p. 367 connects with ζέω.

[3] *Infra* Append. J.

[4] *Supra* i. 734 ff.

[5] H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 310 f.

[6] H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 305.

[7] For the case of Kteatos and Eurytos see *supra* i. 311, *infra* Append. F (ι).

[8] Reinach *Bronzes Figurés* p. 199 no. 178 fig. (=my fig. 352), *id. Rép. Stat.* iv. 135 no. 4. Height 0·096m.

was disposed to think this queer customer spurious and Reinach accordingly labels him 'Suspect.' Without careful examination of the original one would not venture to decide. But it reminds me of the copper coins struck under Septimius Severus at Baris (*Isbarta, Sparta*) on the Kestros in Pisidia, which portray a double-headed deity, with two or four arms[1], clad in a lion-skin and grasping bow and club (figs. 354, 355)[2] or bow, club, and sword (fig. 356)[3]. D. Sestini in 1828 mistook him for a group of Herakles and Hephaistos[4]. J. Friedländer in 1879 was the first to recognise in him '*einen*



Fig. 352.

[1] Cp. a bronze statuette from Teti in Sardinia (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 65 f. fig. 51 = my fig. 353) representing a warrior with four arms, four eyes in his head, and

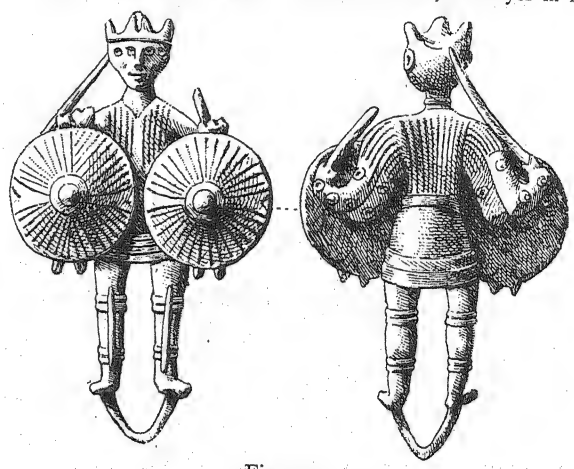


Fig. 353.

apparently other eyes on his arms: he carries two swords and two round shields. Height 0·19^{m}.

[2] A. Löbbecke in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1890 xvii. 13 pl. 2, 3 (= my fig. 354): *obv.* ΑΥ·Κ·Λ·CЄΠ·CЄΥΗΡΟC·ΠЄΡ· bust of Septimius Severus; *rev.* ΒΑΡΗΝΩΝ double-headed male figure advancing to right, with club in right hand and bow in left, on which a bird seems to be perched. Round his shoulders is flung a lion-skin. 'Löwenhaut und Keule...deuten auf Herakles.'

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. pp. cx, 207 pl. 34, 2 (my fig. 356 was drawn from a cast of the coin, kindly sent to me by Mr G. F. Hill): *obv.* ΑVΤΚΑΙΛCЄΠ-CЄΟVΗΡΟCΠЄΡ.. bust of Septimius Severus; *rev.* ΒΑΡΗ ΝΩΝ double-headed, four-armed male figure advancing to right, with heads looking different ways, bow and club held to right, sword to left, and lion-skin slung behind.

[4] D. Sestini *Descrizione delle medaglie antiche greche del museo Hedervariano* Firenze 1828 ii. 268 pl. 22, 5 (= my fig. 355): 'Hercules et Vulcanus in unum corpus colligati...

gedoppelten Herakles[1],' a view provisionally accepted by G. F. Hill (1897)[2] and B. V. Head (1911)[3].



Fig. 354.



Fig. 355.



Fig. 356.

(κ) The effeminate Twin.

And here we must notice a suggestion thrown out long since by that pioneer of mythological study F. L. W. Schwartz[4]. He held that the contrast between the doughty hero and the weakling was a commonplace of Indo-European *saga*[5] to be compared with the *motif* of the emasculated sky-god. Now I am not prepared to follow our ingenious author, when he hazards the conjecture that Kastor was named after *kástor*, the 'beaver[6],' and recalls the belief that this rodent gets rid of its pursuers by tearing off its own testicles[7]. Nor can I agree with him, when he interprets the mutilation of Ouranos by Kronos[8], or that of Kronos by

utraque manu arcum paratum tenet, supra quem insistit avis stymphalis.' Hence Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. vii. 111 no. 131.

[1] J. Friedlaender in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1879 vi. 17 f. described, but did not figure, a specimen now at Berlin, the reverse of which is from the same die as the reverse of Sestini's coin.

[2] G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. pp. cx, 322.

[3] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 707.

[4] F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 138 ff.

[5] *Id. ib.* p. 147 cites Herakles and Iphikles, Agamemnon and Menelaos, Hektor and Paris, Siegfried and Gunther.

[6] So, from a different point of view, does J. Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 pp. 296, 302 f., 310. I am not concerned to deny the possibility, and even the attractiveness, of this derivation. Only, it seems to me that the evidence produced in support of it is inadequate.

[7] See *e.g.* M. Wellmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 400 f., O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 p. 188.

[8] Hes. *theog.* 154 ff. (Gaia, angry with Ouranos because he hated their offspring and would not let them see the light, produced grey adamant, made a sickle of it, and bade her children take vengeance on their father. Kronos, her youngest son, alone dared the deed. Gaia gave him the jagged *hárpe* and hid him in an ambush. Then came great Ouranos, bringing night, and spread himself above Gaia. Kronos reached forth his hand, shore off his father's genitals with the *hárpe*, and flung them from the land into the sea. The bloody drops, falling upon Gaia, gave rise to Erinyes, Gigantes, and the nymphs

Zeus[1], or that of Zeus by Typhon[2], as meaning merely that the

called Meliai. The genitals tossing on the deep caused the white foam, *aphrós*, amid which Aphrodite was reared), 472, Antim. *frag.* 35 Kinkel *ap.* Plout. *quaestt. Rom.* 42, Apollod. 1. 1. 4, Ov. *Ibis* 273 f. with schol. *ad loc.*, Cornut. *theol.* 7 p. 7, 17 ff. Lang, Tert. *ad nat.* 2. 12, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 24, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 19, Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 8. 6 ff., *alib.* The Phaiakes were sprung from the drops let fall by Ouranos (Alkaios *frag.* 116 Bergk[4] and Akousilaos *frag.* 29 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 103 Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 992, where T. Bergk cj. Ἀλκμὰν for Ἀλκαῖος). Phaiakia or Korkyra is called Δρεπάνη (Aristot. *frag.* 469 Rose *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σχερία, cp. schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 983; Kallim. *frag.* 554 Schneider *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 52) or Δρέπανον (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 762 and 869) or Ἅρπη (Lyk. *Al.* 761 f. with schol. *ad loc.*) because the δρέπανον used by Kronos to mutilate Ouranos, or by Zeus to mutilate Kronos, lies buried beneath it (Timaios *frag.* 54 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 203 Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 983 : Ap. Rhod. 4. 982 ff. and *et. mag.* p. 287, 31 f. make Kronos the agent, Lyk. *Al.* 761 f. and Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 762, 869 make him the patient), though others referred these names to the δρέπανον (schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 983, *et. mag.* p. 287, 33 ff.) or ἅρπη of Demeter (Ap. Rhod. 4. 986 ff.). Ζάγκλη (Steph. Byz. *s.v.*) or Δρέπανον in Sicily (*et. mag.* p. 287, 35 ff., Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 707, cp. Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 8. 12. Lyk. *Al.* 869 calls it ἅρπης Κρόνου πήδημα: see C. von Holzinger *ad loc.*) and Δρέπανον in Achaia (Paus. 7. 23. 4) were likewise connected with the sickle of Kronos; Δρέπανον (*et. mag.* p. 287, 38 f.) or Δρεπάνη in Bithynia, with that of Zeus (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δρεπάνη, citing the anonymous line Δρεπάνην κλείουσιν ἀπὸ Κρονίδαο σιδήρου). On the fish πομπίλος, which together with Aphrodite sprang ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανίου αἵματος (Athen. 282 F: cp. *pervig. Ven.* 9 cruore de superno), see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1351 n. 1.

[1] According to the Rhapsodic theogony of the Orphists (*c.* 500 B.C.?), Zeus at the advice of Nyx made Kronos drunk on honey, bound him beneath the tall oaks, and gelded him on the spot (*infra* § 3 (*c*) i (*v*) and Append. G *med.*). Cp. Timaios *frag.* 54 (*supra* n. 0), Lyk. *Al.* 761 f. (*supra* n. 0), Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 64 p. 116, 21 ff. Wünsch (Aphrodite born ἀπὸ τῶν Κρόνου μηδέων, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος), Myth. Vat. 1. 105 Juppiter adultus, quum Saturnus quodam die ad usum corporis exiret (? a mythological travesty derived from the comic stage), illato cultro amputavit naturalia ejus, quae in mare projecit, ex quibus Venus nata est; et mox Juppiter patrem regno expulit, 3. 1. 7 habent quoque fabulae, vel hunc (*sc.* Saturnum) patris sui Caeli virilia abscidisse, et abscissa in mare jecisse, et ex ipsorum cruore spumaque maris Venerem natam esse; vel ipsum a filio castratum fuisse, et de ipsius itidem virilibus, in mare missis, Venerem provenisse. de hac tamen diversitate nonnisi idem sentimus; testiculique utriuslibet abscissi fructus naturales, quos tempora producunt, teste Fulgentio (Fulgent. *myth.* 1. 2), designant, etc., schol. cod. *G.* Ov. *Ibis* 273 Saturnus Caelo patri suo genitalia amputauit (patri suo Caelo uirilia abscidit ne alium filium generaret cod. *C.* caelo patri abscidit uirilia cod. *Ask.*), unde Calixto (Promptius uel Calmethes cod. *C.* callisthenes cod. *Ask.* R. Ellis cj. Propercius uel Callisthenes): Saturnus credens unum laesisse parentem, | tres, non tantum unum laeserat ille patrem. | non impune tamen, nam parte est laesus eadem, | poenamque a nato quam dedit ipse tulit. | peccat uterque male (*sic*), sed cum male peccat uterque (malis male sed cum uterque cod. *C.* male ille male hic male peccat uterque cod. *Ask.*), | hic peccat peius qui prius illa (ista codd. *C. Ask.*) facit. | credere uix ausim esse deos; me iudice nempe | tam male qui peccat nec deus est nec homo.

[2] The story has come down to us in two different settings. (1) Apollod. 1. 6. 3: When the gods had vanquished the Gigantes, Ge in anger consorted with Tartaros, and brought forth in Kilikia Typhon the most monstrous of all her children. Down to the waist he was human in shape, but big enough to overtop the mountains; his head often touched the stars; his hands reached the east and the west, and from them started a hundred snaky heads. Below the waist he had serpentine coils that reared and hissed. There were wings all over his body, bristly hair on his head and cheeks, fire in his eyes. He attacked heaven with hissing and shouting, as he hurled rocks and breathed out fire. The gods on

storm-god, cut by the rainbow-sickle, showers down the lightning

seeing him fled to Egypt, where they transformed themselves into various animals (*supra* i. 370 n. 1, 445, 675). While Typhon was afar off, Zeus flung thunderbolts at him (*infra* § 3 (c) iv (*a*)). When Typhon drew nigh, Zeus scared him with a *hárpe* of adamant and pursued him to Mt Kasion in Syria. Seeing that he was wounded, Zeus then came to close quarters. But Typhon, casting his coils about the god, caught him, wrested the *hárpe* from him, and cut the sinews of his hands and feet. He lifted Zeus on his shoulders and carried him through the sea to Kilikia, where he deposited him in the Corycian Cave. The sinews he hid in the skin of a bear and stored them there with Delphyne, half-snake, half-woman, to guard them. However, Hermes and Aigipan contrived to steal the sinews, and fitted them on to Zeus again (Τυφὼν δὲ ταῖς σπείραις περιπλεχθεὶς κατέσχεν αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν ἅρπην περιελόμενος τά τε τῶν χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν διέτεμε νεῦρα, ἀράμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων διεκόμισεν αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς Κιλικίαν καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον κατέθετο. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ νεῦρα κρύψας ἐν ἄρκτου δορᾷ κεῖθι ἀπέθετο, καὶ κατέστησε φύλακα Δελφύνην δράκαιναν· ἡμίθηρ δὲ ἦν αὕτη ἡ κόρη. Ἑρμῆς δὲ καὶ Αἰγίπαν ἐκκλέψαντες τὰ νεῦρα ἥρμοσαν τῷ Διὶ λαθόντες). Thus Zeus, having recovered his strength, suddenly appeared in the sky on a chariot drawn by winged horses. Brandishing his bolts, he pursued Typhon to Mt Nysa. Here the monster was deceived by the Moirai; for, believing that it would increase his strength, he tasted of mortal fruit. Pursued further to Thrace, he carried on the fight round Mt Haimos and hurled whole mountains at Zeus. But the thunderbolt forced these mountains back upon him, till he deluged the range with his blood (Αἷμος from *αἷμα*). He essayed to escape through the Sicilian sea. But Zeus finally crushed him beneath Mt Aitne, from which the fiery blasts of the thunderbolts that were flung can still be seen to issue.

(2) Nonn. *Dion.* i. 137 ff.—2. 712: Zeus, enamoured of Plouto (*supra* i. 156), had hidden his thunderbolts in the Arimian Cave, where their smoke betrayed them. Typhoeus or Typhon (the names are used indifferently) the Cilician, at the advice of his mother Gaia, stole them, kept them in a hollow rock, and usurping the powers of Zeus (i. 295 Ζεὺς νόθος, 391 νόθου Διός, cp. 479 f. γνήσιον ὑμνείων με νέον σκηπτοῦχον Ὀλύμπου | σκῆπτρα Διὸς φορέοντα καὶ ἀστράπτοντα χιτῶνα) proceeded to upset the whole course of nature. Thereupon the gods flew, like a flock of birds, to Egypt. Just then Kadmos, seeking Europe (*supra* i. 539 ff.), reached the Arimian Cave. Zeus, accompanied by Eros met him, and together they plotted the death of Typhoeus. Pan was to dress up Kadmos as a shepherd; Kadmos, to soothe Typhoeus with his *sŷrinx*, receiving Harmonia as his reward; Eros, to quell the world-tumult and shoot a shaft at Typhoeus. Zeus in the form of a bull retired to Mt Tauros (Ταῦρος = *ταῦρος*). The plot is carried into effect. Typhoeus, charmed by Kadmos' music, leaves the bolts of Zeus in the cavern with Gaia. Kadmos feigns terror. Typhoeus reassures him, and suggests a musical contest between Kadmos' pipes and his stolen thunders. He even offers that, when he himself occupies the throne of Zeus, he will establish Kadmos in heaven pipes and all. Kadmos next proposes to chant Typhoeus' triumph to the seven-stringed *kithára*, with which he has surpassed Phoibos himself. Unfortunately Zeus, to pleasure Phoibos, has destroyed his strings; but, if he can get new strings, he will enchant the universe. Thereupon Typhoeus fetches from his cavern the sinews of Zeus, which during their former fight had fallen on the ground, and gives them to Kadmos. Kadmos handles the sinews and stores them in a hollow rock for Zeus (i. 510 ff. καὶ ταχὺς εἰς ἓν ἄντρον ἐπείγετο· κεῖθεν ἀείρας | νεῦρα Διὸς δολόεντι πόρεν ξεινήια Κάδμῳ, | νεῦρα, τά περ χθονὶ πῖπτε Τυφαονίῃ ποτὲ χάρμῃ. | καὶ δόσιν ἀμβροσίην ἀπατήλιος ἤνεσε ποιμήν· | καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀμφαφάασκε καὶ ἅρμενον οἷά τε χορδὴν | ἐσσομένην φόρμιγγι κατέκρυφε κοιλάδι πέτρῃ, | Ζηνὶ Γιγαντοφόνῳ πεφυλαγμένα). He then with thin-drawn notes of his *sŷrinx* pipes to the unwitting Typhoeus the coming victory of Zeus. Meantime Zeus creeps into the cave, recovers his weapons, and conceals Kadmos in a cloud. The music stops. Typhoeus, eager to resume his rage, goes in search of the thunderbolts and discovers that he has been tricked. His wrath is unbounded. The gods are still in Egypt. But Zeus gives battle from Mt Tauros and, after a scene of prodigious

before he passes into a milder mood[1]! But, such vagaries notwith-

conflict, blasts Typhoeus with his lightnings. To Kadmos he speaks words of comfort, and so retires to Olympos, taking the gods with him.

M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 228 says truly that the barocco trait of Typhon excising the sinews of Zeus is unparalleled in Greek mythology (Sir J. Rhys *Hibbert Lectures 1886*[3] London 1898 pp. 119—122 cp. the Old Norse myth of Tyr *v.* the wolf Fenrir [who is bound with the fetter Gleipnir, made in part of the sinews of bears: see P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 246] and the Old Irish myth of Nuada *Argat-lám v.* the Fir Bolg champion Sreng [which I have discussed in *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 28 f., *supra* p. 224 n. 1]) and must be due to a learned importation of Egyptian elements. The Count de Marcellus (ed. Paris 1856 p. 8 of 'Notes et commentaires') aptly quotes Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 55 ὅθεν ἐν Κοπτῷ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ὥρου λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ χειρὶ Τυφῶνος αἰδοῖα κατέχειν· καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν μυθολογοῦσιν, ἐξελόντα τοῦ Τυφῶνος τὰ νεῦρα, χορδαῖς χρήσασθαι, διδάσκοντες ὡς τὸ πᾶν ὁ λόγος διαρμοσάμενος σύμφωνον ἐξ ἀσυμφώνων μερῶν ἐποίησε, καὶ τὴν φθαρτικὴν οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν, ἀλλ' ἀνεπήρωσε, δύναμιν. κ.τ.λ. (in the sequel Typhon takes out the eye of Horos, swallows it, and then restores it—the Egyptian explanation of a solar eclipse). Mayer *loc. cit.* further points out that Typhon hides the sinews of Zeus in a bear's skin because the constellation of the Bear was in Egypt regarded as the soul of Typhon (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 21 τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ λάμπειν ἄστρα, καὶ καλεῖσθαι κύνα μὲν τὴν Ἶσιδος ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων, ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Σῶθιν, Ὡρίωνα δὲ τὴν Ὥρου, τὴν δὲ Τυφῶνος, ἄρκτον). He adds *ib.* p. 229 n. 177 that the derivation of Αἶμος from Typhon's αἷμα recurs in connexion with Egypt (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἠρώ).

One obvious difficulty remains. If the Greek stories were merely Αἰγύπτιοι λόγοι, Hermes ought to have docked the sinews of Typhon, not Typhon the sinews of Zeus. Probably the sense of justice, which led the Orphists to declare that Kronos the castrator of his father must himself be castrated by his son (*supra* p. 448 n. 1), prompted a later generation to demand the like penalty of Zeus. It may be that the νεῦρα Διός were originally a euphemism for the αἰδοῖα Διός, cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 55 Τυφῶνος αἰδοῖα and the use of νεῦρα in Athen. 64 B (with J. E. B. Mayor's note on Iuv. 10. 205).

[1] Another explanation, advanced by A. Lang *Custom and Myth* London 1884 p. 45 ff., *id. Myth, Ritual, and Religion* London 1887 i. 299 ff., and treated as plausible by Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 27 and Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 283, sees in these stories 'a myth of the violent separation of the earth and sky, which some races, for example the Polynesians, suppose to have originally clasped each other in a close embrace.' Frazer *loc. cit.* i. 283 n. 3 quotes a doubtful Egyptian parallel, in which Osiris perhaps mutilates his father Set at the separation of earth and heaven.

More probably we have here to do with mythical echoes of a primitive custom. When Kronos succeeds to Ouranos, he must possess himself of his predecessor's fertilising powers. Since these reside in the genitals, the new god must castrate the old. It may be suspected that originally he kept the relics as jealously as Typhon keeps the νεῦρα Διός. The mutilations of Kronos by Zeus and of Zeus by Typhon will be later repetitions of the same early myth, which long after its meaning had been forgotten came ricochetting down the ages. The most instructive parallel, as Miss Harrison points out to me (Sept. 23, 1918), is that of the early kings of Uganda first published by my friend the Rev. J. Roscoe 'Kibuka, the War God of the Baganda' in *Man* 1907 vii. 161—166 with pl. L, 1—3 and 4 figs. in text (Kibuka and his brother Mukasa, who lived on one of the islands of Lake Victoria, have become the two principal gods of the Baganda. Kibuka's relics include a stool with a hollowed seat containing his lower jawbone, his testicles, and his *phallós*, in three leathern cases decorated with shells and beads), cp. W. Ridgeway *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* Cambridge 1915 p. 379 ff. figs. 85—87.

Miss Harrison has further brought to my notice the latest attempt to solve the problem, that of the psychoanalyst. It is implied, if not expressed, in S. Freud *Totem und Tabu* Leipzig—Wien 1913 (extr. from *Imago* 1912 i and 1913 ii) p. 120 f. 'Wer aber

standing, Schwartz has fastened on a possibility that merits consideration. The comparative feebleness of one of the twins is certainly a recurring feature[1], and *may* presuppose loss of virility. Dr Rendel Harris[2] points out that on the chest of Kypselos one of the Dioskouroi was bearded, the other beardless[3],—a distinction found also on a *sarcophagus* at Arles[4]. The mystical school of Epimenides[5] even maintained that the Dioskouroi were respectively male and female[6]. Whether Iphikles, sometimes called

die Geschichte des kleinen Hans aufmerksam durchsieht, wird auch in dieser die reichlichsten Zeugnisse dafür finden, dass der Vater als der Besitzer des grossen Genitales bewundert und als der Bedroher des eigenen Genitales gefürchtet wird. Im Ödipus- wie im Kastrationskomplex spielt der Vater die nämliche Rolle, die des gefürchteten Gegners der infantilen Sexualinteressen. Die Kastration und ihr Ersatz durch die Blendung ist die von ihm drohende Strafe' (English ed. London 1919 p. 216).

[1] In the *Iliad* Machaon is more to the fore than his brother Podaleirios: cp. Hyg. *fab.* 97, where Machaon takes twenty ships to Troy, Podaleirios ten. But later epos distinguished Machaon as surgeon from Podaleirios as physician, and preferred the less drastic art. See Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2587 f., Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 627. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Isyllos von Epidauros* Berlin 1886 p. 51 regards Ποδαλείριος as a Carian name, cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σύρνα· πόλις Καρίας, ἔκτισται δὲ ὑπὸ Ποδαλειρίου. κ.τ.λ. and Ποδάλεια in central Lykia. The Greeks, however, here as elsewhere (*supra* i. 25), tried to extract sense from the Carian name (*et. Gud.* p. 471, 28 ff. =*et. mag.* p. 678, 17 ff., Favorin. *lex.* p. 1525, 4 f., Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 395, 32, 962, 59 ff.); and modern critics have followed suit. T. Panofka in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1845* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 342 f. renders 'weissfüssig, schnell,' cp. ποδάργης; W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 ii. 1215, 'Rosentreter od. Zierfuss'; A. Fick—F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Personennamen*[2] Göttingen 1894 pp. 397, 406, 'zart, schwach?'+'Fuss,' followed by S. Eitrem *Die göttlichen Zwillinge bei den Griechen* (*Videnskabsselskabets Skrifter* II. Historisk-filos. Klasse 1902 No. 2) Christiania 1902 p. 93 'der schwachfüssige'; A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1902 xxvi. 320, 'schmalfuss.' Ποδαλείριος, understood as 'Lily-foot' implying weakness in the feet (on the François-vase Hephaistos' distorted feet are white: Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 6 pl. 1—2), might well be contrasted with Μαχάων, whose name was connected with μάχη (S. Eitrem *loc. cit.* p. 92) rather than with μῆχος, μᾶχος (A. Fick—E. Bechtel *op. cit.*[2] pp. 198, 399, A. Fick *loc. cit.* 1902 xxvi. 320 f.) or with μάπτειν (H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 pp. 150 n. 8, 170).

Mr E. S. Hartland has suggested to me in conversation (Oct. 1, 1918) that a Biblical parallel is to be found in the case of Jacob and Esau. The analogy is indeed singularly complete; for the statement that the mysterious Wrestler 'touched the hollow of Jacob's thigh in the sinew of the hip' (Gen. 32. 32, cp. 32. 25) may, as Mr Hartland urges, refer to the *genitalia* (see J. Skinner *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* Edinburgh 1910 pp. 341 f., 410 f.).

[2] J. Rendel Harris *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 pp. 46, 91.

[3] Paus. 5. 19. 2.

[4] M. Albert *Le culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie* Paris 1883 p. 108 f., Robert *Sark.-Relfs* iii. 2. 194 ff. pl. 50, 160 (bearded figure in right hand corner) and 160 *a* (beardless figure in left hand corner), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 212 nos. 1 f. (detail not shown).

[5] On οἱ περὶ Ἐπιμενίδην see A. Dieterich *Abraxas* Leipzig 1891 p. 130 n. 1 ('neupythagoreisch-neuplatonische Meinungen über die Weltschöpfung').

[6] Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 17 p. 78, 20 ff. οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἐπιμενίδην ἄρρενα καὶ θήλειαν ἐμύθευσαν τοὺς Διοσκόρους, τὸν μὲν αἰῶνα, ὥσπερ μονάδα, τὴν δὲ φύσιν, ὡς δυάδα, καλέσαντες· ἐκ γὰρ μονάδος καὶ δυάδος ὁ πᾶς ζωογονικὸς καὶ ψυχογονικὸς ἐξεβλάστησεν ἀριθμός.

Iphiklos[1], can be identified with Iphiklos son of Phylakos, whose debility was cured by Melampous[2], is very doubtful.

(λ) Apollon and Artemis.

If one of the twins, he who stood for the dark nocturnal Sky, was thus effeminate, the question arises: Can we accept Dr Rendel Harris' further contention 'that Apollo and Artemis are twins displacing twins'[3]? *À priori* such displacement is, of course, quite thinkable; yet we cannot, so far as I know, adduce any example of its actual occurrence. Two ancient cult-centres where it might naturally have occurred are Delos and Delphoi. At Delos we have the earlier Hyperborean maidens Opis and Arge[4], or Opis and Hekaerge[5], together with their male counterparts Opis and Hekaergos[6]; we have also the later Hyperborean maidens Hyperoche and Laodike[7]. At Delphoi we meet with the heroes Hyperochos and Laodokos[8], or Hyperochos and Amadokos, who were likewise Hyperboreans[9]; we meet too with the heroic couple Phylakos and Autonoos[10]. But none of these will serve our turn. For the Delian pairs, if twins[11], were not male; and the Delphian pairs, though male, were not twins[12]. On the whole, it seems most likely that Opis and Arge (Hekaerge) were originally appellatives of Artemis[13], and at least possible that Hyperochos and Laodokos (Amadokos) were one-time appellatives of Apollon[14]. The male Opis and Hekaergos

[1] Apollod. 2. 7. 3 (where for Ἰφικλος R. Wagner reads Ἰφικλῆς with the *epitoma Vaticana*), Diod. 4. 33, 34, 49.

[2] *Infra* § 3 (c) i (υ).

[3] J. Rendel Harris *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 p. 137.

[4] Olen *ap.* Hdt. 4. 35 Ὦπις and Ἄργη.

[5] Melanopos of Kyme *ap.* Paus. 5. 7. 8 Ὦπις and Ἑκαέργη. So also Paus. 1. 43. 4, Claud. *de cons. Stil.* 3. 253 ff.

[6] Plat. *Axioch.* 371 A, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 11. 532, cp. Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 58 (but see Ampel. 9. 7).

[7] Hdt. 4. 33—35, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 6.

[8] Paus. 10. 23. 2. [9] Paus. 1. 4. 4. [10] Hdt. 8. 38 f.

[11] Claud. *de cons. Stil.* 3. 253 ff. Ὦπις, Ἑκαέργη, and Λοξώ form a triad in Kallim. *h. Del.* 292 with schol. *ad loc.*, Nonn. *Dion.* 5. 489 ff., 48. 332 ff., *et. mag.* p. 641, 56 ff.

[12] That Hyperochos and Laodokos (Amadokos) were twins, we are not told. They are mentioned as a triad along with Pyrrhos, son of Achilles (Paus. 1. 4. 4, 10. 23. 2). That Phylakos and Autonoos were twins, is very improbable, since their precincts were some distance apart (Hdt. 8. 39, cp. Paus. 10. 8. 7 with H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*).

[13] See *e.g.* O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 927 ff.

[14] Ὑπέροχος, 'Eminens, Excellens, Superior' (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* viii. 235 C—D). Ἀμάδοκος and Λαόδοκος are comparable with the Thracian names Μήδοκος, Σπαράδοκος, etc. (F. H. M. Blaydes on Aristoph. *ran.* 608). Λαόδοκος was perhaps changed into the more intelligible Λαόδικος, whence Λαοδίκη—a favourite name in the family of Seleukos (O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 220): but this is guessing in the dark.

were invented by way of compliment to Apollon, just as the female Hyperoche and Laodike were invented by way of compliment to Artemis.

It is, then, far from certain that Apollon and Artemis superseded any pair of twins. Indeed it is far from certain that they were originally twins themselves. When, where, and how they first got together, are questions intimately bound up with the problem of Apollon's *provenance*. And here opinion has, within the last quarter of a century, fairly boxed the compass. K. Wernicke (1894)[1] remarks that Homer was already acquainted with Apollon and Artemis as the twin offspring of Zeus by Leto, and lays stress on Delos as the mainstay, if not the cradle, of their connexion. L. R. Farnell (1896)[2], who groups the cults of Apollon-and-Artemis in a valuable conspectus, would push their joint worship back to the Homeric age and concludes: 'The place where the two deities were first closely associated, and whence the belief in their twinship spread, was probably Delos[3].' T. Zielinski (1899)[4] is in favour of Troy as the *Ausgangspunkt*. Apollon and his sister Artemis, a pair of light-divinities, came from the Troad, where behind the rocks of Mount Ide lay *Lykía*, a blissful 'Land of Light' inhabited by the pious Hyperboreans. From thence the cult of Apollon in early epic times made its way into Greece through Thermopylai. Parnassos became the second holy mountain of the god, who found a double hypostasis—corresponding with the Amphictionic meetings at Delphoi and Pylai—in *Orestes*, the 'Mountain-man,' and *Pyládes*, the 'Gate-man.' U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1903, 1908)[5] likewise looks to the east. He argues that in the *Iliad* Apollon protects Trojans and Lycians, that as the god of Lykia he has the appellatives *Lykegenés*[6], *Lýkeios*, *Lýkios* and in accordance with

K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 33—35.

Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 464—467, 577—581.

[3] A Melian *amphora*, now at Athens (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 120 ff. no. 475), has for its principal design the meeting of Apollon and Artemis. Apollon, bearded, arrives in a car drawn by four winged steeds. He carries a seven-stringed lyre, to which the reins are attached (!), and brings with him two females, usually regarded as Muses, but better identified by M. P. Nilsson in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 313 with the Hyperborean maidens. If so, the locality must be Delos. Artemis advances to welcome the god, having a bow and quiver on her back, an arrow in her left hand, and a stag in her right (A. Conze *Melische Thongefaesse* Leipzig 1862 pl. 4 (=my fig. 357), H. von Rohden in Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 1954 f., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* ix. 471 ff. fig. 235).

[4] T. Zielinski 'Die Orestessage und die Rechtfertigungsidee' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1899 iii. 87 f.

[5] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 'Apollon' in *Hermes* 1903 xxxviii. 575—586, *id. Greek Historical Writing and Apollo* trans. G. Murray Oxford 1908 pp. 27—45.

[6] *Il.* 4. 101, 119. Wilamowitz contends that Pandaros the Lycian presumably uses

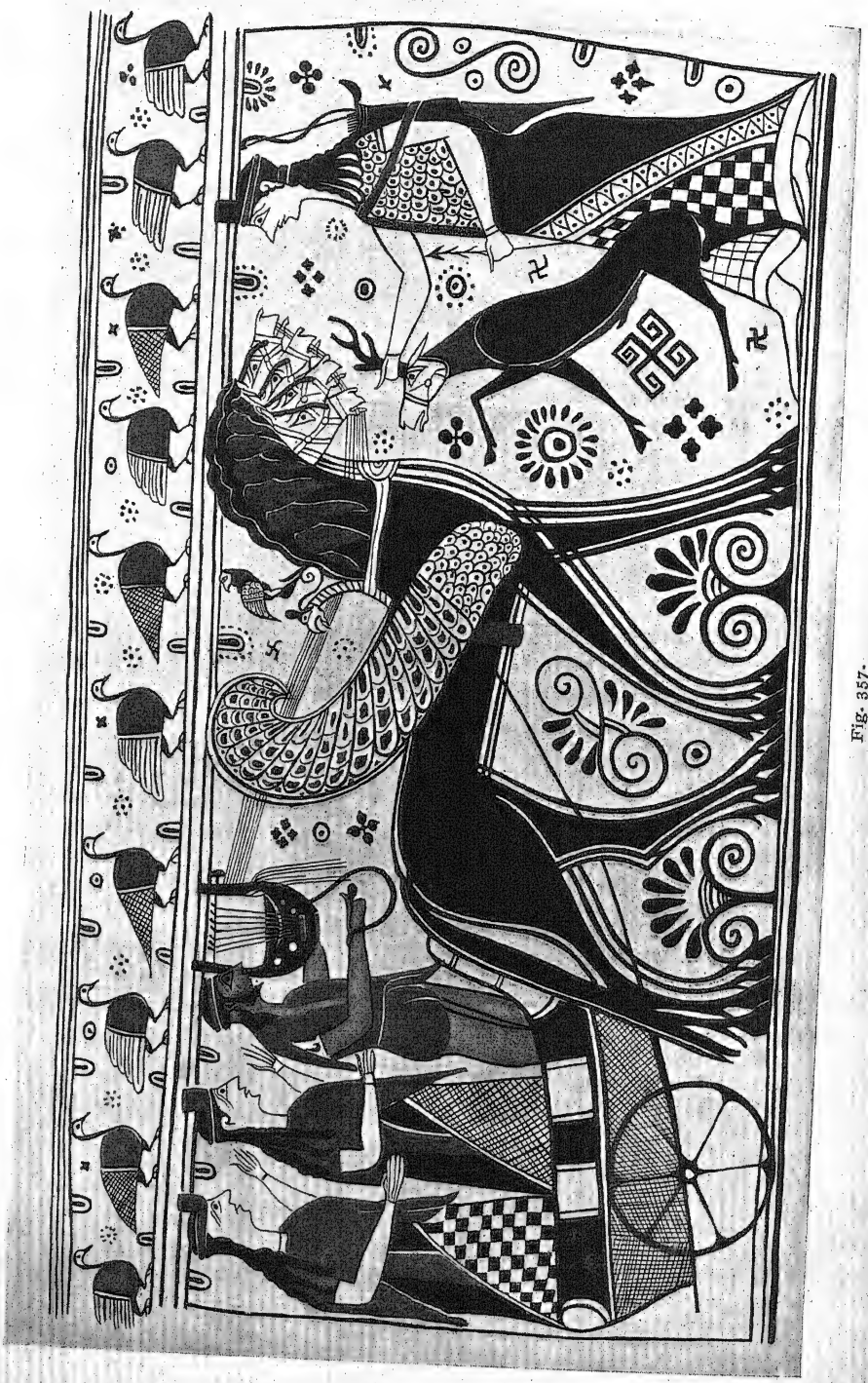


Fig. 357.

Lycian custom[1] the metronymic *Letoïdes*, that his sister was a barbaric goddess equated by the Greeks with their own Artemis, that the birth of the twins was located at Araxa in Lykia[2], that their mother Leto bears a native name (the Lycian *lada* meaning 'wife'[3]), that the Delian Apollon was believed to winter in Lykia[4], and that the earliest cult-poetry of Delos was attributed to the Lycian Olen[5]. Hence Wilamowitz concludes that Leto and her twins were essentially Asiatic (Lato *Asiâtis* was worshipped at Argos[6]), belonging by rights to the Lycians in their original abode, that the cult of all three had before the arrival of the Greeks in Asia Minor already spread to Delos and Crete, and that it passed over from the islands to the mainland of Greece, where Apollon usurped the position of this, that, and the other older deity. M. P. Nilsson (1906)[7] accepts in the main the results reached by Wilamowitz and seeks to support them by certain heortological considerations. He observes that in Greece, apart from the great cult-centres of Delos, Delphoi, and Mount Ptoion, the chief festivals of Apollon are precisely those in which the god appears as an intruder[8]; that Apolline festivals are comparatively rare on the Greek mainland, much more frequent in the islands and in Asia Minor; that Apollon has a higher percentage of appellations derived from place-names than any other god, his worship, as a missionary cult, being widely disseminated, and his numerous epiphanies suggesting that in many places he was invoked to quit

λυκηγενής in the sense of 'born in Lykia.' For other interpretations see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2174 f. and Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 195 f.

[1] Hdt. 1. 173 with the note of J. Wells *ad loc.* See further O. Benndorf—G. Niemann *Reisen in Lykien und Karien* Wien 1884 p. 73, Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 94 ff., G. Dottin *Les anciens peuples de l'Europe* Paris 1916 p. 109 f.

[2] O. Benndorf—G. Niemann *op. cit.* p. 76 f. inscription no. 53 B, 9 ff. ἑκατὸν (?) δὲ καὶ οὐ πολλῶν χρόνων | ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀφ' (?) ἡμῶν γενεᾶς ἀνα|φυούσης τῆς θ[εο]τόκου γῆς λαΐ]νέου[ς] μορφὰς ὁμοιοτυπεῖς τῆς | Λητοῦς διδύμοις φωστῆρσιν | ἐπουρανίοις ἐν 'Α[ρά]ξοις κυηθείσιν, | Ἄρτεμίν τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα, ἐν μὲν | [Π]ινάροις ὑπεράνω κ.τ.λ. (fragments of an epideictic speech, in lettering of the age of Commodus, dealing with the mythology and ritual of Sidyma), cp. Quint. Smyrn. 11. 20 ff. (Neoptolemos slew Laodamas, whom Leto bore to Zeus, breaking up with her hands the hard plain of Lykia as the throes of birth came upon her). Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 333 n. 2.

[3] See e.g. H. Hirt *Die Indogermanen* Strassburg 1907 ii. 572 ff.

[4] Verg. *Aen.* 4. 143 ff. with Serv. *ad loc.*

[5] Hdt. 4. 35 (*supra* p. 452 n. 4), Paus. 5. 7. 8.

[6] W. Vollgraff in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 236 ff. Λατῶι | 'Ασ[ι]άτ[ι]δι Διόσ-κ[ο]ρο[ι], 'Απόλλων, Ἄρτα|μις, ἀπ[λ]ανεῖ[ς] θεοί, ἔ[σ]τησαν [να]όν, | κ.τ.λ. This temple, built in 303 B.C. to commemorate the departure of the Macedonian garrison, was doubtless the one described by Paus. 2. 21. 8 f.

[7] Nilsson *Gr. Feste* pp. 102—104.

[8] *Id. ib.* p. 102: 'so die Thargelien, die Karneen, die Hyakinthien, die Verfolgung des Skephros in Tegea, die Daphnephorien in Theben.'

his ancient haunt and attend the new local rites. Nilsson further (1911)[1] notes that the first day of the month was sacred to Apollon as *Nouménios*[2] and that the twentieth was sacred to him as *Eikádios*[3], but that his festivals regularly fell on the seventh of the month[4]. Hence we are to infer that Apollon was essentially connected with the lunisolar calendar and its sacred sabbath, that his worship originated in Babylonia, and that it spread through Asia Minor to Greece. O. Gruppe (1906)[5], though he does not go so far afield as Mesopotamia, again turns his face eastwards. He holds that the worship of a barbaric mother-goddess *Lató*, whose name was Ionised as *Letó*, and the recognition of Apollon and Artemis as her twin children may be attributed to Hellenic settlers on the coast of Asia Minor in the course of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. W. Aly (1908)[6] is disposed to reject the eastern origin of Apollon. He argues that, if the god had come—as Wilamowitz thought—from Lykia, his cult must have reached Greece *viâ* Crete. We should therefore look to find early forms of his worship in that island. But a careful survey of the Cretan evidence can produce nothing of the sort. Rather we are driven to conclude that the cult was imported from Greece, especially from Delphoi[7]. E. Meyer (1909)[8] also parts com-

[1] M. P. Nilsson 'Die älteste griechische Zeitrechnung, Apollo und der Orient' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 423—448.

[2] H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1879 xxxiv. 421 f., W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 424 f., K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 61, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 939 n. 9, M. P. Nilsson *loc. cit.* p. 443 f.

[3] K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 50, O. Jessen *ib.* v. 2098 f., M. P. Nilsson *loc. cit.* p. 444.

[4] K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 50, F. Boll *ib.* vii. 2555, S. Eitrem and O. Jessen *ib.* vii. 2579, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 939 n. 7, M. P. Nilsson *loc. cit.* p. 442 f. For a summary of W. H. Roscher's voluminous papers on the subject see *supra* p. 236 n. 5.

[5] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1247—1252.

[6] W. Aly *Der kretische Apollonkult* Leipzig 1908 pp. 1—57.

[7] *Id. ib.* p. 57: 'Fassen wir zusammen, so hat unsere Untersuchung ergeben, dass sich auf Kreta nichts findet, das Anspruch darauf machte, für altapollinisch zu gelten. Der verbreitete Kult des pythischen Gottes kommt von *Delphi*, während das, was Delphi aus Kreta entlehnt, nicht an Apollons Namen haftet. *Dorisch* dürften wir den Karneios, Dromaios, Agyieus nennen; die übrigen Gestalten sind lokale *Sondergötter*, die mit Apollon erst im Laufe der Entwicklung verschmelzen. Besonders deutlich traten der Apollon von Eleutherna und Apollon Delphinios als eigenartige Persönlichkeiten hervor. Während sich in dorischer Zeit Abhängigkeit von *Argos* zeigte, wiesen die älteren Spuren nach *Böotien*, in einem besonderen Falle nach *Thessalien*. *Kleinasien* kam nur ganz gelegentlich in Betracht. Die sprachliche Untersuchung konnte noch kein Resultat erzielen, da sie von dem ethnologischen Problem abhängig ist. Im Ganzen geht Kreta in vordorischer Zeit *nicht* mit dem Osten, sondern mit dem Mutterland.

Kam Apollon aus Lykien, so ist er jedenfalls an Kreta völlig vorübergegangen, eine Tatsache, die den östlichen Ursprung des Gottes als sehr zweifelhaft erscheinen lässt.'

[8] E. Meyer *Geschichte des Altertums*[2] i. 2. 639 f.

pany with Wilamowitz in regard to the alleged Lycian character of Apollon and his name[1]. Meyer believes that Apollon was originally a deity of flocks and herds, common to all the Greek stems, and that later he became an oracle-giver, when identified with one or another native oracular god on the western and southern coasts of Asia Minor —an identification which entailed certain foreign elements in his cults and myths, especially the story of his birth. A. L. Frothingham (1911)[2] conceives that Apollon, a sun-god, originated in Crete, being none other than Chrysaor, the offspring of Medousa[3], who is to be identified with Artemis—and, for that matter, with Rhea, Kybele, Demeter, etc.—as a form of the Great Mother[4]. Apollon came from Crete to Delphoi, returning later to Crete again as Apollon *Pýthios*[5]. Artemis too, a goddess of nature and fertility, was Cretan, if not in her origin, at least in her development as mistress of mountains and lions, of snakes, of doves or birds[6]. In Asia Minor, between *c.* 1000 and 600 B.C.[7], she took on the typical form of Medousa, her wings being derived from Hittite divinities, her hideous face from the Egyptian Bes[8]. The resultant *Gorgóneion*, a solar effigy, appears in connexion with Artemis at Sparta[9] and in Korkyra[10], with Apollon at Miletos[11] and Delphoi[12]. Latterly scholars have shown a distinct tendency to return to C. O. Müller's belief in the northern origin of Apollon, even if they do not with Müller regard him as an essentially Dorian god[13]. L. R. Farnell (1907)[14] writes: 'We discern that Apollo came into Hellas with the invaders from the North, and aided by the

[1] *Id. ib.*[2] i. 2. 640 n.: 'dass der Name Apollon fremden Ursprungs sei, kann ich nicht für richtig halten. Er ist überall ein Hauptgott der Griechen, auch in den Kultformeln bei Homer; gerade bei den Doriern, bei denen wir am wenigsten Kleinasiatisches erwarten dürfen, ist er geradezu der Stammgott; und ein grosser Teil der apollinischen Kulte und Mythen hat mit dem Orakelgott gar nichts zu tun. Andrerseits ist der Name Apollon in Lykien nicht nur nicht nachweisbar—das würde wenig beweisen, da wir lykische Götternamen aus den Inschriften überhaupt nicht kennen—, sondern der Name Ἀπολλωνίδης wird lykisch durch pulenida wiedergegeben (C I Lyc. 6), ist also aus dem Griechischen entlehnt, was gewiss nicht der Fall sein würde, wenn Apollo ein altlykisches Äquivalent gehabt hätte.'

[2] A. L. Frothingham 'Medusa, Apollo, and the Great Mother' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1911 xv. 349—377, cp. *id.* 'Medusa II' *ib.* 1915 xix. 13—23.

[3] *Id. ib.* 1911 xv. 357.

[4] *Id. ib.* 1911 xv. 349, 364.

[5] *Id. ib.* 1911 xv. 355.

[6] *Id. ib.* 1911 xv. 358 ff.

[7] *Id. ib.* 1911 xv. 377.

[8] *Id. ib.* 1911 xv. 364 ff.

[9] *Id. ib.* 1911 xv. 370 ff.

[10] *Id. ib.* 1911 xv. 356 f.

[11] *Id. ib.* 1911 xv. 355 f.

[12] *Id. ib.* 1911 xv. 352 ff.

[13] C. O. Müller *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* trans. H. Tufnell and G. C. Lewis Oxford 1830 i. 227 ff. (p. 230: 'The most ancient settlements of the Doric race, of which any historical accounts are extant, were...the country at the foot of Olympus and Ossa, near the valley of TEMPE'—p. 300: 'the worship of Apollo came from the most northern part of Greece, from the district of Tempe').

[14] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 99 f., 111 f.

light of two records we can perhaps follow the double trail of his southward pilgrimage, the record concerning the Hyperboreans and that about the sacred way from Tempe to Delphi....But the furthest northern points to which we can push back the cult of Apollo are Illyria, Thrace[1], and Macedon.' Again: 'The Apolline worship at a very early, though perhaps not the earliest, era of Hellenic history had struck deep roots in North Greece, and from thence spread its branches southwards and across the sea:...it was already in some sense the common property of the leading tribes in the north, Thessalian-Achaeans, Ionians, Dryopes, and Dorians, before the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnese and before the great colonies were planted along the Asia Minor coast; and hence in the later era of expansion it became a leading cult in the cities of Aeolis and Ionia, and dominant in the Dorian Pentapolis: the Peloponnesian Dorians were devoted to the cults of Apollo [*Pythaeûs*] and [*Kárneios*], but both these they probably found already established there by an earlier Dryopian immigration, while the Amyclaean Apollo was the divinity of the Achaean, the Messenian Apollo [*Kórydos*] probably of a Minyan population; and Apollo Lykeios who gave his name to Lycia[2] belonged to the oldest stratum of the religion, and his cult was the common heritage of many races.' G. Murray at first (1911)[3] laid stress on the epic formula of appeal to Zeus, Athena, and Apollon[4] as establishing the Achaean character of all three[5], but later (1912)[6] somewhat modified his view: 'Zeus is the Achaean Sky-god. His son Phoebus Apollo is of more complex make. On one side he is clearly a Northman. He has

[1] 'The wide diffusion of the cult of Apollo in Thrace in the historical period, vide *Geogr. Reg.* s.v. [*id. ib.* iv. 433], may be regarded as an inheritance from an aboriginal period: the figure of Apollo may have emerged when the Hellenes were in Thrace, or may have belonged equally to Thracians and Hellenes: Thomaschek's *Die alten Thraker* takes the view that Thrace was hiš original home.' Hardly so. W. Tomaschek in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 cxxx. 2. 48 f. says: ''Απόλλων...uralte Gottheit der lelegischen Aboriginer....Von einer Verehrung des Apollon in Thrake weiss Herodot nichts....[Numerous dedications to Apollon in the Thracian area are cited] Dies alles unter griechischem Einfluss und aus späterer Zeit.' The slip is repeated by M. H. Swindler *Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo* Bryn Mawr 1913 p. 12. Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 462 is more circumspect.

[2] Cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 751 n. 2. But that Lykia was named after Apollon Λύκειος is highly improbable.

[3] G. Murray *The Rise of the Greek Epic*[2] Oxford 1911 pp. 69, 88 ('The two clearest gods of Homer's Achaeans are perhaps the patriarchal Zeus and his son Apollo; next to them Athena').

[4] αἲ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον (*Il.* 2. 371, 4. 288, 7. 132, 16. 97, *Od.* 4. 341, 7. 311, 17. 132, 18. 235, 24. 376).

[5] See, however, Harrison *Themis* p. 501 f., J. A. K. Thomson *Studies in the Odyssey* Oxford 1914 p. 152.

[6] G. Murray *Four Stages of Greek Religion* New York 1912 p. 69 f.

connexions with the Hyperboreans....On the other side Apollo reaches back to an Aegean matriarchal Kouros. His home is Delos, where he has a mother, Leto, but no very visible father....He is no "Hellene." In the fighting at Troy he is against the Achaioi: he destroys the Greek host, he champions Hector, he even slays Achilles. In the Homeric hymn to Apollo[1] we read that when the great archer draws near to Olympus all the gods tremble and start from their seats; Leto alone, and of course Zeus, hold their ground.' Miss M. H. Swindler (1913)[2], after a survey of these divergent views, frankly abandons the quest: 'An attempt to name the tribe in which the Apollo cult had its beginning can scarcely meet with success. The reasons for this are apparent. Although Apollo is a comparatively late comer into Greece, he stands out in Homer, almost in his full development, with a cosmopolitan character. He is essentially a migratory god, which seems to be one source of his great popularity. While he sojourned in the various lands to which he was "invited," he took over into his cult the local gods and oracles, and acquired new epithets. He is at home in Dorian Pytho and Ionian Delos; he has his place in almost all of the oracles on the western and southern coast of Asia Minor, and is especially bound to Lycia. The islands know him and northern Greece in particular bears witness to his worship. It is this pandemic character of Apollo and this tendency to appropriate foreign elements to his cult which render difficult the problem of determining his original character. The origin of his cult and the earliest elements contributed to it must for this reason remain problematic.'

I confess, I am not so despondent. The myth of the Hyperboreans[3] goes a long way, if not all the way, towards a settlement of the points at issue.

Himerios[4] (*s.* iv A.D.) has preserved for us in prose form the contents of a poem by Alkaios[5] (*c.* 600 B.C.), which affords the earliest known version of the myth:

'When Apollon was born, Zeus arrayed him with a golden *mitra* and a lyre, and giving him a chariot of swans to drive sent him to Delphoi and the streams of Kastalia, there to utter justice and law for the Hellenes. But Apollon, stepping on to the chariot, urged the swans to fly to the Hyperboreoi.

[1] *H. Ap.* 1 ff.

[2] M. H. Swindler *Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo* Bryn Mawr 1913 p. 13 f.

[3] The fullest and fairest collection of evidence with regard to the Hyperboreans is that of Daebritz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 258—279. See also important articles by O. Crusius and M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2805—2841, O. Schroeder 'Hyperboreer' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1905 viii. 69—84, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 520 f., G. H. Macurdy 'The Hyperboreans' in the *Class. Rev.* 1916 xxx. 180—183.

[4] Himer. *or.* 14. 10 f.

[5] Alk. *frag.* 2 Bergk[4].

The Delphians, perceiving it, composed a paean and a song, and arranged dances of young men round the tripod, and called upon the god to come from the Hyperboreoi. He, after he had spent a whole year[1] in giving law to the men that were there, thought that the right time was come for the Delphic tripods too to be sounding, so bade his swans fly back again from the Hyperboreoi. Now it was summer, indeed midsummer, when, according to Alkaios, Apollon was brought from the Hyperboreoi. Hence, at the time when summer shines forth and Apollon is here, the lyre too brightens into a summer strain concerning the god. Nightingales sing for him as one would expect birds to sing in Alkaios. Swallows also sing and cicalas, not telling of their own fortunes among men, but voicing all their songs about the god. Kastalia too in poetic wise rolls her silver streams, and Kephissos rises high with tossing waves after the likeness of Homer's Enipeus. For Alkaios, like Homer, does his utmost to make the very water able to feel the god's advent.'

From this prosified extract we learn that, at the close of the seventh century B.C., Apollon was supposed to have reached the land of the Hyperboreans by traversing the air with a team of swans[2]. His track

[1] ὁ δὲ ἔτος ὅλον παρὰ τοῖς ἐκεῖ θεμιστεύσας ἀνθρώποις, κ.τ.λ. This ἔτος is presumably a year of twelve months, not a great year (ἐνιαυτός: see *supra* i. 540 n. 1).

[2] For Apollon (*a*) drawn by swans or (*b*) riding on a swan see L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1863 pp. 29 ff., 80 ff., A. Kalkmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 233 ff., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 312, 350—354, 494 f., P. Hartwig *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rothfigurigen Stiles* Stuttgart—Berlin 1893 p. 188 f., L. Malten *Kyrene* Berlin 1911 pp. 8 f., 43.

(*a*) The former type is known to us from one example only—an engraved *smáragdos* of Roman work at Petrograd, of which a modern paste copy existed in the Stosch collection and passed with it to Berlin (fig. 358 (scale $\frac{2}{1}$) after Overbeck *op. cit.* Apollon p. 495 fig. 24=F. Studniczka in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1727 fig. 3), representing Apollon with bay-branch and quiver as he bears off the reluctant Kyrene in a chariot drawn by two swans (cp. schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 498 Φερεκύδης δέ φησι (*frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 72 Müller)) καὶ Ἄραιθος (*frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 319 Müller)) ἐπὶ κύκνων αὐτὴν ὀχηθεῖσαν κατὰ Ἀπόλλωνος προαίρεσιν εἰς τὴν Κυρήνην ἀφικέσθαι,



Fig. 358.

Philostr. min. *imagg.* 14. 2 Apollon promises Hyakinthos δώσειν...ὑπὲρ κύκνων (κύκνον cod. P. and ed. Ald. C. F. W. Jacobs cj. κύκνου) αὐτὸν ὀχούμενον περιπολεῖν χωρία, ὅσα Ἀπόλλωνος φίλα, Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 226 ff. εἰ δέ σοι οὐρανόθεν πόσις ἦλυθε καλὸς Ἀπόλλων | καὶ Σεμέλης ὑπ' ἔρωτι λελασμένος ἔπλετο Δάφνης, | νόσφι δόλου κρυφίοιο δι' ἠέρος εἰς σὲ χορεύσῃ (D. F. Graefe cj. χορεύσαι) | ἁβρὸς ἀσιγήτων ἐποχημένος ἅρματι κύκνων,—quoted by O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1852 p. 60 n. 26).

(*b*) The latter type is fairly common in vase-paintings, terra-cottas, coins, etc. The earliest of the vases is a fragmentary *kýlix* from the beginning of *s.* v B.C. (P. Hartwig *op. cit.* p. 188 f. pl. 18, 3). The earliest coins are electrum *staîres* of Kyzikos struck *c.* 400—350 B.C. (W. Greenwell 'The electrum coinage of Cyzicus' in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1887 vii. 57 f. pl. 1, 22 Paris, *id. ib.* Third Series 1890 x. 22 pl. 3, 3 Greenwell collection (excellent specimen), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 33 pl. 8, 13, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1431 f. pl. 175, 16). I illustrate (pl. xxv) a *hydría* of late red-figured style, found in Kyrenaike, preserved in the British Museum, and hitherto unpublished (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 182 f. no. E 232, Overbeck *op. cit.* Apollon p. 350 no. 2,



Hydria from Kyrenaike, now in the British Museum: Apollon, riding on a swan, returns to Delphoi.

See page 460 *n.* 2 (*b*).

P. Hartwig *op. cit.* p. 189 n. 1). Apollon, with radiate fillet, bordered *himátion*, and bay-branch, sits between the wings of a swan, which is about to alight on the flowering earth. On rising ground to the right a Satyr leans on his left hand and knee and looks round at Apollon, raising his right hand to his face (ἀποσκοπεύων: *supra* i. 709). Higher up on the right stands a Maenad, holding a *thýrsos* in one hand and beckoning to the god with the other. Satyr and Maenad on the right were balanced by Maenad (?) and Satyr (?) on the left; of whom the Maenad (?), seated on a *himátion* with a square box behind her, looks upward at Apollon, while the Satyr (?)—now largely lost—stands with a *thýrsos* in his left hand. The whole scene is comparable with that on a vase formerly in the Hamilton collection (Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* ii. 34 ff. pl. 12 (fair), Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 130 ff. pl. 42, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 97 pl. 13, 140, Overbeck *op. cit.* Apollon p. 350 no. 1 Atlas pl. 22, 6 (Apollon only)). The



Fig. 359.

palm-tree would suit either Delos (so C. O. Müller *loc. cit.*, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* i. 154 n. 21, Boetticher *Baumkultus* p. 419 n. 24 a) or Delphoi (so F. Wieseler *loc. cit.*, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 68 f., *alib.*, Overbeck *op. cit.* Apollon p. 352 f.). But the appearance of Apollon as the centre of a Dionysiac circle seems to me decisive in favour of Delphoi. I cannot agree with my friend Mr H. B. Walters, who regards the Satyrs and Maenads as mere 'personifications of nature' (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 183. Fig. 359 is from a photograph very kindly supplied to me by Mr Walters). I figure also two imperial coppers of Kalchedon in Bithynia, which show Apollon, lyre in hand, seated on his swan (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 128 no. 34 Iulia Paula, no. 35 Tranquillina pl. 28, 5, no. 36 Tranquillina, Overbeck *op. cit.* Apollon pp. 304, 312 Münztaf. 5, 11 Lucius Verus (=my fig. 360) and 12 Tranquillina, Waddington—

was none other than that 'Road of the Birds,' which in Lithuanian belief led to the celestial country[1]. In a word, it was the Milky Way[2]. Suspicion becomes certainty, when we take into account the next batch of references to the Hyperborean land. Pindar in a magnificent passage of his tenth *Pythian*[3], a poem composed for Hippokleas of Thessaly in 498 B.C., says of the victor's father:

Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 299 pl. 47, 11 Trajan, 300 pl. 47, 16 f. M. Aurelius, 301 pl. 47, 21 Faustina Iunior, 301 no. 70 Lucius Verus, 302 pl. 47, 24 Septimius Severus (=my fig. 361), 302 no. 79 Iulia Domna, 304 no. 93 Elagabalos,



Fig. 360.



Fig. 361.

305 no. 99 Iulia Paula, 306 pl. 48, 20 Iulia Mamaea, 307 no. 115 Tranquillina, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 512. See further L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1863 p. 82).

Similarly Zeus was on occasion conceived as drawn by a team of eagles (*Brit. Mus.*



Fig. 362.

Cat. Terracottas p. 451 no. E 170=my fig. 362 a disk from Tarentum: diameter 2½ ins.), more often as upborne by a single eagle (*supra* p. 102 f. figs. 59—64).

[1] *Supra* p. 38. [2] *Ib.* [3] Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 27—46.

The copper sky he cannot scale ;
But all the joys we mortals hail
These hath he voyaged through to the utmost bound.
By ship nor foot shall e'er be found
The wondrous way to the Hyperborean throng.
Yet princely Perseus on a bygone day
Entered their homes and supped with them, men say,
Lighting their merry company among,
What time they offered in that bright abode
Whole hecatombs of asses[1] to the god.
Ay, for Apollon loves always
The feasting and the feasters' praise ;
And sure he laughs to see the sight
Of brute beasts ramping bolt upright.

1 Cp. Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 29. 4 p. 21, 26 ff. Stählin Σκύθαι δὲ τοὺς ὄνους ἱερεύοντες μὴ παυέσθων, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρός φησι (*frag.* 13 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 431 Müller)) καὶ Καλλίμαχος (*frag.* 187 Schneider), 'Φοῖβος Ὑπερβορέοισιν ὄνων ἐπιτέλλεται (Tanaquil Faber cj. ἐπιτέρπεται O. Schneider cj. ἐπιτέλθεται) ἱροῖς.' ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ (*frag.* 118 Schneider) 'τέρπουσιν λιπαραὶ Φοῖβον ὀνοσφαγίαι' (quoted also by schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 49) = Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 25 quis ab Scythis asinos immolari? non principaliter cum ceteris Apollodorus? Iuv. 6. 468 f. illo lacte fovetur | propter quod secum comites educit asellas, | exul Hyperboreum si dimittatur ad axem. Ant. Lib. 20, writing in *s.* ii A.D. or later (*infra* Append. M *med.*), cites from the *Ornithogonia* of 'Boios' (G. Knaack in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 633 f.) and from the epic *Apollon* by Simmias of Rhodes (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1911 ii. 1. 92 f., Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 952) the story of Kleinis, which may be summarised as follows:—Near Babylon lived a man called Kleinis, a wealthy owner of oxen, asses, and sheep. Favoured by Apollon and Artemis, he often went with them to the temple of Apollon among the Hyperboreoi, where he saw the asses being sacrificed to the god. On reaching Babylon again he too was minded to offer a similar hecatomb at Apollon's altar. But Apollon came and threatened to kill him, unless he desisted and returned to his usual sacrifice of goats, sheep, and oxen, saying that the asses pleased him only if offered by the Hyperboreoi. So Kleinis drove the asses from the altar, and told all this to the children whom Harpe had borne him—Lykios, Ortygios, Harpasos, and Artemiche. Thereupon Lykios and Harpasos bade him to sacrifice the asses and enjoy the feast; Ortygios and Artemiche, to hearken to Apollon. He followed the advice of the latter. But Harpasos and Lykios let the asses go, and drove them to the altar. At this the god sent madness upon the beasts, which devoured the young men and their servants, and Kleinis into the bargain. As they perished they called upon the gods. Poseidon in pity turned Harpe and Harpasos into the birds that bear their names. Leto and Artemis resolved to save Kleinis, Artemiche, and Ortygios, as being innocent persons. Apollon therefore, to pleasure Leto and Artemis, transformed Kleinis into a ὑψιαλετος (a large, dark eagle of the sort that slays fawns), Lykios into a κόραξ (a raven, white at first, but black later when it announced that Koronis daughter of Phlegyas had married Alkyoneus), Artemiche into a πίφιγξ (a lark?), and Ortygios into an αἰγίθαλλος (a titmouse).

In the Amphictionic law of 380 B.C. (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1688, 14 f. = *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 545, 14 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 702, 14 f. = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 191 ff. no. 70, 14 f. = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 75, 14 f. καὶ τὰ ἱερήϊα ἀθρόα συναγόντων τὸς ὄνος τῶν δοκιμ[ασθέντων ἀποδόντες, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰν ἑκ]|ατόμβαν ὅ[ρ]κον ὀμόσας εἶπερ τοὶ ἱερομνάμονες δοκιμαζέτω) the words τὸς ὄνος—as H. L. Ahrens *De dialecto Dorica* Gottingae 1843 p. 484 ff. pointed out—have nothing to do with asses (ὄνους), but with the prices (ὤνους) of the victims approved for sacrifice.

The Muse is never absent from their haunt,
But, while the virgin dancers circling chant,
Lutes lift their sound,
Flutes echo round.
With golden bay they bind the brow
And glad at heart go revelling now.
No fell disease, no cursed age
Can spoil the pilgrims' heritage,
Who free at last from weary fight
And far from Nemesis' despite
Dwell safe at home.
Thither did Danaë's son of valiant soul,
Guided by great Athena to his goal,
To join the band of all the blessed come.

Notice two points. On the one hand, when Pindar speaks of a 'wondrous way'—neither sea nor land—leading to a blissful abode free from disease and old age, he means beyond all reasonable doubt the Elysian track elsewhere described by him as 'the road of Zeus' or 'the gleaming way[1],' in a word the Galaxy. This actually passes through the constellation Perseus[2], an astronomical fact which explains the part played by that hero in the myth. On the other hand, the sacrifice of asses suggests an earthly rather than a heavenly location. Asses were slain for Ares by various tribes[3], including the inhabitants of Karmania[4], and for Priapos by the Lampsacenes[5]. They were further connected with Dionysos, Silenos, the Satyrs, etc.[6] These deities one and all emanate from the Thraco-Phrygian area. And, if the Tarentines sacrificed an ass to the Winds[7], it was presumably to the Etesian Winds which blew down the Adriatic from the north-west[8]. The ass, however, was unknown to the Scythians[9] and is but a stranger in central Europe[10]. We may therefore provisionally assume that those who habitually offered this beast to Apollon dwelt in or near Thrace.

The same curious bilocation of the Hyperborean realm appears in

[1] *Supra* p. 36 f.
[2] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 4. 7.
[3] Cornut. *theol.* 21 p. 41, 9 ff. Lang.
[4] Strab. 727 (quoted *supra* i. 746 n. 2).
[5] Ov. *fast.* 1. 391 ff., 6. 345 f., Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 21, Myth. Vat. 3. 6. 26.
[6] I have collected a good deal of the evidence in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 81—102 ('The Cult of the Ass'). See also L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1863 pp. 228—242, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1311 n. 3, F. Olck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 652 f., O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 267, 269 f.
[7] Hesych. *s.v.* ἀνεμώτας, *et. mag.* p. 103, 33 f.
[8] Cp. Timaios *frag.* 94 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 215 f. Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 60. *Infra* § 7 (a).
[9] Hdt. 4. 28, 129, Aristot. *hist. an.* 8. 25. 605 a 20 ff., *de gen. an.* 2. 8. 728 a 22 ff., Strab. 307. See further F. Olck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 631 f., 654.
[10] Schrader *Reallex.* p. 205 f., S. Feist *Kultur Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen* Berlin 1913 p. 158.

other allusions of Pindar and his younger contemporary Bakchylides. A Pindaric poem cited by Strabo[1] spoke of the Hyperboreoi as 'living for a thousand years'—a view shared by Simonides[2] (556—468 B.C.), Megasthenes[3] (*c.* 300 B.C.), and others. Again, Bakchylides[4] made the Delian Apollon transport Kroisos and his daughter straight from the pyre to the Hyperboreoi; on which Sir R. C. Jebb[5] justly observes that the Hyperborean land is conceived as a paradise for pious mortals, like the Homeric Elysian Plain or the post-Homeric Islands of the Blest. But, if these passages imply that the Hyperboreoi lived in a celestial country to be reached by no ordinary route, Pindar's third *Olympian*[6], written for Theron of Akragas in 476 B.C., insists with equal clearness that they had a terrestrial abode in the Balkans. Herakles, pursuing the hind with golden horns, 'had seen the far-off land beyond the cold blast of Boreas,' had marvelled at its trees, and had been filled with desire to plant them at the end of the Olympic race-course. The poet in the context identifies this Hyperborean region with 'the Istrian land,' where 'Leto's horse-driving daughter' (Artemis) had welcomed the hero. It was 'from the shady springs of Istros' that he brought the olive to Olympia, 'after he had gotten it by persuading the servants of Apollon, to wit the folk of the Hyperboreoi.'

The account here given by Pindar is not free from difficulty. My friend Sir W. Ridgeway has argued that the hind with golden horns is due to a reminiscence of the reindeer, since in no other species of deer are antlers borne by the female[7]. This contention is supported by Sir James Frazer, who points out that in north-eastern Russia there is an annual celebration known as the 'Feast of the Golden-reindeer-horn[8].' The hypothesis is indeed attractive, though by no means secure. The attribution of horns to female deer was a blunder common to Greek[9], Latin[10], and Hebrew[11] writers. And we

[1] Pind. *frag.* 257 Bergk[4] *ap.* Strab. 711.
[2] Simonides *frag.* 197 Bergk[4] *ap.* Strab. 711.
[3] Megasthenes *frag.* 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 423 f. Müller) *ap.* Strab. 711.
[4] Bakchyl. 3. 58 ff.
[5] Sir R. C. Jebb on Bakchyl. 3. 59.
[6] Pind. *Ol.* 3. 13—34.
[7] Sir W. Ridgeway 'The Hind with the Golden Horns' in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society 1894* p. 14 f., reported in *The Academy* 1894 xlvi. 404 and in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1894 ix. 571 f., *id. The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1901 i. 360—363. For the zoölogical facts see *e.g.* R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1894 ii. 369.
[8] Sir J. G. Frazer *ap.* Sir W. Ridgeway *The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1901 i. 363.
[9] Anakreon *frag.* 51 Bergk[4], 52 Hiller—Crusius, Simonides *frag.* 30 Bergk[4], 15 Hiller—Crusius, Soph. *Aleadai frag.* 86 Nauck[2], 89 Jebb, Eur. *frag.* 857 Nauck[2], Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 75, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 3. 52.
[10] Val. Flacc. 6. 71.
[11] S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* ed. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1794 ii. 236.

can hardly think that in every such case they were describing a reindeer or copying the peculiarity of the Cerynean hind[1]. Besides, the oldest known representation of the 'hind,' that on a 'sail'-*fibula* of the Geometric period, makes it an unmistakable male[2]. If, however, we accept Sir W. Ridgeway's explanation and with him suppose that Herakles travelled as far north as the Hercynian Forest, where reindeer were still to be seen in Caesar's day[3], it becomes impossible to believe that the hero fetched thence the wild olive, which is essentially a southern, not a northern plant[4]. Pindar, confessedly an innovator in matters of mythology, may well have combined the myth that Herakles cut his club from a wild-olive on the Saronic Gulf and, leaning it against the image of Hermes *Polýgios* at Troizen, caused a wild-olive to spring up there too[5] with the fact that an olive was growing on the grave of the Hyperborean maidens Hyperoche and Laodike in Delos[6]. Be that as it may, Pindar having once stated that Herakles had brought the wild-olive from the land of the Hyperboreoi to Olympia, others would repeat the statement[7] and it would be widely believed.

But at this point L. Weniger[8] has done good service by insisting on the local tradition of the Olympic seers[9] preserved by Phlegon of Tralleis, who wrote his chronological compendium in the first half of *s.* ii. A.D.[10] According to Phlegon[11], for the first five Olympiads no victor received a wreath; but, on the occasion of the sixth contest, the Eleans sent their King Iphitos to Delphoi, that he might ask of the god whether wreaths should be awarded, and the god made answer:

[1] A. C. Pearson on Soph. *frag.* 89 Jebb.

[2] W. N. Bates 'Two labours of Heracles on a Geometric fibula' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1911 xv. 1 ff., especially p. 8 with fig. 4.

[3] Caes. *de bell. Gall.* 6. 26. This and other classical references to reindeer are collected by O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 279—281. See also Schrader *Reallex.* p. 373 f. and W. W. Hyde 'The curious animals of the Hercynian Forest' in *The Classical Journal* 1917—18 xiii 234 ff. ('The Reindeer').

[4] On the range of the olive see V. Hehn *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien sowie in das übrige Europa*[6] Berlin 1894 p. 101 ff. (trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1888 p. 88 ff.), Schrader *Reallex.* p. 588.

[5] Paus. 2. 31. 10.

[6] Hdt. 4. 34 ἐπιπέφυκε δέ οἱ (*sc.* τῷ σήματι) ἐλαίη. [7] Paus. 5. 7. 7.

[8] L. Weniger *Der heilige Ölbaum in Olympia* Weimar 1895 p. 2 f.

[9] Phlegon *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 603 f. Müller) ὦ Πελοποννήσου ναέται περὶ (παρὰ Synkell. *chron.* 196 B (i. 369 Dindorf), cp. Euseb. *chron.* 1 (i. 191, 29 ff. Schoene)) βωμὸν ἰόντες | θύετε καὶ πείθεσθε τά κεν μάντεις ἐνέπωσιν, | Ἠλείων πρόπολοι, πατέρων νόμον ἰθύνοντες = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 21 (reading περιβώμι' ἰόντες).

[10] Smith *Dict. Biogr. Myth.* iii. 337, Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 806.

[11] Phlegon *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 603 f. Müller) Ἴφιτε, μήλειον καρπὸν μὴ θῇς ἐπὶ νίκῃ, | ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄγριον ἀμφιτίθει καρπώδη ἐλαιῶν, | ὃς νῦν ἀμφέχεται λεπτοῖσιν ὑφάσμασ' ἀράχνης = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 23.

Iphitos, make not the fruit of an apple the prize of thy contest;
But on the victor's head set a fruitful wreath of wild olive,
Even the tree now girt with the fine-spun webs of a spider.

The king, on returning to Olympia, found that one among the many wild-olives in the precinct was wrapped in spiders' webs. So he walled it round and wreathed the victors from its branches. The first to gain the wreath was Daïkles the Messenian, who won the foot-race in the seventh Olympiad (752 B.C.)[1]. The spiders' webs, since they portended rain[2], marked out one tree as specially fertile. But the point to notice is that in this old priestly narrative there were many wild-olives growing in the precinct. The tree was an indigenous product, no importation from a foreign land, least of all from the far north.

Nevertheless the belief that Herakles had introduced a tree from the north to Olympia is supported by both ritual and myth. Only, the tree in question was not the wild-olive but the white-poplar. Pausanias[3] says:

'The Eleans are wont to use logs of white-poplar, and of no other tree, for their sacrifices to Zeus. They honour the white-poplar thus, I imagine, simply because Herakles brought it to Hellas from the Thesprotian land. It struck me, too, that Herakles himself, when he offered sacrifice to Zeus at Olympia, burnt the thigh-pieces of the victims on logs of white-poplar. Herakles found the white-poplar growing beside the Acheron, the river in Thesprotia; and on this account—they say—the tree is called by Homer *acherοΐs*[4]. It would seem, then, that of old, as at the present day, different rivers suited different plants and trees. Thus tamarisks are most numerous and flourishing on the banks of the

[1] Cp. Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 71 Δαϊκλῆς Μεσήνιος, Euseb. *chron.* 1 (i. 195, 4 and 196, 4 Schoene) vii. Darkles Mesenius, in stadio: [Ἔ]βδόμη. Διοκλῆς Μεσήνιος, στάδιον.

[2] Plin. *nat. hist.* 11. 84 iidem sereno non texunt, nubilo texunt, ideoque multa aranea imbrium signa sunt. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1216 n. 1 cp. Paus. 2. 25. 10 ἔστι δὲ ὄρος ὑπὲρ τῆς Λήσσης τὸ Ἀραχναῖον,...βωμοὶ δέ εἰσιν ἐν αὐτῷ Διός τε καὶ Ἥρας· δεῆσαν ὄμβρου σφίσιν ἐνταῦθα θύουσι.

[3] Paus. 5. 14. 2 f.

[4] *Il.* 13. 389=16. 482 with schol. A.B.D. *Il.* 13. 389 ἀχερωΐς· ἡ λεύκη, παρὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀχέροντος ποταμοῦ τῶν καταχθονίων κομισθῆναι αὐτὴν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους, στεψαμένου αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῇ Κερβέρου νίκῃ, schol. T. *Il.* 13. 389 ἡ λεύκη· ταύτην γὰρ ἀνήγαγεν Ἡρακλῆς ἐξ Ἀχέροντος· οἱ δὲ τὴν αἴγειρον, καὶ "ἀχελωΐς" γράφουσιν, ἐπεί φησιν "αἰγείρων ὑδατοτρεφέων" (*Od.* 17. 208). ὅτι δὲ μέγας ἦν, ἀλλαχοῦ φησι "μίμνον ἐπερχόμενον μέγαν Ἄσιον οὐδὲ φέβοντο" (*Il.* 12. 136), schol. A.D. *Il.* 16. 482 ἀχερωΐς· δένδρον ὃ καλεῖται λεύκη. ἔνιοι δὲ φηγοῦ εἶδος εἶπον αὐτήν (see *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 297), schol. L. *Il.* 16. 482 ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀχέροντος γὰρ ἀνήχθη παρὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄκαρπος καὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς ἀφω<σιωμένη ἦν>. See further Harpokr. *s.v.* λεύκη=Souid. *s.v.* λεύκη, *et. mag.* p. 180, 49 ff., Eustath. *in Il.* p. 938, 61 ff.

The ancient derivation is rejected by modern philologists (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 147 f., Schrader *Reallex.* p. 205, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 69, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 107, H. Hirt *Die Indogermanen* Strassburg 1907 ii. 622, S. Feist *Kultur Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen* Berlin 1913 p. 194).

Maiandros; reeds grow tallest in the Boeotian Asopos; and the *perseía*-tree loves no water but the water of the Nile. Similarly with regard to the white-poplar, the poplar, and the wild-olive, it was natural enough for the white-poplar to grow first on the banks of the Acheron, for the wild-olive to do the same on the banks of the Alpheios, and for the poplar to be nurtured by the land of the Keltoi and the Celtic Eridanos.'



Fig. 363.

The interpolator of Servius' commentary on Virgil has preserved a more romantic version[1]. Leuke, the daughter of Okeanos, was loved by Plouton and carried off to the Underworld, where she spent

[1] Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 7. 61 (probably derived from the commentary of Aelius Donatus).

her days and in due course died. Plouton from love of her bade a white-poplar (*leúke*) to spring up in the Elysian fields. It was from this tree that Herakles on his return from the nether regions plucked a wreath. Other authorities add a few details[1]. Herakles, when he dragged Kerberos from below, saw the white-poplar growing beside the Acheron, marvelled at its beauty, wreathed himself with it, brought it to the Upperworld, and showed it to Helios. The myth was already current in the fourth century B.C., to judge from a Scopaic type of the hero wearing his poplar-wreath (fig. 363)[2]. The wreath of white-poplar, thus associated with Herakles[3], was awarded to victors in the Rhodian Tlapolemeia, a festival commemorating Herakles' son Tlepolemos[4], if not Herakles himself[5]. Some would have it, however, that the festival belonged to Helios[6]; and natives of the island spoke of the white-poplar as 'Helios' wreath[7].' Virgil, describing the cult of Hercules at the Ara Maxima,

[1] Eratosthenes (?) *ap.* schol. Theokr. 2. 121 (p. 290, 7 ff. Wendel), interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 5. 134, schol. A. B. D. *Il.* 13. 389, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 938, 63 f. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 2. 66 (cod. G.) has a curious variant: populum significat arborem, quia de populo fuit corona, quam portavit Hercules circa suum caput in infernum. ipse alibi: *Herculea bicolor* (*Aen.* 8. 276). Arnepolis civitas (? cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἄρνη· ...τρίτη Μεσοποταμίας. ??=*Arneburg* (H. Oesterley *Historisch-geographisches Wörterbuch des deutschen Mittelalters* Gotha 1883 p. 27)) a Babyloniis Herculem pro tempore colere dicitur. idcirco hanc arborem ei dedicatam populum dicunt. huius folia noctis et lucis imaginem declarant, nec alia causa clavam ei adsignant, quanquam (*leg.* quam quod) sit inaequalibus vulneribus, per quam dierum inaequalitas intelligitur. Cp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 276 *Herculea populus*; Herculi consecrata, qui, cum ad inferos descendens fatigaretur labore, dicitur de hac arbore corona facta caput velasse: unde foliorum pars temporibus cohaerens et capiti (P. Burman cj. ex capitis *vel* capitis) albuit sudore (abluit sudorem cod. Sangall. alba sudore cod. Guelf. 1), pars vero exterior propter inferorum colorem nigra permansit.

[2] The best preserved example of the type (on which see B. Graef 'Herakles des Skopas und Verwandtes' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1889 iv. 189—226 with pl. 8 f. and illustrations in text) is the bust from Genzano in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 93 no. 1731 pl. 5, 2. My fig. 363 is from P. Wolters in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 55 f. pl. 5, 2. Fine Parian marble. Height 0·40m). To the bibliography given by Mr A. H. Smith add Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] ii. 24 ff. fig. 142, a—c, H. Bulle *Der schoene Mensch im Altertum*[2] Muenchen—Leipzig 1912 p. 479 f. pl. 211 (left), Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 71 Stanze terrene a dritta 1. 23 pl. 13, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 257 no. 405, 520 no. 919, 525 no. 926, A. H. Smith *British Museum: Marbles and Bronzes* London 1914 p. 6 pl. 21.

[3] Theokr. 2. 121 with schol. *ad loc.*, Verg. *ecl.* 7. 61, *georg.* 2. 66, *Aen.* 8. 276 f. with Serv. *ad locc.*, Ov. *her.* 9. 64, Plin. *nat. hist.* 12. 3, Phaedr. 3. 17. 4, Tert. *de cor. mil.* 7.

[4] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 147.

[5] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 145 Τληπολέμεια. οἱ δὲ Ἡράκλεια· κ.τ.λ. But the two festivals were distinct: see Nilsson *Gr. Feste* pp. 450 f., 462 f.

[6] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 146 citing Istros *frag.* 60 b (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 427 Müller).

[7] *Frag. com. adesp.* (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 746 ff., v. 52 f. Meineke) *ap.* Dikaiarch. 1. 5 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 100 Müller) ὅταν δὲ τὴν λεύκην τις αὐτῶν πραέως | ἁλιακὸν εἶναι στέφανον εἴπῃ, πνίγομαι | κ.τ.λ. Large bronze coins issued at Rhodes between 88 and 43 B.C. have *obv.* head of Helios, radiate, facing; *rev.* full-blown rose to front, within a wreath (*Brit.*

makes the Salii chant his exploits 'their brows bound with branches of poplar[1],' though later usage prescribed wreaths of bay[2]. It was perhaps as followers of Herakles that successful athletes in Kos[3] and at Athens[4] wore white-poplar. But the practice has ultimately a chthonian significance. The white-poplar, 'the finest tree which grows in modern Greece[5],' had in ancient times a variety of

Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 261 nos. 342 pl. 41, 3 (=my fig. 364), 343 (=my fig. 365), 344, 345 pl. 41, 4, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 444 no. 80, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 641 f.). This wreath, formerly said to be of vine-leaves (Rasche *Lex. Num.* vii. 1039), is now commonly described as an oak-wreath; and such it might possibly be (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 418 fig. 17). But our passage rather suggests that it is intended for the wreath of white-poplar sacred to the Rhodian Helios. Mr E. S. G. Robinson, who at my request kindly compared the specimens in the British Museum with some actual leaves of white-poplar, reports (June 24, 1921): 'I have looked at the coins of Rhodes you mention and have



Fig. 364.



Fig. 365.

little doubt that the leaves of the wreath are meant for white poplar and not for oak, as you will see from the two enclosed casts; they (the leaves) are not drawn with any great care, but the essential difference between the oak and poplar (the pyramidical shape of the latter) seems to have been observed.'

A certain sympathy between the white-poplar and Helios is attested by the belief that the olive, the white-poplar, and the willow turn their leaves at the solstice (Varr. *rer. rust.* 1. 46=Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 108. Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 87 and 18. 266 f. adds the elm and the linden).

[1] Verg. *Aen.* 8. 285 ff.

[2] Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 276, Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 12. 1 ff. See further R. Peter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2926 f.

[3] Theokr. 2. 120 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*

[4] Aristoph. *nub.* 1007.

[5] So Dr W. Leaf in his note on *Il.* 13. 389. Cp. E. Step *Wayside and Woodland Trees* London 1905 p. 55: 'The White Poplar...grows into a large tree, something between sixty and a hundred feet high.'

names derived from the light-coloured under-surface of its leaves[1]. The striking effect of light combined with dark was, at least in part, the reason why the tree was assigned to the limbo between the Upperworld and the Underworld. As having no fruit, also, it was appropriate to the realm beyond[2]. It was 'chthonian[3],' 'sacred to Hades[4],' 'dedicate to the dead[5].' Hence, according to Harpokration[6] (*s.* ii (?)[7] A.D.), its use in the rites of the chthonian Dionysos[8]. A similar explanation might be given of the fact that, at Olympia, persons wishing to sacrifice to Pelops had to obtain wood of the white-poplar from the 'woodman' (*xyleús*)[9] attached to the cult of Zeus[10]. When Idmon, son of Apollon and seer of the Argonauts, died, his brows were bound with its white leafage[11]. Aquites the Colchian, 'consecrated to the waters of the land and priest of the mighty Phasis,' wore a wreath of white-poplar[12], perhaps because poplars fringed the river where it flowed past Phrixos' tomb to the sea[13]. Finally, Polyphemos, son of the Lapith Elatos, who married

[1] O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 42: 'Die "Silberpappel" führte im Griechischen ihren Namen nach der "weiss schimmernden" Farbe ihrer Blätter: sie hiess λεύκη, ἀλφινία [Hesych. ἀλφινία· ἡ λεύκη. Περραιβοί] (von ἀλφο- "weiss," ἀλφός "weisser Fleck," lat. *albus*), λύγδη [Hesych. λύγδη· τὸ δένδρον, ἡ λεύκη] (λυκ- schwache Form zu λευκ-), φαυλία [Hesych. φαυλία· εἶδος ἐλαίας. οἱ δὲ τὰς λεύκας. φαύλια· μῆλα τὰ μεγάλα] (von φαυ- "glänzen" in φαῦ-σις, πι-φαύ-σκω etc.). Wenn also ihr makedonischer Name ἄλιζα· ἡ λεύκη τὸ δένδρον Hes[ych]. (überl. τῶν δένδρων: verbessert v. GUYETUS) griechisch wäre, so würden wir seinen Stamm in der Bedeutung "schimmern" im Griechischen zu finden erwarten. Das ist bis jetzt nicht der Fall.'

J. Britten—R. Holland *A Dictionary of English Plant-names* London 1884 iii. 600 have compiled the following list: 'POPULUS ALBA, L. Abbey, Abbey-tree, Abel, Abele, Arbeal, Arbell, Asp (White), Aspen (Great), Awbel, Beech (Dutch), Dutch Arbel, Peplar (White), Poplar (White, Silver), White-bark.' *Abele* and its various deformations are derived from the late Latin *albellus*, a diminutive of *albus* (J. A. H. Murray *A New English Dictionary* Oxford 1888 i. 15).

[2] Schol. *Od.* 10. 510.

[3] Harpokr. *s.v.* λεύκη·...αὐτοχθόνιον (*leg.* διὰ τὸ χθόνιον) μὲν εἶναι τὸ φυτόν = Souid. *s.v.* λεύκη·...διὰ τὸ χθόνιον μὲν εἶναι τὸ φυτόν.

[4] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 938, 64 f. ὡς ἄκαρπος δὲ ἡ ἀχερωὶς τῷ Ἅιδῃ ἀνάκειται.

[5] Schol. L. *Il.* 16. 482 (*supra* p. 467 n. 4).

[6] Harpokr. *s.v.* λεύκη = Souid. *s.v.* λεύκη.

[7] Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*[2] Cambridge 1906 i. 325 f.

[8] *Supra* i. 392 n. 4.

[9] Cp. *Olympia* v. 143 ff. no. 62, 12 f. Ὀλύμπιχος Ƨ (=Ὀλυμπίχου) | ξυλεύς, 147 ff. no. 64, 31 f. (=Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 612, 31 f.) ξυλεύς | Εὔθυμος Σωτίωνος Με., 221 ff. no. 121, 27 f. ξυλεύς | Ἀνείκητος, 223 f. no. 122, 23 ξυλεύς· Ἀνείκητος, 225 f. no. 124, 9 f. [ξυ]λεύς |.....s Δι[ός].

[10] Paus. 5. 13. 3. The Pelopion had been founded by Herakles, who sacrificed into the pit (*bóthros*) for Pelops. The annual magistrates kept up the sacrifice, the victim being a black ram, the neck of which was given to the woodman (*xyleús*). Whoever, either of the Eleans or of strangers, ate the flesh of the victim sacrificed to Pelops might not enter the temple of Zeus (*ib.* 2—3). See further Sir J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*

[11] Val. Flacc. 5. 10 f.

[12] Val. Flacc. 6. 294 ff.

[13] Val. Flacc. 5. 184 ff.

Laonome a sister of Herakles[1] and fell fighting in the land of the Chalybes, had a burial mound near the sea beneath a tall white-poplar[2].

If the white-poplar was thus regarded as a Borderland tree, the black-poplar was even more closely connected with the Otherworld. The woods of Persephone on the further side of Okeanos consisted of 'tall black-poplars and willows that shed their fruit[3].' When Teukros quitted Salamis to seek a new home across the water, 'he is said to have bound his brows with a poplar-wreath[4].' When Aeneas on the anniversary of his father's death held a contest for ships, the Trojan crews were 'veiled with poplar-leafage[5].' Varro was buried in an earthenware coffin 'after the manner of the Pythagoreans on leaves of myrtle, olive, and black-poplar[6].' And the place where Augustus' body had been burnt on the Campus Martius was enclosed by an iron fence and planted with black-poplars[7].

Nor can we in this context ignore the myth of the Heliades. Virgil, it is true, in his *Eclogues* transforms these sisters of Phaethon into alders[8]: but in his *Aeneid* he, like the great majority of Latin writers, speaks of them as poplars[9]; and the Greeks almost with one consent[10] call them black-poplars[11]. As such they appear in their

[1] Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1241. Cod. Paris. has Λαονόην for Λαονόμην.

[2] Ap. Rhod. 4. 1475 ff. Cp. E. B. Browning *Rhyme of the Duchess May* i. 2. 1 'Six abeles i' the kirkyard grow,' iii. 2. 1 'The abeles moved in the sun.'

[3] *Od.* 10. 509 f., cp. Paus. 10. 30. 6.

[4] Hor. *od.* 1. 7. 21 ff. Porphyrion *ad loc.* bene, non qualibet sed *populea corona*, propter fortitudinem animi; nam haec arbos in tutela Herculis est. But we have no right to assume that *populus* means *populus alba*. W. Hirschfelder in his note on *od.* 1. 7. 22 f. makes the same assumption.

[5] Verg. *Aen.* 5. 134. Serv. and interp. Serv. *ad loc.* drag in Hercules, and even Hebe, to explain 'cetera *populea* velatur *fronde iuventus*'!

[6] Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 160.

[7] Strab. 236. See further O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 p. 250 f., H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 620.

[8] Verg. *ecl.* 6. 62 f. tum Phaethontiadas musco circumdat amarae (so Diomed. *art. gramm.* 2 p. 453, 35 f. Keil amaro cod. R.) | corticis atque solo proceras erigit alnos. G. Knaack in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2192 says: 'diese gesuchte Abweichung ist wohl auf *Cornelius Gallus* zurückzuführen.' In Germ. *Arat.* 365 f. hunc, nova silva, | planxere *ignotis maestae Phaethontides ulnis* P. Burman cj. *enatis versae Phaethontides alnis*, which is ingenious, but unnecessary, cp. Avien. *Arat. phaen.* 793 f. illum prolixis durae Phaethontides ulnis | planxerunt.

[9] Verg. *Aen.* 10. 190 with Serv. *ad loc.*, cp. Hyg. *fab.* 152 and 154, Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 31, Val. Flacc. 5. 429, Myth. Vat. 1. 118, 2. 57 (in arbores commutatae sunt alnos, vel, ut alii dicunt, in populos).

For a numismatic representation of Phaethon's sisters as larches (?) see *supra* p. 402 n. 0.

[10] The only exception is schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 732 ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἠριδανῷ αἱ Ἡλιάδες κόραι τὸν Φαέθοντα δακρύουσαι εἰς φηγοὺς μετεβλήθησαν.

[11] Schol. H. Q. V. *Od.* 17. 208 (ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ τοῖς τραγικοῖς), Ap. Rhod. 4. 603 ff.

earliest extant representation, that of an Arretine mould acquired in 1898 by the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston. A cast taken from the mould (fig. 366)[1] shows a relief, signed by Bargates a slave of the potter M. Perennius, which subdivides into two distinct scenes. On the right we see Phaethon fallen from the solar car. One wheel of it lies beside him. The other is collected, as Valerius Flaccus says[2], by Tethys the wife of Okeanos, his grandmother[3]. Helios[4], on horseback with a spare horse at his side, has already caught two of the chariot-team by the reins and will next turn his attention to the remaining pair, of which one rears high in the air, the other collapses on the ground. The scene is completed by the cause of Phaethon's fall—Zeus in the act of hurling his bolt, accompanied by Artemis, whose arrow would avenge the wrong done to Apollon, and by Iris[5], whose outstretched arms hold a fillet suggestive of a rainbow spanning the storm. On the left is the transformation of Phaethon's sisters. One of them has been completely metamorphosed into a tree, from whose branches large leaves of black-poplar are sprouting. The other two are stiffening into the shape of Caryatids[6] as they endeavour with uplifted hand to free themselves from the branches visible above them. In this last desperate effort they and their vanished sister are helped by three young men, in all probability their brothers[7],

with schol. *ad loc.*, Diod. 5. 23, Strab. 215, Dionys. *per.* 288 ff. with Eustath. *ad loc.*, Loukian. *de salt.* 55, *de electro* 1 ff., Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 1. 11, Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 81 = Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἠλεκτρίδες νῆσοι, Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 152 ff., *append. prov.* 3. 8 (E. L. von Leutsch—F. W. Schneidewin *Paroemiographi Graeci* Gottingae 1839 i. 416 f.), Hesych. *s.v.* ἤλεκτρος, *et. mag.* pp. 425, 18 ff., 427, 6 ff.

[1] E. Robinson in the *Annual Report of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston* 1898 xxiii. 89 no. 63 (diameter 0·19^{m}, height 0·08^{m}), P. Hartwig 'Eine Aretinische Gefässform mit Scenen aus der Phaethonsage' in *Philologus* 1899 lviii. 481—497 with pl. (= my fig. 366), H. Goez 'Zu der Aretinischen Gefässform mit Scenen aus der Phaethonsage' *ib.* 1901 lx. 478 f., G. Knaack in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2195—2197 fig. 1, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 483 f. fig. 218, F. Oswald—T. D. Pryce *An Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata* London 1920 p. 7.

[2] Val. Flacc. 5. 431.

[3] Phaethon was the son of Helios by the Oceanid Klymene (G. Knaack in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2177). E. Robinson *loc. cit.* took the figure of Tethys to be 'possibly one of the Heliades.' F. Hauser (*Philologus* 1899 lviii. 485 n. 5) suggested Nemesis (*supra* i. 269 ff., 276). The right interpretation was first given by P. Hartwig *loc. cit.*

[4] So P. Hartwig *loc. cit.*: certainly not 'Phaethon...vainly trying to hold his six horses' (E. Robinson *loc. cit.*).

[5] 'Nikê or Iris?' (E. Robinson *loc. cit.*): 'Aura oder Hora' (P. Hartwig *loc. cit.* with express reservation): 'eine geflügelte Frauengestalt, die einen bogenförmig ausgebreiteten Gegenstand emporhält (wohl Andeutung des Himmelsgewölbes)' (G. Knaack *loc. cit.*).

[6] *Supra* p. 402 n. 0.

[7] E. Robinson *loc. cit.* is content to speak of them in each case as a 'youth.' P. Hartwig *loc. cit.*, after weighing the possibility that they may be 'Brüder oder Verwandte der Heliaden,' accepts a suggestion of W. Helbig that they are labourers hacking at the trees to get drops of amber: we are to assume that the ancients confused the method of collecting

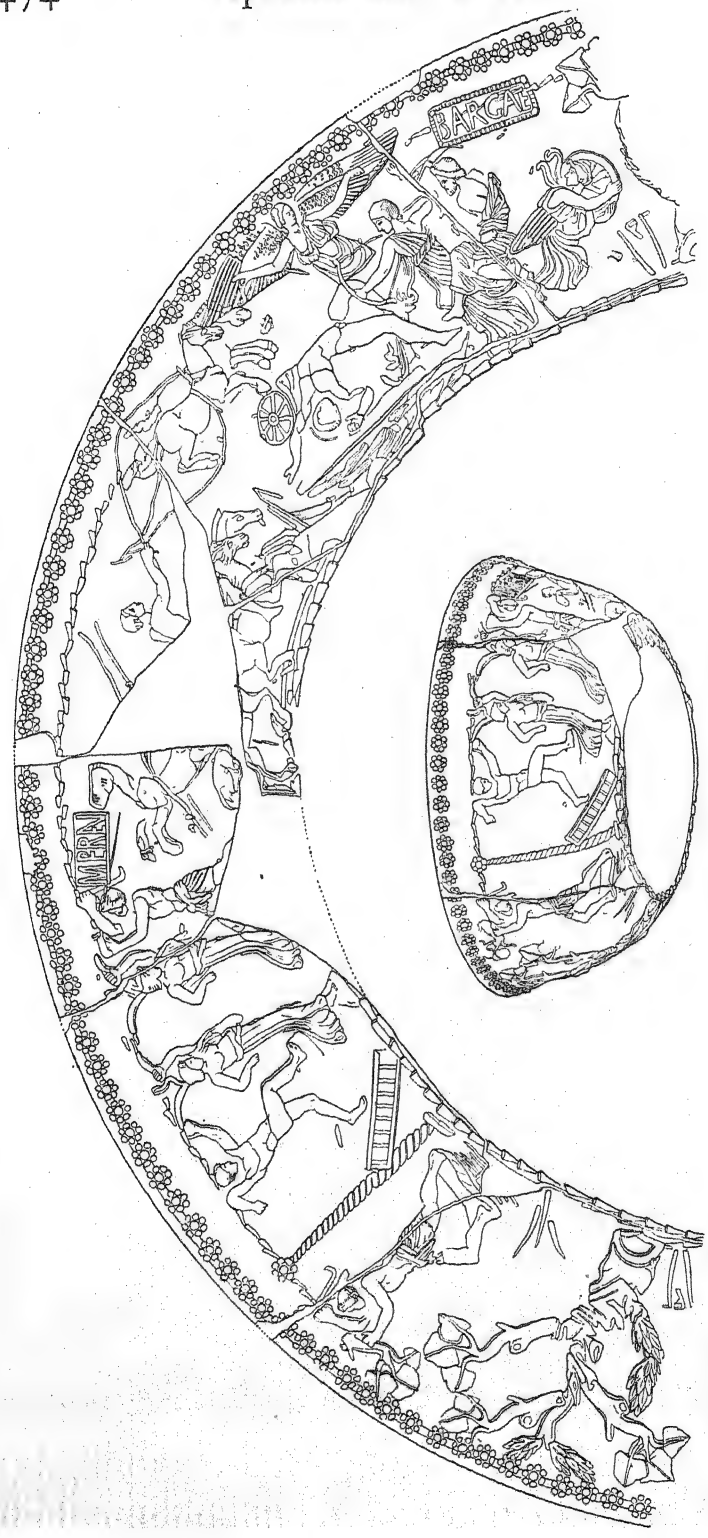


Fig. 366.

who with bill-hooks, or without[1], attempt to lop or rend away the entangling vegetable growth. The centre of the transformation-scene is occupied by a spiral column with a rosette on the top of it and a ladder leaning against it. P. Hartwig[2] and H. Goez[3] draw a sharp contrast between the two scenes of the downfall and the metamorphosis: the former they take to be a rich and harmonious composition implying an artistic prototype[4], the latter a loosely-connected and clumsy row of figures perhaps first put together by Bargates and certainly filled out by him with a mere ornamental column[5]. I do not agree with this estimate. On the one hand, the boasted composition is full of absurdities. Zeus, comfortably seated, is yet hurling a thunderbolt! Helios is on horse-back—a notion that is not Greek[6]. And Artemis is unexampled *dans cette galère*. The fact is that the Arretine potter, not possessed of sufficient genius to invent a new type, is simply using up stock patterns. He has by him a seated Zeus, who will serve for the thunderer. He has a set of neo-Attic dies for the tragedy of the Niobids[7]: three of them can be worked in—Artemis, the dead youth (Phaethon), the fleeing maiden (Tethys). He knows how to represent Troïlos on horse-back: the familiar figure with its spare horse will do for Helios, and the two horses of Troïlos can be duplicated for the captured solar pair. All patch-work! But patch-work, when the patches are Greek, is apt to produce—as it were by a turn of the kaleidoscope—new and satisfactory combinations of old and well-

amber with that of obtaining frankincense (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 9. 4. 4, Plin. *nat. hist.* 12. 68). H. Goez *loc. cit.* thinks that the youth without the bill-hook, like the two Heliades in front of him, is trying to tear away the fatal poplar-branches, and can hardly be viewed as an amber-collector. G. Knaack *loc. cit.* leaves the question in suspense.

[1] Cp. Ov. *met.* 2. 358 f. (of Clymene) truncis avellere corpora temptat | et teneros manibus ramos abrumpit.

[2] P. Hartwig *loc. cit.* p. 493.

[3] H. Goez *loc. cit.* p. 479.

[4] P. Hartwig *loc. cit.* p. 494 ff. presupposes some toreutic work of the Hellenistic age, inspired by a literary (but *non*-tragic) source, to which Ovid and Valerius Flaccus were likewise indebted.

[5] E. Robinson *loc. cit.*: 'This may have something to do with the subject, but seems more probably introduced to fill the space.' P. Hartwig *loc. cit.* p. 491 f.: 'Die gewundene Säule...halte ich mit Robinson für eine rein ornamentale Zuthat unseres Bargates.' For the twisted column as a favourite *motif* of Arretine ware see H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 493.

[6] *Supra* i. 333 n. 5. Yet Eur. *Phaethon frag.* 779, 8 f. Nauck[2] *ap.* Longin. *de sublim.* 15. 4 says of Helios: *πατὴρ δ' ὄπισθε νῶτα σειραίου βεβὼς | ἵππευε παῖδα νουθετῶν· κ.τ.λ.*

[7] F. Hauser *Die neu-attischen Reliefs* Stuttgart 1889 p. 73 ff. nos. 104—107 b. Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 43 f. fig. 7 shows that these reliefs were originally extracts from a fifth-century representation of Apollon and Artemis slaying the Niobids, probably that carved by Pheidias on the throne of Zeus at Olympia. For other views see A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 262 f.

known elements. Hence the appreciation of our critics. On the other hand, the transformation of the Heliades is hardly to be dismissed as a group of mechanical or meaningless items. The designer had at his disposal sundry vintage-stamps[1] including a vine-dresser, a ladder, a dancing Satyr[2], and a dancing Maenad[3]. By dexterous repetition of the first and last he has contrived to tell his story, though it must be admitted that the poplar-sprays on the bay-leaved willow-trunk are, as H. Goez protests, a *Naturwunder*[4]. It is noticeable that no indication of locality is given except the twisted column and the ladder. The action, doubtless, takes place on the banks of the Eridanos, a river usually identified with the Padus or the Rhodanus, but also set in the sky as the constellation Eridanus or Flumen[5]. The scene is thus at once earthly and heavenly. Is it a mere coincidence that we have already found both the spiral column[6] and the ladder[7] used as links between earth and heaven? Moreover, we have seen reason to connect the sky-pillar[8] and sky-ladder[9] with the Milky Way. And, with regard to the mythical personages here concerned, it will be remembered, not only that we identified the road up which the Heliades escorted Parmenides as the Milky Way[10], but also that certain Pythagoreans explained the Milky Way as the track made by a star which fell with the falling Phaethon[11].

I am inclined to surmise that the Galaxy at one time played a considerable *rôle* in the myth of Phaethon[12]. There are at least three

[1] For vintage-scenes as part of the Arretine potter's *répertoire* see H. B. Walters *op. cit.* ii. 492 f.

[2] Cp. F. Hauser *op. cit.* pl. 1, 17 (right arm altered).

[3] Cp. F. Hauser *op. cit.* pl. 2, 25 (reversed). The type is derived from the Maenad of Skopas (*supra* i. 666 n. 1).

[4] H. Goez *loc. cit.* p. 478. For examples of composite trees on moulded ware from Roman Gaul see J. Déchelette *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule Romaine* Paris 1904 ii. 159 f. nos. 1127—1129.

[5] E. H. Bunbury in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 849, J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 446 ff. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 6. 59 states that Phaethon son of Helios was originally called Eridanos, that he was renamed from his fiery fall, and that he gave his previous title to the river in which he fell.

[6] *Supra* p. 107.

[7] *Supra* p. 124 ff.

[8] *Supra* p. 44 ff.

[9] *Supra* p. 124 ff.

[10] *Supra* p. 42 f.

[11] *Supra* pp. 40 n. 4, 43 n. 1.

[12] This myth has been studied in detail by F. Wieseler *Phaethon* Göttingen 1857 pp. 1—74 with figs. 1—12, H. d'Arbois de Jubainville 'Sur les origines de l'ambre, Phaéthon, l'Eridan, les Ligures et les Celtes' in the *Bulletin de la société nationale des antiquaires de France* 1876 pp. 134—142, U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 'Phaethon' in *Hermes* 1883 xviii. 396—434, C. Robert 'Die Phaethonsage bei Hesiod' *ib.* 1883 xviii. 434—441, M. Mayer 'Excurs über Hygin *fab.* 152 und 154' *ib.* 1885 xx. 135—143, A. Bangert *De fabula Phaethontea* Halis Saxonum 1885 pp. 1—41, G. Knaack *Quaestiones Phaetonteae* Berolini 1886 pp. 1—81, *id.* 'Zur Phaethonsage' in *Hermes* 1887 xxii. 637—640, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2175—2202 with figs. 1—3 (the most comprehensive

possibilities. In the first place, the Milky Way was that 'Road of the Birds[1],' along which the swans drew Apollon to the land of the Hyperboreans[2]. This accounts for the intimate relations of *Kýknos*, the 'Swan,' to Phaethon. The Hesiodic (?) version preserved by Hyginus[3] states that Kyknos, king of Liguria, bewailing the fate of his kinsman Phaethon was changed into a swan and chanted his dying song. Similarly Pausanias[4] relates that Kyknos, a musician, became king of the Ligurians inhabiting the Celtic country beyond the Eridanos, and at his death was transformed into the bird by the will of Apollon. Phanokles[5], the Alexandrian elegiast, in his *Erotes* retold the tale and, no doubt, gave it the romantic touch, which is discernible in later allusions[6]. Claudian[7] adds that Phaethon, raised to the sky, became Auriga, and his sisters the Hyades, while

> The Milky Circle sprinkles the spread wings
> Of Cycnus, once his comrade.

Both *Auriga*, the 'Charioteer,' and *Olor*, the 'Swan,' are to be seen nightly on the Milky Way[8]. Lucian in his little work *On Amber or Swans* claims to have visited the Eridanos and lost his illusions. He saw neither poplars nor amber, and the natives had never heard of Phaethon!

'However,' he continues, 'there was one thing I still thought I really should find there, and that was flocks of swans singing on the banks. We were still on the way up, and I applied to the boatmen again: "About what time do the swans take post for their famous musical entertainment?—Apollo's fellow craftsmen, you know, who were changed here from men to birds, and still sing in memory of their ancient art." But they only jeered at me: "Are you going to lie all day about our country and our river, pray?"' Etc., etc.[9]

and compendious treatment of the subject), O. Gruppe 'Aethiopenmythen' in *Philologus* 1889 xlvii. 328—343, S. Eitrem 'De Phaethonte' *ib.* 1899 lviii. 461—464, J. Höpken *Die Fahrt des Phaethon* Emden 1899 p. 1 ff., C. W. Vollgraff *De Ovidi mythopoeia* Berolini 1901 pp. 45—61 ('De fabula Phaethontis'), *id. Nikander und Ovid* Groningen 1909 i. 105—109, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 594 f. See further the bibliography in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2175 f.

[1] *Supra* p. 38.

[2] *Supra* p. 460 ff.

[3] Hyg. *fab.* 154, cp. schol. Strozziana *in* Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 174, 4 ff. Breysig.

[4] Paus. 1. 30. 3.

[5] Phanokles *ap.* Lact. Plac. *narr. fab.* 2. 4.

[6] Verg. *Aen.* 10. 189 ff. with Serv. *ad loc.*, Ov. *met.* 2. 367 ff. (cp. anon. *miscell.* 6 in A. Westermann ΜΥΘΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ Brunsvigae 1843 p. 347, 32 ff. = ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ Brunsvigae 1839 p. 222, 13 f.).

[7] Claud. *de VI cons. Honor.* 173 ff. Opinion differed as to the author of these catasterisms. Claud. *loc. cit.* refers them all to Helios (*ib.* 170 Titan). Nonn. *Dion.* 38. 424 ff. makes Zeus set Phaethon in the sky as Auriga, the Eridanos as Flumen. Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 10. 189 says that Kyknos was placed among the stars by Apollon.

[8] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 4. 7 notes that the Milky Way passes through the following constellations: Olor, Perseus, Auriga, Gemini, Procyon, Argo, Centaurus, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Aquila.

[9] Loukian. *de electro* 4 f. trans. H. W. Fowler.

The swan was fair game to the satirist; but its connexion with the myth was never forgotten by ancient art. A fine sardonyx cameo at Florence (fig. 367)[1] shows Phaethon falling from the solar car into the river, which is suggested by the urn upset. Helios[2], a youthful figure on horse-back grasping a torch, gallops up to the rescue. In the foreground Kyknos, a swan already, utters his plaintive cry. The same scene with its suggestion of sudden death followed by new and glorified life was repeated on *sarcophagi* of the second and third centuries A.D.[3] The noblest example is that



Fig. 367.

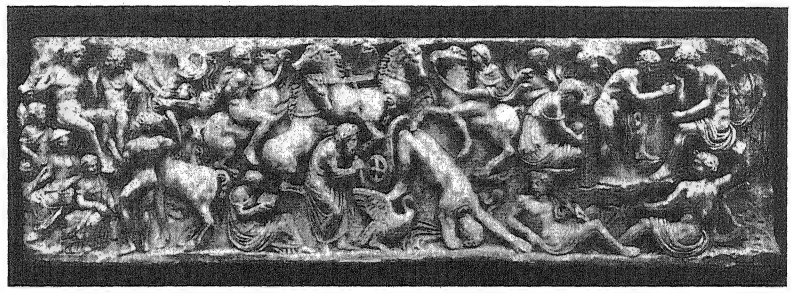


Fig. 368.

from Ostia, now in the Jacobsen collection at Ny-Carlsberg (fig. 368)[4].

[1] C. Lenormant *Nouvelle galerie mythologique* (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 p. 134 no. 15 pl. 41, F. Wieseler *Phaethon* Göttingen 1857 p. 17 fig. 10, *id.* in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 134, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 58, 2, ii. 263, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2199 f. My fig. 367 is from T. Cades *Collezione di N°.* 1400 *Impronti delle migliori pietre incise, sì antiche, che moderne, ricavati dalle più distinte Collezioni conosciute dell' Europa* 1ma. Classe, A 4, 19.

[2] Furtwängler *op. cit.* ii. 263: 'Es ist der eine der Dioskuren, der Tagesdioskur, identifiziert mit Phosphoros, oder, anders gewendet, Phosphoros im Typus eines Dioskurs.' But see *supra* p. 475 n. 6.

[3] G. Knaack *Quaestiones Phaethonteae* Berolini 1886 pp. 71—77, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2197—2199. F. Wieseler *Phaethon* Göttingen 1857 figs. 1, 2, 4, 5 provides materials for comparative study, but will be superseded some day by a future volume of Robert *Sark.-Relfs.*

[4] F. Wieseler 'Sarcofago ostiense rappresentante il mito di Fetonte' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 130—144 pl. F, F. Matz in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1870 xxviii. 113 ff., G. Knaack in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2197 ff. fig. 2, G. Lippold in P. Arndt *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg* Munich 1896 p. 215 f. pl. 153 (=my fig. 368), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 182 no. 2.

On the left we see Phaethon standing before the seated Helios to prefer his request. In front of Helios four youths, the Heliadai[1], hold in readiness the solar steeds. At his back are four maidens, the Horai, characterised as the seasons of the year. The central space is reserved for the central incident, the fall of Phaethon, conceived as on the cameo, except that Helios on horse-back is replaced by the Dioskouroi[2] riding up from left and right, while Kyknos below appears both as an aged man leaning on a staff and as a swan. At his back sits Moira[3] conning the roll of fate. Phaethon falls headlong towards Eridanos, who reclines with a branch over his shoulder and a snake[4] at his side. Beyond him is another reclining male, who holds a large wheel and is best regarded as a personification of the Course[5]. An anchor visible between the two hints at Okeanos. Above sits Helios, his head resting on his hand in a pose of deep dejection, while Hermes brings him the sad news[6]. Behind Helios stands Klymene (?) with a look of grave concern. Behind Hermes are the Heliades, two standing, one seated, in attitudes expressive of their grief[7]. Their transformation is still to come: as mourners they must not anticipate the change.

Secondly, the Milky Way is sometimes viewed as a celestial river, and that not only in Australia[8], Annam[9], China[10],

[1] So P. Hartwig in *Philologus* 1899 lviii. 489. G. Lippold *loc. cit.* is content with 'quatre serviteurs.' Above them are remains of the chariot-pole, and the mantle of Caelus (*supra* i. 59).

[2] See A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 1305 f.

[3] Nonn. *Dion.* 38. 166 and 218.

[4] See F. Wieseler in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 137.

[5] Cp. *supra* i. 260 n. 3. G. Knaack in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2197 'Auf dem Himmelsgewölbe (vgl. *Matz, bull. dell' inst.* 1869, 67) sitzt Helios...' is on the wrong track. So too is G. Lippold *loc. cit.*, who (after F. Wieseler *loc. cit.*) sees in the two reclining male figures 'des personnifications de la Terre et de la Mer.'

[6] His type is ultimately derived from that of Hermes in the east pediment of the Parthenon (*infra* § 9 (*h*) ii (*θ*)).

[7] All three are modifications of figures F (Hippodameia) and O (the handmaid) in the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] i fig. 77).

[8] R. Andree *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche* Stuttgart 1878 p. 110 (the Gingis of New South Wales, tribes on the Darling River).

[9] H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland in *Mélusine* Paris 1884–85 ii. 154.

[10] *Eid. ib.* ii. 154. Prof. H. A. Giles has kindly supplied me (Jan. 18, 1919) with the following detailed information: 'The Milky Way is mentioned three times in the *Odes* edited by Confucius about B.C. 500, but only as a celestial phenomenon.

'The famous traveller, Chang Ch'ien, who brought the grape from Fergana to China, and visited Bactria (B.C. 138), was sent by the Emperor to discover the source of the Yellow River, which was supposed to flow from heaven and to be a continuation of the Milky Way. He sailed up stream for many days until he reached a city where he saw a girl weaving. On his asking what place this was, the girl gave him her shuttle, telling him to show it on his return to a certain astrologer, who would know where he had been. He did so, and the astrologer at once recognized the shuttle as that of the Weaving

Japan[1], Siberia[2], Mesopotamia[3], and Arabia[4], but in Greece itself[5]. Greek peasants in Kypros speak of it as 'the River Jordan' or 'the Shade of the Jordan[6].' Indeed, the southern Greeks in general call it the 'River Jordan[7].' And this name can be traced back for hundreds of years, being found already in the *Apókopos* of Bergades[8], a sixteenth-century poem of lasting popularity[9]. In face of these facts

Damsel (α Lyrae); further declaring that on the day and at the hour when Chang received the shuttle, he had noticed the intrusion of a wandering star between α Lyrae and βγ Aquilae. Thus Chang was actually believed to have sailed upon the bosom of the Milky Way.

'The following names have been given to the Milky Way by the Chinese: The Celestial River. The Silver River. The Celestial Ford. The Bright River. The Red River! The last is an *amnis ruber a non rubendo*; the explanation being that the Milky Way lies to the south of the north pole, and that fire and red are the element and colour, respectively, which have been assigned to the south quarter of the heavens.'

[1] B. H. Chamberlain *Things Japanese* London—Tōkyō 1890 p. 327 f. (a reference given me by my friend Mr H. G. Brand of Tokyo): 'The only fable worth mentioning here in connection with the stars is that which inspires the festival named *Tanabata*. This fable, which is of Chinese origin, relates the loves of a Herdsman and a Weaving-Girl. The Herdsman is a star in Aquila. The Weaver is the star Vega. They dwell on opposite sides of the "Celestial River," or Milky Way, and may never meet but on the seventh night of the seventh moon, a night held sacred to them, strips of paper with poetic effusions in their honour being stuck on stems of bamboo grass and set up in various places. According to one version of the legend, the Weaving-Girl was so constantly kept employed in making garments for the offspring of the Emperor of Heaven—in other words, God—that she had no leisure to attend to the adornment of her person. At last however, God, taking compassion on her loneliness, gave her in marriage to the Herdsman who dwelt on the opposite bank of the river. Hereupon the woman began to grow remiss in her work. God, in his anger, then made her recross the river, at the same time forbidding her husband to visit her oftener than once a year. Another version represents the pair as mortals, who were wedded at the early ages of fifteen and twelve, and who died at the ages of a hundred and three and ninety-nine respectively. After death, their spirits flew up to the sky, where the Supreme Deity bathed daily in the Celestial River. No mortals might pollute it by their touch, except on the seventh day of the seventh moon, when the Deity, instead of bathing, went to listen to the chanting of the Buddhist scriptures.'

[2] R. Andree *op. cit.* p. 110 (the Koryaks of North-East Siberia).

[3] H. Fox Talbot in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology* 1873 ii. 53, A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 189, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1493. [4] H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland *loc. cit.* ii. 156.

[5] Not in Italy. H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland *loc. cit.* ii. 151 give *Fluvius lacteus* as a Latin name of the Milky Way. But this rests on a misunderstanding of Mart. Cap. 15 and 207, where the milky stream is the track of the planet Iupiter: see U. F. Kopp's note on Mart. Cap. 14.

[6] G. Loukas Φιλολογικαὶ ἐπισκέψεις Athens 1874 p. 135, quoted by H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland *loc. cit.* ii. 156.

[7] G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 69. Cp. N. G. Polites Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων Athens 1871 i. 15.

[8] É. Legrand *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire* Paris 1881 ii. 98 Ἀπόκοπος τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ 87 f. Ἀστράπτει, 'πέ μας, ἡ βροντᾷ, κ' ἂν συννεφιᾷ καὶ βρέχῃ, | καὶ ὁ Ἰορδάνης ποταμὸς ἂν κυματῇ καὶ τρέχῃ.

[9] É. Legrand *ap.* H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland *loc. cit.* ii. 156 f.

it is permissible to conjecture that the *Eridanós*, which—as I shall subsequently argue[1]—appears to have meant 'River of Life,' was at the outset none other than the Milky Way, and that, when a different conception of this starry phenomenon gained ground and drove out the old appellation, room was still found in the nocturnal sky for the constellation Eridanus[2]. Moreover, if we may rely (as we are fully entitled to do) on the statement of Hyginus[3] that some authorities spoke of this constellation as the Nile, and that many called it Oceanus, certain further consequences immediately present themselves. The Nile is described in the *Odyssey*[4] by the remarkable adjective *Diipetés*, which properly denotes a river 'that falls in the Zeus,' 'in the clear Sky[5].' This description would apply with strict accuracy only to the Milky Way, but might be extended to all rivers[6] conceived as rillets of that great flood[7]. Pursuing the same line of thought we can hardly avoid another conclusion, *viz.* that 'back-flowing Okeanos[8],' the very 'source of the gods[9],' was not

[1] *Infra* Append. G.

[2] R. Brown *Eridanus: river and constellation* London 1883 p. 44 would connect the Milky Way 'with the heavenly Eridanus, subsequently reduplicated in the particular constellation of that name': cp. *ib.* p. 71.

[3] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 32 ERIDANUS. hunc alii Nilum, complures etiam Oceanum esse dixerunt.

[4] *Od.* 4. 477 (=4. 581) Αἰγύπτοιο, Διιπετέος ποταμοῖο with schol. *ad loc.* According to schol. E.H.Q., Ζηνόδοτος...γράφει διειπετέος διὰ τῆς ει διφθόγγου. *Supra* i. 349 n. 2. F. Solmsen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1911 xliv. 162 f., followed by F. Bechtel *Lexilogus zu Homer* Halle a. d. S. 1914 p. 101, would write διειπετέος, holding that the dative Διει-, correct in such a formation as Διϝέλφιλος, forced its way at an early date into other compounds, in which it was incorrect,—Διϝεί-θεμις, Διει-τρέφης, διει-πετής. But the locative Δι- in Διπετής, explained as in the text, gives a perfectly satisfactory meaning. H. Lehmann *Zur Lehre vom Locativ bei Homer* Neustettin 1870 p. 8 renders: 'in der Helle fliessend.'

[5] Cp. the analogous formation Διπέτης, 'that flies in the Zeus,' 'in the clear Sky' (*h. Aphr.* 4 οἰωνούς τε Διπέτεας. So H. Ebeling for διπετέας codd. W. Schulze *Quaestiones epicae* Gueterslohae 1892 p. 237 f. proposes διειπετέας).

[6] Skamandros (*Il.* 21. 268, 326), Spercheios (*Il.* 16. 174), a river in Phaiakia (*Od.* 7. 284), a river in some unidentified locality (Hes. *frag.* 212 Flach, 217 Rzach *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 757), a river in a simile (*Il.* 17. 263). For later developments in the meaning of Διπετής see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* ii. 1527 C—1528 B. The earlier significance may perhaps be traced in its application to the thunderbolt (an oracle *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 6. 3. 1=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 146. 23 πυρσῶν αἰώραισι Διπετέεσσι δαμῆναι, cp. *et. mag.* p. 275, 19).

[7] Cp. Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 11. 51 ὁ Νεῖλος, ὃν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταφέρεσθαι οἴονται.

[8] *Il.* 18. 399, *Od.* 20. 65, Hes. *theog.* 776 ἀψορρόου Ὠκεανοῖο.

[9] *Il.* 14. 201 and 302 Ὠκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν, cp. *ib.* 245 f. ποταμοῖο ῥέεθρα | Ὠκεανοῦ, ὅς περ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται, Orph. *h. Okean.* 83. 1 f. Ὠκεανὸν... | ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν γένεσιν θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων. The use of the word γένεσις in this connexion is peculiar, and may imply that Okeanos was at one time regarded as the very seed of the sky-god, giving rise to a whole succession of divine forms (cp. the Tarragona tablet *infra* Append. G *med.*). Certain pundits in antiquity declared that Homer was borrowing from the lore of Egypt, and went about to prove that Okeanos and Tethys were

originally a terrestrial river forming the circumference of a discoidal earth, but, as E. H. Berger[1] has maintained, a celestial stream of stars. I should indeed venture to suppose that in pre-Greek times, before the rise of geographical speculation, the river Okeanos simply meant the Galaxy[2]. F. W. H. Myers[3] with fine imagination pictures the forefather of the human race as he wakes at night and sees—

> Stars in the firmament above him beaming,
> Stars in the firmament, alive and free,
> Stars, and of stars the innumerable streaming,
> Deep in the deeps, a river in the sea.

Thirdly, the Milky Way is on occasion compared with a tree, whose vast trunk can be dimly descried towering through the gloom and branching across the midnight sky. Thus at Nüxei in the Harz district it is called the *Wetterbaum*[4], weather-forecasts being drawn from its appearance[5]. It has been maintained that a similar belief once prevailed in southern Babylonia. A bilingual tablet, consisting of a Sumerian text with an interlinear Semitic translation, brought from the library of Ashurbanipal (668—626 B.C.) at Kouyunjik, contains an incantation[6] rendered by R. Campbell Thompson[7] as follows:

> In Eridu groweth the dark *kiškanû*[8]
> That springeth forth in a place undefiled,
> Whereof the brilliance is shining lapis
> Which reacheth unto Ocean;
> From Ea its way in Eridu
> Is bountiful in luxuriance,
> Where earth is, there is its place,

Osiris and Isis respectively (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 34). The Egyptians believed the Nile, and indeed all moisture, to be Ὀσίριδος ἀπορροήν (*id. ib.* 36), and held that living creatures arose from the river-slime (*frag. lyr. adesp.* (Pind. ?) 84. 14 f. Bergk[4] *ap.* Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 7 p. 136 Duncker—Schneidewin, Hippys *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 13 Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 262, Diod. 1. 10, Horapoll. *hierogl.* 1. 25, Ov. *met.* 1. 422 ff.).

[1] E. H. Berger *Mythische Kosmographie der Griechen* Leipzig 1904 p. 1 f.

[2] By a curious coincidence the Macusis of British Guiana speak of the Milky Way as *Parana*, 'the Sea' (R. Schomburgk *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana* Leipzig 1848 ii. 328 cited by R. Andree *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche* Stuttgart 1878 p. 110).

[3] F. W. H. Myers *Saint Paul* London 1887 p. 47.

[4] A. Kuhn *Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen* Leipzig 1859 ii. 86.

[5] J. W. Wolf *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie* Göttingen 1852 i. 37.

[6] Sir H. C. Rawlinson *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* London 1891 iv². 15* rev. col. 1, 53 ff.

[7] R. Campbell Thompson *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia* London 1903 i pp. liii—lxiii, 200 ff., *id. Semitic Magic* London 1908 p. lii. See also O. Weber *Die Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrer* (*Der Alte Orient* 2. Ergänzungsband) Leipzig 1907 p. 173 f.

[8] Mr H. H. W. Pearson of the Royal Gardens at Kew suggests one of the tragacanth-bearing varieties of *astragalus*.

190 And the Couch of the Goddess Id its home.
In an undefiled dwelling like a forest grove
Its shade spreadeth abroad, and none may enter in.
195 In its depths (are) Shamash and Tammuz.
* * * * *
At the confluence of two streams
200 The gods Ka-Hegal, Shi-Dugal, (and) ... of Eridu
[Have gathered] this *kiškanû*, [and over the man]
Have performed the Incantation of the Deep,
(And) at the head of the wanderer have set (it).
205 That a kindly Guardian, a kindly Spirit
May stand at the side of the man, the son of his god.

R. Campbell Thompson took this to mean that the *kiškanû*-plant (? *astragalus gummifer*), growing in Eridu where two streams met, was plucked for medicinal use originally by the gods and later by men. Nothing more probable. But A. Jeremias[1] ten years later translates the opening lines—

In Eridu grew a black *kiškanû*-tree : it was created in a light place.
Its (branches) are of glittering *lapis lazuli* and stretch out over the ocean.—

and adds, with confident dogmatism, that the Milky Way is here conceived as a world-tree[2]. I am, however, assured by my learned friend the late Dr C. H. W. Johns and by Mr Sidney Smith of the British Museum that there is not the slightest ground for supposing any allusion to the Galaxy. At Eridu, near the point where the Euphrates and the Tigris empty into the Persian Gulf, there was an entrance to the Underworld. It seems possible, therefore, that the tree here mentioned was akin to the Borderland tree of the Greeks and Romans. If so, a comparison with the poplars of the Heliades might be justified (gum tragacanth is a passable parallel to amber), though to equate—as Jeremias does[3]—*Eridu* with *Eridanós* is simply laughable.

On the whole I conclude that several traits in the myth of Phaethon, including the Heliades, Kyknos, the Eridanos, etc., do point to an early connexion with the Milky Way. A parallel may be found in modern Pomerania, where it is believed that the Wild Huntsman marks his progress across the sky by streaks of fire and that once,

[1] A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 60, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1492 f.

[2] A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* p. 60 : 'Bei der Grundstellung der Milchstrasse, bei der Orion und Skorpion im Ost- und Westpunkte des Horizontes stehen, während die Milchstrasse sich vertikal über den Beschauer wölbt, kann sie in der Tat poetisch als Baum angesehen werden, der seine Zweige über Erde und Meer ausspannt. Der Eridanos schliesst sich direkt an die Milchstrasse beim Orion an.'

[3] A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* p. 60, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1492.

venturing too high in the air, he left behind him the Milky Way, hence called the *Wildbahn*, as a trace of his passage[1].

It remains to notice a curious variant of the myth preserved by Apollonios of Rhodes, who gives the following account of the Argonauts' visit to the scene of Phaethon's disaster[2]:

> Then entered they Eridanos' inmost stream,
> Where once, his breast struck by the blazing bolt,
> Phaethon fell, half-burnt, from Helios' car
> Into the mouth of the deep mere; and still
> From the glowing wound wells up the vapour dense.
> No bird can wing its way on pinions light
> Across that water, but it flutters, fails,
> Falls i' the heat. And maidens all around,
> The Heliades, pent in black-poplars tall,
> Make of their misery a pitiful plaint,
> Yea, from their lids let slip bright amber-drops,
> Such as are dried by sunlight on the sand.
> But, when the waters of the darksome mere
> Wash o'er the strand, blown by some blustering wind,
> Then all that wealth is tumbled on the tide
> Into Eridanos. The Celts declare
> These are the tears of Apollon, Leto's son,
> Borne on the eddies,—tears past numbering
> He shed in bygone days, what time he came
> To the sacred race of the Hyperboreans
> And left, at his Father's chiding, radiant heaven,
> Wroth for the son divine Koronis bare
> In shining Lakereia at the mouth
> Of Amyros. Such the tale these tribesmen tell.

The poet has worked into his epic a piece of local lore, which is both interesting and important. The Keltoi, he says, regarded amber as the tears, not of the poplars, but of Apollon. This lends some colour to a view that I put forward years ago concerning Apollon's name[3]. The oldest form of it seems to have been *Apéllon*, and Festus' assertion that 'the ancients used to say *Apello* for *Apollo*[4]' is supported by a considerable body of epigraphical evidence from the Doric area[5]. I proposed, therefore, to derive *Apéllon* from *apellón*, 'a black-poplar[6].' On this showing Apollon would be a

[1] A. Brunk 'Der wilde Jäger im Glauben des pommerschen Volkes' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1903 xiii. 184.

[2] Ap. Rhod. 4. 596 ff. Cp. Favorin. *lex.* p. 851, 9 ff.

[3] *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 420.

[4] Paul. ex Fest. p. 22, 14 Müller, p. 20, 27 Lindsay Apellinem antiqui dicebant pro Apollinem.

[5] É. Boisacq *Les dialectes doriens* Paris 1891 p. 51 f., G. Meyer *Griechische Grammatik*[3] Leipzig 1896 p. 64 f., K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1.

[6] Hesych. ἀπελλόν· αἴγειρος, ὅ ἐστι εἶδος δένδρου.

deity associated with a grove of black-poplars like that of the Heliades. Now the scenery of the Eridanos, as described by the Rhodian poet, was more or less similar to that of Apollonia in Illyria, which possessed not only an ancient cult of Helios[1], but also a *Nymphaîon* with springs of hot water and bitumen[2]. Close by, a perennial jet of flame burst from the ground, surrounded—a curious sight—by flourishing trees and verdant grass[3]. Drenching rain merely increased the blaze, into which the worshippers cast their offerings of frankincense[4]. Silver coins of the town, issued from *c.* 100 B.C. onwards on the standard of the Roman *denarius*, represent



Fig. 369.



Fig. 370.



Fig. 371.

three Nymphs (? Heliades), torch in hand, dancing round the sacred fire (fig. 369)[5]. And a copper piece, struck by Caracalla, shows the statue of Apollon in his temple, behind which are visible the tops of three trees probably, but not certainly, meant for poplars (fig. 370)[6]. The same doubt attaches to the tree seen behind Apollon *Smintheús* on a coin of Alexandreia in the Troad, which might be either a poplar or a cypress (fig. 371)[7]. We are on surer ground, when we recall the love of Apollon for Dryope. Antoninus Liberalis, following Nikandros (*c.* 150 B.C.), tells her story thus[8]:

[1] *Supra* i. 410 ff. [2] Strab. 316.

[3] Plout. *v. Sull.* 27 (here a Satyr was caught asleep and brought before Sulla, whom he scared by emitting a harsh cry 'something between the neigh of a horse and the bleat of a goat'), Ail. *var. hist.* 13. 16.

[4] Dion Cass. 41. 45 with further detail.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 60 f. pl. 12, 13 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 3 pl. 31, 2, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 113 pl. 65, 13, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 314, A. Maier in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1908 pp. 5 f., 16 f. Fig. 369 is from a specimen in my collection.

G. Patsch in the *Compte rendu et Mémoires du congrès international de numismatique de Paris* 1900 p. 113 records silver pieces with obv. fire of the *Nymphaîon*, rev. lyre.

[6] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 311 Münztaf. 4, 36 (=my fig. 370) from a specimen in the collection of F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 419.

[7] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 94 f., 312 Münztaf. 5, 32 (=my fig. 371) from a specimen in the collection of F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 419.

[8] Ant. Lib. 32 (from bk. i of the Ἑτεροιούμενα of Nikandros). The passage is here summarised, not translated.

Dryops, son of the river Spercheios and the Danaïd Polydora[1], reigned on Mount Oite and had an only daughter Dryope, who tended her father's flocks. The Hamadryads loved her exceedingly, and taught her how to hymn the gods and to dance. Apollon, who saw her dancing, was enamoured of her and, to attain his ends, became first a tortoise, which she fondled and put into her bosom, and then a snake. The second change scared away the Nymphs, who left Dryope and her lover alone. Shortly afterwards Dryope was wedded to Andraimon, son of Oxylos; but the result of her union with Apollon was the birth of Amphissos. He grew to man's estate, built the town of Oite, and established a sanctuary of Apollon in Dryopis. When Dryope visited this sanctuary, the Hamadryads carried her off and hid her in the forest. In her place they caused a black-poplar to spring from the ground and a fountain to gush forth beside it. Dryope now became a Nymph. Amphissos founded a sanctuary of the Nymphs in her honour and a contest in running, which is still kept up. From this contest women are excluded, the reason given being that, when Dryope was carried off by the Nymphs, two maidens revealed the fact to the natives of the land and thus incurred the anger of the Nymphs, who transformed them into fir-trees.

It would seem, then, that in the neighbourhood of Mount Oite Apollon was recognised as the consort of a black-poplar. The connexion of this tree with the god was, however, forgotten[2], when Apollon on his way through Thessaly[3] acquired the bay as his attribute. Thenceforward Dryope gave place to Daphne. The fact is that the particular species of tree assigned to a god depends entirely, or almost entirely, upon the character of the local flora. At Delphoi, for example, the bay-tree was of comparatively recent introduction, and Ovid[4] *à propos* of the earliest Pythian games states that 'whosoever had won with hand or feet or wheel received the honour of oaken foliage (*aesculeae...frondis*)[5]: the bay as yet was not, and Phoebus crowned his brows, fair with their flowing tresses,

[1] Another version made Dryops the son of Apollon and of Dia, a daughter of Lykaon (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1218, *et. mag.* p. 288, 34 f., Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 480).

[2] Ov. *met.* 9. 329 ff. contaminates the story of Dryope with that of Lotis, and transforms the former, like the latter, into a lotus-tree.

[3] A. Mommsen *Delphika* Leipzig 1878 p. 96, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 110.

[4] Ov. *met.* 1. 445 ff. I have discussed the passage in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 413.

[5] For Apollon in connexion with the oak see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1235 n. 1, who cites Apollon Ἀσκραῖος (*supra* p. 255, cp. *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 416) and Apollon Δρύμαιος (schol. Lyk. *Al.* 522) or Δρύμας at Miletos (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 522; but Hekataios of Miletos (? cp. *frag.* 356 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 28 Müller)) *ap.* Strab. 321 regarded Δρύμας as a barbaric name), Dryops son of Apollon (*supra* p. 486 n. 1) and Dryope mate of Apollon (*supra* p. 485 f.), etc. A fine tetradrachm of Katane, struck *c.* 413—404 B.C., shows a full-faced head of Apollon crowned with oak-leaves and flanked by bow and lyre (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 47 fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 172 no. 12, G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 132 f. pl. 9, 4, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 133). A copper of Neapolis in Campania has a profile head of Apollon wearing an oak-wreath (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 109 no. 148 fig.). Further evidence in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 417 f.

from the nearest tree.' Thus it may well be that neither the bay nor the poplar[1] was the tree sacred to Apollon throughout central and northern Europe. In the Balkans the word for 'poplar' closely resembles the word for 'apple[2].' And Dr Rendel Harris has lately been urging, with a great array of evidence and no little persuasiveness, that Apollon—incredible as it sounds—was both in name and in nature an 'apple'-god[3]. He contends (if I follow

[1] J. Hoops *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen im germanischen Altertum* Strassburg 1905 p. 230 f.: 'Die von Willkomm[2] [[3] *Forstl. Flora*[2] 519 f. 530.] ausgesprochene Vermutung, dass die Weiss- und Schwarzpappel dem nördlichen Mitteleuropa von Haus aus fremd seien, wird durch das Fehlen prähistorischer Belege und den Mangel alteinheimischer Namen für die beiden Bäume im Keltischen, Germanischen und Slavischen bestätigt und darf auf das gesamte nordalpine Europa ausgedehnt werden. Sie sind erst zur Römerzeit oder im Lauf des Mittelalters aus Südeuropa eingeführt,' etc.

[2] Cp. E. Berneker *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Heidelberg 1908—1913 i. 23 'skr. [=serbischkroatisch] *jȁblān* m. [=mittel] alt "Apfelbaum"; heute "Populus pyramidalis" und "Pappelkraut, Malve." A Serbian friend of mine, Mr A. Slavko Jonke, writes: 'When I was a boy, living in Croatia, I used to call the poplar-tree *jáblan*. But, when I went to live for four years among the Slovenians of Gorizia, Ljubljana, and Trsat, I found to my surprise that they called the apple-tree *jábelna*.'

[3] J. Rendel Harris *The Origin of the Cult of Apollo* (extr. from the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester* January to March 1916) Manchester 1916 p. 21 ff. =*id. The Ascent of Olympus* Manchester 1917 p. 36 ff. relies on *data* which might be expanded as follows:

(1) The cult of Apollon Μαλεάτας at Trikke in Thessaly (M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 950 *C*, 27 ff. = P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 34 ff. no. 7, 27 ff. cited *infra* Append. L *sub fin.*), at Epidauros (Paus. 2. 27. 7 temple of Apollon Μαλεάτης on Mt Kynortion, cp. M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 925, 21 f. [πρ]οξέ[ν]ο[υ]ς εἶμεν κ[αὶ] θε[αρο]δόκο[υς τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος] | τοῦ [Μ]α[λ]εάτα καὶ τοῦ 'Ασκλαπιοῦ, no. 931, 2 f. ἐν 'Επιδ[αύρωι ἐν τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος τοῦ Μα]|λεάτα καὶ τοῦ 'Ασ[κλαπιοῦ ἱερῶι], no. 932, 51 f. ἐν τῶι ἱερῷ | τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος τοῦ Μαλεάτα καὶ τοῦ 'Ασκλαπιοῦ, no. 944, 17 f. ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος τοῦ Μαλε[ά]τα καὶ τοῦ 'Ασκλαπιοῦ, no. 950, 2 'Απόλλωνι Μαλεάται καὶ 'Ασκλαπιῶι, 27 ff. cited *infra* Append. L *sub fin.*, no. 956, 3 ff. 'Απόλ|λωνι Μαλεάτᾳ καὶ | Σωτῆρι 'Ασκλαπιῷ | κατ' ὄναρ, no. 1011, 2 f. ['Απόλλω]νι Μαλεάτᾳ κ[αὶ 'Ασκληπιῷ Σωτῆρι], no. 1016, 1 ff. 'Απόλλωνι | Μαλεάτᾳ | Σωτῆρι | ὁ ἱερεὺς | Διογένης an inscription of 297 A.D., no. 1079, 1 ff. 'Απόλλ[ωνος] | Μα[λε]ά[τ]α. | Κέλαδος Κελά|δου πυροφο|ρήσας | with later addition of καὶ Οὐρανίας, on which see Fränkel *ad loc.*, no. 1179, 1 'Απόλλωνι Μα[λεάτᾳ καὶ 'Ασκληπιῷ], no. 1185 *b*, 2 [Μα]λεά[τ –], no. 1536, 1 ff. 'Επαφρόδειτος Λε|ωνίδου, ἱεραπολή|σας 'Απόλλωνι Μα|λεάτᾳ τὸ μέ' ἔτος (= 168 A.D.), | Τύχαις, no. 1539, 1 ff. ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ | Μαλεάτα 'Απόλ|λωνος καὶ θεῶν | 'Αζοσίων διὰ βίου, | Αὐξησίᾳ, Ποσι|δώνιος, ἔτους | ρπδ' (=307 A.D.)), at Sparta (Paus. 3. 12. 8 Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν 'Απόλλωνος 'Ακρίτα βωμός, ἔστι δ' ἐπονομαζόμενον Γάσηπτον (R. Porson cj. Γάσεπτον) ἱερὸν Γῆς· 'Απόλλων δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ ἵδρυται Μαλεάτης). Cp. the association of Μαλεάτης with Apollon at Athens (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1651, 1 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 672, 1 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 631, 1 ff. = Roberts—Gardner *Gr. Epigr.* ii. 379 no. 133, 1 ff. θεοί. | κατὰ τάδε προθύεσθα|ι· Μαλεάτηι πόπανα τρ|ία· 'Απόλλωνι πόπανα τ|ρία· 'Ερμῆι πόπανα τρί|α· κ.τ.λ. an inscription from the sanctuary of Asklepios in the Peiraieus) and dedications to Μαλεάτας from Prasiai in Lakonike (*Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 927 Χάριλ(λ)ος ἀνέθηκε τῶι Μαλεάται on the base of a bronze statuette of a warrior, no. 929 Μαλεάτα | Μαλέαις on the sides of a small bronze ram, no. 929 *c* 'Απόλλω|νος Μα|λεάτ(α) on stone). As to the significance of this title, Isyllos (*Inscr. Gr.*

Pelop. i no. 950 *C*, 27 ff.) derives it from an eponymous hero Μᾶλος, of whom he (*ib.* no. 950 *E*, 40 ff.) gives the following *stemma*:

Zeus
|
Malos = Erato
|
Kleophema = Phlegyas
|
Aigla (Koronis) = Apollon
|
Asklapios

Isyllos twice (*ib.* no. 950 *C*, 27 and 31) ends a hexameter with the appellative Μαλεάτα. It is natural to suppose that he scanned it Μᾰλεάτα. But, in view of his derivation from Μᾶλος, it is at least possible that he scanned by synizesis Μᾱλεᾶτα. Accordingly Rendel Harris, like H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 146 f. and S. Eitrem *Die göttlichen Zwillinge bei den Griechen* (*Videnskabsselskabets Skrifter*. II. Historisk-filos. Klasse 1902 No. 2) Christiania 1902 pp. 100 n. 3, 116, would derive Μᾱλεάτας from *μᾱλέα*, 'apple-tree,' cp. Dionysos Συκεάτης (Hesych. *s.v.*) from *συκέα*. To me it seems more probable that Μᾰλεάτης is the ethnic from Μᾰλέα or Μᾰλέαι (cp. *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 929 (Prasiai) Μαλεάτα | Μαλέαις and no. 1519 (Tyros) Ἀπόλονος ἐμ [Μαλέαις] on a small bronze lion), the well-known promontory of S.E. Lakonike, whence also Zeus Μαλειαῖος (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μαλέα).

(2) The cult of Apollon Μαλόεις in Lesbos (Thouk. 3. 3 a festival of Apollon Μαλόεις outside Mytilene, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 484, 18 ff. (Hiera) τᾶς | τε Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλ-λωνος | Μαλ(όε)ντος ἀρχίχορον καὶ ἰε|ροκάρυκα τῶν γερέων ξ[α]|κόρων Σαώτηρος Ἀσκληπί|ω = O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1893 ii. 119 f. no. 168, 18 ff., who reads ἰε|ροκάρυκα τῶν (*i*)ερέων after F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 98 no. 255, 18 ff., cp. A. Conze *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos* Hannover 1865 p. 53 f. pl. 17, 1, Kallim. *frag.* 543 Schneider *ap.* Choirobosk. *in* Theodos. *can. masc.* 3 (i. 152, 13 ff. Hilgard) τοιοῦτον γάρ ἐστι καὶ παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ "ὁ δὲ ἀείδων Μαλόες ἦλθε χορός," ἀντὶ τοῦ Μαλόεις· Μαλόεις δέ ἐστιν ὁ Λέσβιος = Bekker *anecd.* iii. 1187 *fin.*, Herodian. περὶ παθῶν *frag.* 326 (ii. 278, 4 f. Lentz) and περὶ ὀνομάτων, περὶ τῶν εἰς ΕΙΣ (ii. 619, 6 ff. Lentz)). The divine title (Hesych. *s.v.* Μαλ[λ]όεις· Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπίθετον, ἢ ἐπώνυμον) was identical with a Lesbian place-name (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μαλ[λ]όεις· Ἀπόλλων ἐν Λέσβῳ. καὶ ὁ τόπος τοῦ ἱεροῦ Μαλ[λ]όεις, ἀπὸ τοῦ Μήλου (*leg.* μήλου) τῆς Μαντοῦς, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἐν Λεσβικῶν πρώτῳ (*frag.* 117 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 60)), *Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 74, 5 ἐν Μαλόεντι μόρον = O. Hoffmann *op. cit.* ii. 66 f. no. 90, 5, Aristot. *vent. sit. et appell.* 973 a 10 f. ἐνοχλεῖ δὲ (*sc.* Καικίας) τὸν Μιτυληναίων λιμένα, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Μαλόεντα with A. Conze *op. cit.* p. 7). The aetiological myth, briefly alluded to by Steph. Byz. *loc. cit.*, is given more fully in the Patmian *scholia* on Thouk. 3. 3 published by I. Sakkelion in the *Rev. Philol.* N.S. 1877 i. 185: Μαλόεις Ἀπόλλων· οὗτος παρὰ Μιτυληναίοις ἐτιμᾶτο, ἀπὸ τοιαύτης δέ τινος αἰτίας. Μαντὼ ἡ Τειρεσίου θυγάτηρ περὶ τοὺς τόπους χορεύουσα τούτους, μῆλον χρυσοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιδεραίου ἀπώλεσεν· εὗξατο οὖν, εἰ εὕροι, ἱερὸν ἱδρύσειν τῷ θεῷ. εὑροῦσα δὲ τὸ μῆλον, τὸ ἱερὸν ἱδρύσατο, καὶ Μαλόεις Ἀπόλλων ἐντεῦθεν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐτιμᾶτο. The myth makes it clear that Apollon's epithet Μαλόεις was connected, not with Μαλέα the S.E. headland of Lesbos, but with *μῆλον*, an 'apple.' Presumably, then, it was a local title derived from Μαλόεις, the 'Apple'-district N. of Mytilene. If so, it may or may not give us some hint as to the character of the god himself.

(3) At Nisaia, the port of Megara, was an old sanctuary of Demeter Μαλοφόρος with a ruined roof: among the explanations offered of the cult-epithet was that it had been given to the goddess by the first men who reared sheep (*μῆλα*) in the country (Paus. 1. 44. 3). Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 406 and Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 474 cite a coppér of Pagai, the other port of Megara, struck by Septimius Severus, on which appears Demeter (? Artemis Σώτειρα, cp. Paus. 1. 40. 2 f. with 1. 44. 4. A.B.C.) with a torch in either hand treading on rocky ground and preceded by a ram. But, since *μᾶλα*, 'sheep,' is only

a hyper-Dorism for μῆλα (E. Boisacq *Les dialectes doriens* Paris—Liége 1891 p. 47 n. 1), it is far more probable that Μαλοφόρος means 'Apple-bearing,' and that we should interpret in this sense Kallim. *h. Dem.* 138 *φέρβε βόας· φέρε μᾶλα, φέρε στάχυν· οἷσε θερισμόν*: see O. Schneider *ad loc.*, who aptly quotes schol. *Il.* 9. 542 (*αὐτοῖς ἄνθεσι μήλων*) *μηλοφόρον δὲ καὶ τὴν Δήμητραν τιμῶσιν*. Selinous, founded by Dorians from the Sicilian Megara and therefore a grand-daughter of Megara in Greece, maintained the worship of the goddess (A. Salinas in the *Not. Scavi* 1894 p. 208 ff. = F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 238 f. no. 5213 on a tufa-base with a small cornice Θέυλλος Πυρρία | *ἀνέθηκε τᾶι* | Μαλοφόρωι | *εὐ(χ)άν· ἐνπέλα*, cp. Hesych. *s.v. ἐμπέλα· ἐμπέλαζε, πρόσαγε, ἔγγιζε*; *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 268 = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 26 f. no. 3046 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 751 on a tufa-block from the left *anta* of the *ádyton* of the temple of Apollon at Selinous in lettering of *c.* 450 B.C. [*δι*]*ὰ τὼς θεὼς τώ*[*σ*]*δε νικῶντι τοὶ Σελινών*[*τιοι·*] | [*δι*]*ὰ τὸν Δία νικῶμες καὶ διὰ τὸν Φόβον* [*καὶ*] | [*δ*]*ιὰ Ἡρακλέα καὶ δι' Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ διὰ Π*[*σ*τ]|*ε*[*ιδᾶ*]*να καὶ διὰ Τυνδαρίδας καὶ δι' Ἀθ*[*α*]*ν*[*αί*]*αν καὶ διὰ Μαλοφόρον καὶ διὰ Πασικ*|*ρά*[*τ*]*ειαν καὶ διὰ τὼς ἄλλως θεώς*, [*ὃ*]*ιὰ δὲ Δία* | *μάλιστ*[*α*]. *φιλία*[*ς*] *δὲ γενομένας ἐνχρυσ*|*έω*[*ς*] *ἑλά*[*σα*]*ντα*[*ς, τὰ δ'*] *ὀνύματα ταῦτα κολ*|*άψαντ*[*ας ἐς*] *τὸ Α*[*π*]*ολ*[*λ*]*ώνιον καθθέμε*|*ν, τὸ Διὸ*[*ς προ*]*γρά*[*ψα*]*ντες* (*sic*)· *τὸ δὲ χρυσίον* | *ἐξήκο*[*ντα τ*]*αλάντων ἦμεν*). The Macedonian month Μαλοφόριος (cited from the dictionary of Papias the Lombard (1053—1063 A.D.) by K. F. Hermann in *Philologus* 1847 ii. 262: see also E. F. Bischoff 'De fastis Graecorum antiquioribus' in *Leipziger Studien für classische Philologie* vii Leipzig 1884 p. 374 with n. 6 (= Pyanopsion)) perhaps implies a festival of Demeter Μαλοφόρος. In any case we have no reason to connect the title with Apollon.

(4) In the grove of Apollon at Gryneia in S. Aiolis was an ancient oracle (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γρῦνοι, cp. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 345). Here Kalchas and Mopsos were said to have had a contest in seer-craft, each attempting to divine the number of apples on a certain tree. Mopsos won, and Kalchas died of chagrin (Euphorion *ap.* Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 72 = Myth. Vat. 1. 194, 2. 224).

Apollod. *epit.* 6. 2 f. and Strab. 642, following Hes. *frag.* 169 Flach, 160 Rzach (cp. the *nostoi* as summarised by Proklos in G. Kinkel *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta* Lipsiae 1877 p. 53: Konon *narr.* 6 deviates widely), state that the contest took place near Kolophon in the grove of Apollon Κλάριος, which likewise possessed an ancient oracle. Kalchas, returning from Troy on foot with Amphilochos son of Amphiaraos (cp. Theopomp. *frag.* 112 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 296 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Il.* 2. 135, Quint. Smyrn. 14. 360 ff.), had reached Klaros (cp. Kallinos *frag.* 8 Bergk[4] *ap.* Strab. 668), when he fell in with a better seer than himself, Mopsos son of Teiresias' daughter Manto, and died of vexation. Kalchas had asked Mopsos how many figs there were on a certain wild fig-tree. Mopsos had said: 'Ten thousand,—you can measure them with a bushel, and there will be one fig over.' This answer had proved to be correct, and straightway Kalchas had died. Strab. 643 says that, according to Pherekydes (*frag.* 95 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 94 Müller)), the numerical question concerned the unborn litter of a sow; and that others combined this version with that of the wild fig-tree. He adds (*ib.* 643 and 675) that in Sophokles' Ἑλένης ἀπαίτησις (*frag.* 180 Jebb) Kalchas was fated to die when he met a better seer than himself, and that the scene of his contest with Mopsos and his subsequent death was here transferred to Kilikia, which the poet inexactly termed Pamphylia (see, however, Hdt. 7. 91, Strab. 668, Paus. 7. 3. 7). Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 427, 440, 980, 1047 mentions both Kolophon and Kilikia, the wild fig-tree and the sow, cp. Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 850. The sequel too deserves notice. According to one version, Amphilochos and Mopsos founded Mallos in Kilikia. Amphilochos then departed to Argos, entrusting his kingdom to Mopsos for a year. At the year's end he returned; but Mopsos would not give up the kingdom. So they quarrelled, and slew one another in single fight (Euphorion *ap.* Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 440, Strab. 675 f., cp. Cic. *de divin.* 1. 88, Loukian. *Alex.* 29, *concil. deor.* 12). According to another version, Amphilochos son of Alkmaion on his return from Troy was carried by a storm to Kolophon (schol. *Od.* 13. 259) and so encountered Mopsos. The two met in single combat to decide the kingship, and succeeded in slaying each other (Apollod. *epit.* 6. 19, cited by Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 440).

A very similar story is connected with Siris in Lucania. Herakles, when driving the cattle of Geryon, saw Kalchas—not the son of Thestor mentioned above, but a seer of the same name—sitting under a wild fig-tree, and asked him how many figs were on the tree. Kalchas replied: 'Ten bushels, and one fig over, which you cannot get into them.' Herakles proceeded to measure the figs and, despite all his efforts, failed to get in the extra one. Kalchas laughed at him. Thereupon Herakles with a blow of his fist slew the seer, and buried him beside the fig-tree (schol. Lyk. *Al.* 978 and 980: allusions in Lyk. *Al.* 978 ff., 1047 with Tzetz. *ad locc.*). Since Siris was colonised from Kolophon (J. Oehler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2833 f.), it is likely enough that the Colophonian account of Kalchas' contest was brought over to Siris, and there perhaps attached to the Daunian king Kalchos (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 923 f.).

These stories are of deep interest as implying a contest *à outrance* for the position of priestly king. They are, in fact, the attenuated Greek equivalent of the contest at Nemi: cp. *e.g.* the language of Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1047 Ἀμφίλοχος δὲ κατά τινας συναιρεῖται τῷ Μόψῳ τούτῳ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς μαντικῆς μονομαχήσας. It is indeed probable that the apple-tree at Gryneia and the wild fig-tree at Kolophon were sacred trees, like that of Diana *Nemorensis*. If so, it may be maintained that Apollon Γρύνειος was specially connected with apples.

(5) Apples were given as prizes at the Pythian games (Max. Tyr. *diss.* 5. 8 Dübner Ὀλυμπιάσι μὲν καὶ Πυθοῖ οὐκ ἔνεστι κότινον λαβεῖν, οὐδὲ μήλων τυχεῖν, αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ κονισάμενον, ἀλλὰ ἀνταγωνιστῶν δεῖ τῷ κηρύγματι, 7. 4 Dübner μετασχεῖν μὴ κοτίνου μόνον



Fig. 372.



Fig. 373.



Fig. 374.



Fig. 375.

Ὀλυμπιάσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πίτυος Ἰσθμικῆς, καὶ σελίνου Ἀργολικοῦ, καὶ μήλων Πυθικῶν, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 357 (*adespoton*: Ἀρχίου Plan.) τέσσαρές εἰσιν ἀγῶνες ἀν' Ἑλλάδα, τέσσαρες ἱροί, | οἱ δύο μὲν θνητῶν, οἱ δύο δ' ἀθανάτων, | Ζηνός, Λητοΐδαο, Παλαίμονος, Ἀρχεμόροιο· | ἆθλα δὲ τῶν κότινος, μῆλα, σέλινα, πίτυς = Auson. *ecl.* 20 (p. 103 Peiper) quattuor antiquos celebravit Achaia ludos. | caelicolum duo sunt et duo festa hominum. | sacra Iovis Phoebique, Palaemonis Archemorique, | serta quibus pinus, malus, oliva, apium. Cp. Phlegon *frag.* 1 cited *supra* p. 466 n. 11), and are represented in connection with them on imperial coppers of Delphoi (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Central Greece p. 30 pl. 4, 23 and 24 (=my fig. 372) *obv.* ΘΕΑΦ ΑΥCΤΕΙΝΑ· Bust of Faustina Senior to right; *rev.* ΠΥ ΘΙ Α Agonistic table, on which are a crow, five apples, and a bay-wreath. Fig. 373, from a specimen in my collection, is similar, except that it shows a vase also on the table. Cp. J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 46 ff. pl. 30, 1—8, where the apples are wrongly described as σφαιρίδια, Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 98 nos. 943 f. pl. 17), of Philippopolis in Thrace (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 165 no. 36 *obv.* ΑΥΤΚΜΑΥΡCΕΥΗ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC Bust of Caracalla to left, laureate; *rev.* ΚΟΙΝΟΝΘΡΑΚΩΝΑΛΕ ΖΑΝΔΡΙΑΕΝΦΙΛΙ ΠΟΠΟ *Diskos*-thrower standing to left with *diskos* and three apples in his hands. Across the field is ΠΥ ΘΙΑ, p. 166 no. 37 fig. (=my fig. 374) *obv.* The same inscription. Bust of Caracalla to right, radiate; *rev.* ΚΟΙΝΟΝΘΡΑΚ Ω ΝΑΛΕΖΑΝΔΡ ΙΑΕΝΦΙΛΙΠ ΠΟΠΟΛΙ Agonistic table, on which is an urn inscribed ΠΥΘΙΑ containing two palms. Beneath the table

are an *amphora*, a palm, and five apples, p. 166 no. 38 similar, p. 166 no. 39 *obv.* Similar inscription and bust; *rev.* KOINON ΘPA AAEZAN ENΦI AITTTOΠ OAI Similar type: but the urn on the table contains five apples, and beneath the table are a palm and an *amphora*. B. V. Head describes the apples as 'balls or discs.' G. Macdonald in the *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 444 no. 10 Caracalla, 445 no. 13 Elagabalos calls them 'balls'), of Ankyra in Galatia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 13 pl. 3, 1 (=my fig. 375) *obv.* AN.....AVΓOVCTOC Bust of Caracalla to right, laureate; *rev.* MHTPOΠ [ANK]VPAC IEOΠVΘI A Agonistic table, on which is an urn, containing a palm-branch, placed between two purses: beneath the table are five apples, p. 13 pl. 3, 2 *obv.* ANTΩNIN OCTTIOCAVΓ Similar bust; *rev.* MHTPOΠO AEANKVPAC IEOΠVΘ IA Agonistic urn inscribed AΓΩN, containing a palm-branch: above the urn are five apples. W. Wroth describes the apples as 'balls,' as does Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 60 no. 683 pl. 10, i. 66 no. 724 pl. 11), and of Tralleis in Lydia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 357 no. 181 *obv.* ΦPOV CABTP ANKVAAEINA Bust of Tranquillina to right; *rev.* TPAAAI ANΩN beneath an agonistic table, on which are five apples between two prize-wreaths. In the field to left and right ΠVΘIA and OAYMΠIA. Above, EΠ[P]? In the exergue, ΦIAITTTOV KENTA). Thus all the evidence for this custom, whether literary or numismatic, belongs to the second and third centuries of our era,—unless indeed *Anth. Pal.* 9. 357 can be attributed to Cicero's client A. Licinius Archias, which is very doubtful (see R. Reitzenstein in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 463 f.).

(6) Coins of Eleuthernai in Crete, from *c.* 480 B.C. onwards, show Apollon holding a spherical object (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 130 ff.

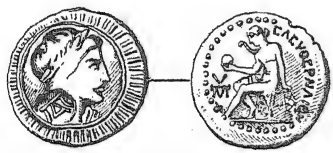


Fig. 376.



Fig. 377.

pl. 11, 4—6, 8—11, 14—18, 22—30, pl. 12, 1—5, 7, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 33 ff. pl. 8, 5—8, 10—13, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 182 f. pl. 41, 15—17, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 464 f.), which has been variously interpreted. It is described as *malum* or *pomum* by the older numismatists (see also Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 307 n. [a]), including Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] ii. 311 f. and Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 586, Suppl. ii. 748; and its resemblance to the apple held in the hand *e.g.* of Aphrodite or Venus on other coins (Rasche *op. cit.* vi. 1702, x. 841, 847 ff., 855, 859, 870, 875 ff.) is evident. Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 94 pl. 12, 135[a] regards the small round thing held by the standing Apollon as an 'Apfel,' the relatively larger round thing held by the seated Apollon as a 'Diskos' or a 'Kugel'—the one reminiscent of Hyakinthos, the other a cosmic or solar globe. B. Pick in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii. 173 n. 128 says: 'die Art, wie er den Gegenstand hält, ist sehr verschieden, zuweilen aber lässt sie die Deutung des Attributs als Salbgefäss oder als Granatapfel ganz unmöglich erscheinen.' J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 130 ff. calls it in succession 'peut-être une pierre,' 'une pierre,' and 'un disque.' W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. pp. xxvi ff., 33 ff., G. Macdonald in the *Hunter Cat. Coins loc. cit.*, and B. V. Head in his *Hist. num.*[2] *loc. cit.* all make it a 'stone,' presumably influenced by the stone-throwing Talos on coins of Phaistos and the stone-throwing Minotaur on coins of Knossos (*supra* i. 720 f. figs. 534—536). J. de Foville in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1902 vi. 454 ff. fig. (=my fig. 376) publishes a copper of Eleuthernai, on which Apollon's head is surrounded by a radiate circle (cp. *supra* i. 544 n. 9), and infers that the sphere held by him may

perhaps be 'un globe solaire, pareil à celui que les Égyptiens, voisins des Crétois, placent sur le front d'Ammon-Râ.' None of these explanations is free from doubt, and I now incline to think that a more satisfactory result may be reached by considering the earliest known coin of the town (E. Muret in the *Rev. Num.* iii Série 1883 i. 65 pl. 2, 4, F. Lenormant *ib.* p. 129 ff., W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1884 iv. 29 pl. 2, 5 (=my fig. 377), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 307 Münztaf. 3, 12, J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* p. 130 pl. 11, 4: *obv.* Apollon, nude except for a belt, stepping left towards a height on which grows a storax-tree. The god carries a bow in his left hand, a spherical object in his right, and is accompanied by a hound. In the field behind him is a second storax-tree. All in a circle of dots; *rev.* ϤƎ⊕VƎ ⅂Ǝ Artemis, in a long *chitón*, standing to right, shoots an arrow from her bow. She too is accompanied by a hound (? stag A.B.C.). All in a square of dots). It is highly probable that this coin represents Apollon Στυρακίτης (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Στυράκιον) repairing to Mt Styrakion in Crete (Steph. Byz. *loc. cit.*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 281, 13) with his bow and hound. It is an odd coincidence, but no more, that Στύραξ (=σαυρωτήρ) was a name recommended by Xenophon as suitable for a hound (Xen. *cyn.* 7. 5). Now Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 789 infers from Hdt. 3. 107, Plin. *nat. hist.* 12. 81 that in the Levant στύραξ was a substitute for λιβανωτός, 'white-incense,' and suggests that on Greek soil λεύκη, 'white-poplar,' was a surrogate of στύραξ, both having a white under-surface to their leaves. It is therefore tempting to surmise that the storax-trees of Eleuthernai were



Fig. 378.

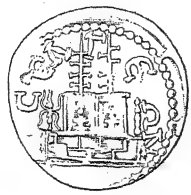


Fig. 379.



Fig. 380.

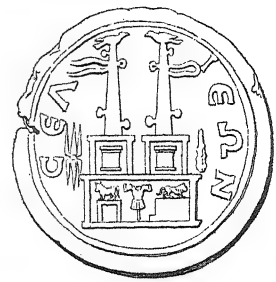


Fig. 381.

analogous to the poplar-trees of the Eridanos, Apollonia (?), etc. (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀπολλωνία 23 mentions Apollonia as a later name of Eleuthernai, and notes that ὁ *φυσικὸς* Διογένης, *i.e.* Diogenes ὁ Ἀπολλωνιάτης, was a native of this town: cp. the countermark ΑΤΤ on the copper of Eleuthernai (*supra* fig. 376)), and thence to conclude that the globe on the hand of Apollon is a ball of resin from the bark of the storax-trees comparable with the drops of amber believed to exude from the poplars. It is significant that the balsamic juice known as 'liquid storax' is obtained by incision from a tree, whose botanical name is *liquidambar orientalis*.

The Apollon of Eleuthernai appears also on silver coins of the neighbouring town Rhithymna, struck *c.* 400 B.C. (J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 308 pl. 30, 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. pp. xxvii, 78 pl. 19, 8, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 477).

At Selge in Pisidia coppers of *s.* ii B.C. represent the head of Herakles wreathed with storax (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. pp. cxvi f., 261 pl. 40, 7 f.), while coppers of imperial date have two storax-trees fenced round as objects of worship and flanked by club and thunderbolt, the symbols of Herakles and Zeus respectively (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia pp. cxvii, 264 nos. 68 f. Hadrian, 266 no. 78 pl. 41, 3 (=my fig. 378) Severus Alexander, 267 no. 84 pl. 41, 5 (=my fig. 379) Salonina, no. 86 pl. 41, 6 (=my fig. 380) Aurelian). See further Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* pp. 342—345, who cites *inter alia* Strab. 570 f., and notes that the tree of Herakles is always larger than the tree of Zeus. F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte, les symboles, les attributs, et les monuments figurés de Vénus, en orient et en occident* Paris 1837 pp. 136 f., 168 pl. 3, 2 (=my fig. 381)

his argument aright) that *Apóllon* was a term borrowed by the Greeks from some Teutonic tongue which, like Gothic, represented the original *b* of the Indo-Europaean **abela-*, **ablu-*[1] by a *p*. But, since Apollon is well-known to Homer, this involves the assumption that the change of Indo-Europaean *b* to Teutonic *p* took place at a very much earlier date (*c.* 1200—1300 B.C.) than is commonly supposed (*c.* 200—300 B.C.). At that remote epoch we should expect to find the Greeks in contact with Thracians or Illyrians rather than with Teutons. And who can assure us that Illyrians or Thracians pronounced 'apple' with a *p*? So for the present Dr Rendel Harris' attractive hypothesis must remain hypothetical.

Be that as it may, the extract cited above from Apollonios of Rhodes brings us back to the Hyperboreans again. Apollon (said the Keltoi), when banished by Zeus from heaven, was sent—not to Admetos king of Thessaly—but to the Hyperboreans. Once more we are led to suspect that the Hyperborean land lay well to the north of Greece. And the context implies that it was located at some point on the Amber Road[2]. Already in neolithic times one

published a specimen in the Bibliothèque Nationale, struck by Caracalla, which shows the trees surmounted by two birds.

[(7) Coppers of Olbia, struck probably in *s.* i A.D. have *obv.* ΟΛ ΒΙΟΠΟ Bust of Apollon to right; *rev.* Δ ΑΔ ΟC CΑΤΥ (*i.e.* Ἀάδος Σατύρου the *árchon*) Nude Apollon, who stands facing us with a *kálathos* on his head, a bow and arrow in his left hand, and a round object in his right (B. Pick in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii. 172 f. pl. 10, 31, Miss G. M. Hirst in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 253 ff. fig. 2, E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pp. 473, 477 pl. 3, 16, A. von Sallet in *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 27 no. 124). As to the nature of the round object B. Pick *loc. cit.* suggests 'ein Salbgefäss...oder ein Granatapfel' and cp. the archaic statuette of Apollon from Naxos, now in the Berlin Museum (M. Fränkel in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1879 xxxvii. 84 ff. pl. 7 'Salbgefäss,' E. Curtius *ib.* p. 97 'Granatapfel,' A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 451 f. fig. 'ein kleines kugeliges henkelloses Gefäss,' Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 35 ff. fig. 8 'Salbgefäss,' *id. Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 245 f. fig. 65, 2 'Salbgefäss'), together with a tetradrachm struck at Sinope in *s.* iii B.C. (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1897 xx. 272 f. no. 1 pl. 10, 6, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 192 pl. 25, 32, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 508); but A. von Sallet *loc. cit.* says 'in der R. Schale' and E. H. Minns *op. cit.* pl. 3, 16 speaks of 'bow and patera (?).']

[1] Schrader *Reallex.*[2] p. 53.

[2] On the various routes by which amber from the north reached the south of Europe see J. N. von Sadowski *Die Handelsstrassen der Griechen und Römer durch das Flussgebiet der Oder, Weichsel, des Dniepr und Niemen an die Gestade des Baltischen Meeres* Aus dem Polnischen von A. Kohn Jena 1877, H. Genthe 'Ueber die Beziehungen der Griechen und Römer zum Balticum' in the *Verh. d. 36. Philologenversamml. in Karlsruhe* 1882 pp. 17—31, F. Waldmann *Der Bernstein im Altertum* (Separatabdruck aus dem Programm des livl. Landesgymnasiums für das Jahr 1882) Fellin 1883 (pp. 37—67 'Von dem Bernsteinhandel, dessen Betrieb, Ausbreitung und Strassen im Altertum,' p. 85 f. 'Bernsteinfunde an den Handelsstrassen'), O. Olshausen 'über den alten Bernsteinhandel der cimbrischen Halbinsel und seine Beziehungen zu den Goldfunden' in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1890 xxii Verhandlungen p. 270 ff., *id.* 'über den alten Bernsteinhandel

branch of this great trade-route ran direct from the Baltic to the Black Sea, traversing the valleys of the Vistula and the Dniester, while a second branch, passing along the Elbe, the Moldau, the Danube, came down to the Adriatic, the Balkans, and Greece[1]. In the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age the Elbe-Danube-Adriatic route was extensively used by the amber-trade[2]. It may therefore be regarded as reasonable to place the Hyperboreans of the myth pretty much where Pindar placed them, near 'the shady springs of Istros[3].'

This location is to some extent confirmed by recent enquiries into the etymology of the name *Hyperbóreoi*. In 1892 W. Prellwitz[4] first propounded the view that *Boréas* means the wind 'from the mountain' (Church Slavonic *gora*)—a view accepted in 1898 by H. Pedersen[5] and in 1901 by O. Schrader[6]. Pedersen accordingly takes the word *hyperbóreos* to denote 'beyond the mountains.' In 1905 O. Schroeder[7] argued that the Hyperboreans were, not an idealised earthly tribe, but a '*Himmelsvolk*' of divinised heroes. Belief in them arose in a land where and at a time when the word for 'mountain' was **bóris*—a form presumed for the pre-Greek dialects of northern Greece. Now the highest mountain between the rivers Haliakmon and Axios is the ancient *Bora*[8] or modern *Nidje*, which attains an elevation of over 2000^{m}[9]. We must conceive of the *Hyperbóreoi* as dwelling, not on the earth 'beyond Bora[10],' but in the sky 'above Bora[11].' Schroeder's conclusions were approved in 1914 by R. Günther and Daebritz[12]. In the same year Kiessling[13] admitted that *Hyperbóreoi* really meant 'above Bora,' but insisted that from the beginning of *s.* v B.C. it was interpreted 'beyond

und die Goldfunde' *ib.* 1891 xxiii Verhandlungen p. 286 ff., H. Blümner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 298 f., Schrader *Reallex.*[2] pp. 96—101.

[1] J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1908 i. 626 f.

[2] *Id. op. cit.* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 19 ff., 1913 ii. 2. 872 ff., 1914 ii. 3. 1327 ff., 1573 ff. As to roads down the eastern side of the Adriatic, A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* Cambridge 1912 p. 3 observe: 'The main route from north to south seems to have come down Central Epirus to Ambracia (Arta, Ἄρτα), and thence to have crept round the coast past Amphilochian Argos into the lower Achelous valley.'

[3] *Supra* p. 465.

[4] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[1] p. 50, *id. ib.*[2] p. 81.

[5] H. Pedersen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1898 xxxvi. 319.

[6] Schrader *Reallex.* p. 956.

[7] O. Schroeder 'Hyperboreer' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1905 viii. 79 f., 82 f.

[8] Liv. 45. 29 quarta regio trans Boram montem, una parte confinis Illyrico, altera Epiro.

[9] H. Kiepert *Formae orbis antiqui* Berlin 1894 xvii J i gives the altitude as 2320^{m}.

[10] Cp. *ὑπερπόντιος*. [11] Cp. *ὑπεράκριος*.

[12] R. Günther and Daebritz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 260.

[13] Kiessling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 857 f.

Boreas,' the word *bora*, 'mountain,' having wholly dropped out of use. Hence—he inferred—neither the true (modern) derivation nor the false (ancient) derivation can explain the fact that the Hyperboreans were so early located to the north of the Rhipai. This must be due to the primitive astronomical belief that the sun disappeared at night behind a huge mountain in the north. In 1916 Miss G. H. Macurdy[1] wrote: 'Helios-Paean-Apollo was the Sun god worshipped with Artemis Basileia in Paeonia-Pieria, and the Hyperborean legend connects this worship with the cult of Apollo and Artemis beyond the Bora.' Miss Macurdy drew attention to the fact that the *via Egnatia*, which ran from Dyrrhachion through Makedonia and Thrace to Byzantion[2], passed close to Mount Bora, and she suggested 'that the same gift of poetic imagination to which we owe the myth of the sisters of Phaethon, transformed into poplars and dropping tears of amber at the place which appears to have been an entrepôt for amber in ancient days, has also developed this legend of a holy race of men living beyond the Bora, on the North-Western track that led to the night home of the Sun god.' In 1917 Miss Harrison[3] proposed to combine Kiessling's explanation with that of Miss Macurdy: 'The *bora* of myth gets contaminated with the Bora of fact.' Lastly, in 1920 Miss Macurdy[4] accepted this combination, but demurred to S. Casson's view[5] that 'The Hyperboreans as a nucleus of myths and travellers' tales belong essentially to the Far East of antiquity,' their 'celestial calm' being perhaps 'some faint echo from civilised China[6].'

[1] Miss G. H. Macurdy 'The Hyperboreans' in the *Class. Rev.* 1916 xxx. 180—183.

[2] See E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1988 ff.

[3] Miss J. E. Harrison in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1917* p. 96 f.

[4] Miss G. H. Macurdy 'The Hyperboreans again, Abaris, and Helixoia' in the *Class. Rev.* 1920 xxxiv. 137 ff.

[5] S. Casson 'The Hyperboreans' in the *Class. Rev.* 1920 xxxiv. 1 ff. On the suggested connexion with China see M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2829 and E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 113 f., also H. A. Giles *Adversaria Sinica* i. 1 ff. Shanghai 1905, ix. 298 f. Shanghai 1911.

[6] The views summarised in this paragraph are, of course, incompatible with that advocated by my friend Dr Farnell in his *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 102 f.: 'The brilliant explanation given by Ahrens of the meaning of the name [*sc.* 'Hyperboreans'] throws light on the darkness: he notes the name of the Macedonian month Ὑπερβερεταῖος, the last month of the year, and therefore falling probably in midsummer and about the time of the harvest, derivable also immediately from no other word than ὑπερβερέτης; he notes also the North Greek equation of β and φ, and concludes that the form Ὑπερβόρειοι is merely a lengthening, due to mistaken popular etymology of Ὑπέρβοροι, which equals Ὑπέρφοροι, a possible variant of Ὑπερφερέται, a name for the sacred ministrants who carry the cereal offerings from one community to another, and whom Herodotus calls Περφερέες. This deduction has won some acceptance, and is by far the most interesting contribution made by philology to the solution of a problem of Greek religion.'

The explanation put forward by H. L. Ahrens in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1862 xvii. 340 ff.

On the whole, it seems probable that originally the *Hyperbóreoi* were so named as dwelling 'Beyond the Mountains,' but that later, when the word *bora* had passed out of general use, surviving only in the Macedonian Mount *Bora* and in *Boréas* the wind 'from the Mountains,' they were popularly supposed to live 'at the back of the North Wind.' The road to their far-distant country was conceived

was adopted by W. Mannhardt *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte* Berlin 1877 p. 234 f. (*ib.*² Berlin 1905 p. 234 f.), O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2830 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 103, 107, 718 b, *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 520 f. But, even as restated by its later adherents, it involves sundry serious improbabilities—see Daebritz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 260 f.: 'Die antike Volksetymologie habe, von orientalischen Vorstellungen beeinflusst, den H. eine Bedeutung gegeben, die diese "Überbringer der Festgeschenke" nicht von Anfang an hatten; *περφερέες* sei = **ὑπερβέρεες*, **ὑπερβερέες*, *ὑπερβόροι*; der Ὑπερβερεταῖος des makedonischen Jahres sei der Monat der **ὑπερβερετή*, wie die makedonische Prozession nach Delphi geheissen habe, und gehe auf *ὑπέρ* + *φέρω* = maked. **βέρω* zurück. Hiergegen spricht aber, wie mich Günther belehrt "dass *ὑπέρ* nie diese Bedeutung unseres 'über' in überbringen,—tragen hat; das müsste *παρά* heissen; *περί* wiederum heisst 'über' nur in komparativischem Sinne (*περικαλλής*, Brugmann Gr. Gr.⁴ 513); die *περφερέες* sind vielmehr die sich herumdrehenden, d. h. die Umgebung (wie *ἀμφίπολος*), vgl. *περιφερής* 'um etwas herumgehend' und die *περιφέρεια* des Kreises." Auch Schröder 73 hat gegen jene Erklärung einen meines Erachtens schlagenden Einwand vorgebracht, dass doch nach Herodots Worten nur die fünf Begleiter der Jungfrauen *περφερέες* hiessen. Wie kann man dem Volk den Namen nach den Gesandten geben? Πομποί ohne ein Volk, das sie schickt, sind undenkbar. Dass die Sage von den H. "aus einem Missverständnisse dieser Benennung" (Ahrens) hervorgehen konnte, ist unglaublich. Einen weiteren Gegengrund, den Namen der im delphischen Glauben wurzelnden Ὑπερβόρεοι aus der nur für Delos bezeugten Bezeichnung der den Hyperboreerinnen beigegebenen Begleiter als *περφερέες* abzuleiten, bildet die Verschiedenheit des delischen und delphischen Glaubens. Freilich kann *περφερέες* wohl delphisch sein, Kretschmer Glotta 1 37. Gegen die Ahrenssche Etymologie vgl. auch Immisch Klaros 156. Treuber Gesch. d. Lykier 1887, 78. Zielinski N. Jahrb. III 87.' Daebritz goes on to urge that the Macedonian month Ὑπερβερεταῖος (adopted into the Cretan calendar as Ὑπερβέρετος) was rightly connected by O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 108 [after A. Fick in *Orient und Occident* 1864 ii. 720, who postulates a Zeus *ὑπερβερέτα*] with a Zeus *ὑπερβερέτᾱς*, 'the surpasser,' = *ὑπερφερέτης* (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 34 cited *supra* p. 111 n. 0) in the sense of *ὑπερφέρων*, *ὑπερφερής*. Hoffmann's derivation of Ὑπερβερεταῖος commends itself also to W. Baege 'De Macedonum sacris' in *Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* Halis Saxonum 1913 xxii. 228 and to E. Bischoff in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 253. Proof positive has recently come to light in the shape of two inscriptions from the site of Mopsion (?) in Pelasgiotis (A. M. Woodward 'Greek Inscriptions from Thessaly' in *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1910 iii. 155 f. no. 7 on a gable-topped *stéle* in lettering of *s.* i B.C. (?) Διὶ Περφερέτᾳ ['A]ντιμ|[ή]δης Παρ[μ]ενίσκου | ἀρχιφρου[ρ]ήσας καὶ οἱ | σύνφρου[ρ]οι στρατηγ|οῦντος Καλλισστρά|του, O. Kern in *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1057 on a similar but much damaged *stéle* Διὶ Φερφερέτᾳ· Ἀρισ|τοκ[ρά]της Μελίννο[υ] | ἀρχ[ίφρ]ου[ρ]ο[ς καὶ οἱ σ]|ύν[φρ]ου[ροι στρατηγοῦ]|ν(τ)ος – – – – – – (see Woodward *loc. cit.*)), which attest the cult of Zeus Περφερέτας or Φερφερέτας, Thessalian forms of the deity so acutely recognised by Fick. U. von Wilamowitz—Moellendorff in *Hermes* 1905 xl. 138 cures Kallim. *frag.* 117 Schneider *ap.* Hephaist. *enchir.* 6. 3 p. 19, 11 ff. Consbruch Ἑρμᾶς ὅ περ Φεραῖος αἰνείων θεός | ἔμμι τῶ φυγαίχμα by the simple expedient of re-writing Ἑρμᾶς ὁ Περφεραῖος Αἰνίων θεὸς | ἐμμί, τῶ φυγαίχμα ('wo dann so etwas wie *ἀνάθημα* und der Eigenname folgen musste, der Weihende, der der Schlacht entgangen war').

sometimes as an earthly, sometimes as a heavenly path. The former was the great trade-route that skirted the eastern shore of the Adriatic. The latter was its aërial counterpart, the Milky Way[1]. The one was the track by which amber reached the Greeks. The other was the highway followed by the birds. And it is interesting to find that Sophokles connected amber with birds, when he described it as the tears shed by the *meleagrídes* or 'guinea-fowl' at the death of Meleagros[2].

Of the route by which the Hyperborean offerings came to Apollon at Delos we have two very different records. Herodotos[3] *à propos* of the Hyperboreoi writes:

'By far the fullest account of them is that given by the Delians, who declare that sacred things wrapped in wheaten straw are carried from the Hyperboreans to the Scythians; that from the Scythians they are received by a succession of neighbouring tribes, who bring them westwards as far as the Adriatic; that from this point they are forwarded south to the people of Dodona, who are the first of the Hellenes to receive them; that from Dodona they come down to the Malian gulf and cross over to Euboia, where they are sent from town to town till they reach Karystos; but that, after this, Andros is passed by, the Carystians taking them direct to Tenos, and the Tenians to Delos.'

Pausanias[4], having occasion to mention Prasiai, a small township on the east coast of Attike, observes:

'In Prasiai there is a temple of Apollon. Here the first-fruits of the Hyperboreans are said to come. The Hyperboreans—I am told—hand them over to the Arimaspians, and the Arimaspians to the Issedones; from these the Scythians convey them to Sinope; thence they are borne by Hellenes to Prasiai; and it is the Athenians that bring them to Delos. These first-fruits—it is said—are hidden in wheaten straw, and nobody knows what they are. At Prasiai there is a tomb of Erysichthon[5], who died on the voyage as he was returning from Delos after the sacred embassy.'

The routes thus traced by Herodotos and Pausanias correspond, at least in part, with the two main branches of the Amber Road mentioned above[6], *viz.* that which passed along the Elbe, the Moldau,

[1] Cp. such names for the Galaxy as 'Watling Street' or 'London Road' (*supra* p. 37). H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland 'La Voie Lactée' in *Mélusine* 1884—85 ii. 151 ff. add *Strada d'Roma* (Parma, Malaspina), *Via romana* (Tuscany), *la via che guida a Roma* (Romagna), *Rom strose* (mediaeval Germany), *Cesta do Rima* (Czechs), *Chemin d'Espagne* (Morbihan), *Strasze nach Aachen* or *Francfurter Strasse* or *Koelsche strate* or *Nierenberger patweg* (Westphalia).

[2] Soph. *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 40 f. See further R. Holland in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2586 ff. and A. C. Pearson in his edition of *The Fragments of Sophocles* Cambridge 1917 ii. 65 f. Mnaseas of Patrai *frag.* 41 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 156 Müller) *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 38 likewise associates amber with 'aves, quas meleagridas et penelopas vocat.'

[3] Hdt. 4. 33.

[4] Paus. 1. 31. 2.

[5] Note that Erysichthon was destroyed by Dēmeter for felling a sacred black-poplar in her grove at Dotion (Kallim. *h. Dem.* 24 ff.): see *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 180 f., 1904 xviii. 76 f., *infra* § 3 (c) i (7), and cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Αἰγειροτόμοι· ἰθαγενεῖς τινες Ἀθήνησιν.

[6] *Supra* p. 493 f.

the Danube, and the Adriatic to Central Greece, and that which linked the Baltic to the Black Sea by means of the Vistula and the Dniester. The position of the various stations on the Hyperborean routes and their relation to both branches of the Amber Road can be conveniently seen from the map here inserted (pl. xxvi). It would appear that the five and a half centuries, which intervened between the time of Herodotos and the time of Pausanias, witnessed the transference of the first-fruits from the longer to the shorter land-route, a considerable saving of time being thereby effected[1]. F. G. Welcker, as far back as 1860, suggested that the Hyperborean gifts actually consisted of amber[2]; and his suggestion is decidedly attractive. If stones coloured like water were appropriate to the sky-god[3], amber may well have been associated with the sun-god. Whether the neolithic borings and cup-marks found on pieces of amber in Schleswig-Holstein, Denmark[4], and Prussia[5] had any solar significance[6], is very doubtful. Nor can we lay stress on the Homeric description of Eurymachos' necklace as 'strung with amber-beads, like the sun[7].' But Nikias (of Mallos[8]?) definitely

[1] Cp. Sir W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards* Cambridge 1892 p. 105 ff., *id.* in Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 405 f.

[2] Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 353 ff. Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 406 and *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 33 n. 4 takes the offerings to have been first-fruits of the corn. But Herodotos' phrase *ἱρὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν καλάμῃ πυρῶν* (4. 33) and Pausanias' equivalent *τὰς δὲ ἀπαρχὰς κεκρύφθαι...ἐν καλάμῃ πυρῶν* (1. 31. 2) imply that something was wrapped in the sheaf. There is therefore something to be said for the view of W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1905 p. 237: 'Es wird nämlich in ausserordentlich zahlreichen Fällen noch jetzt ein *Mensch* oder ein *Tier*, oder ein *Ei* (Osterei) und *Brod*...in die *erste* oder *letzte Garbe* des Ährenschnitts als Vertreter des Wachstumsgeistes hineingebunden. Im griechischen und italischen Brauche spielt aber die erste Garbe der Ernte die Rolle, welche in Nordeuropa gemeinhin der letzten zufällt. Unzweifelhaft waren auch die in Weizengarben eingebundenen Opfergaben des delischen Erntefestes von gleicher Art.' That we have a Phrygian example of the man bound in a sheaf was rightly emphasised by W. Mannhardt *op. cit.*[2] p. 285 and *Mythologische Forschungen* Strassburg 1884 p. 1 ff., O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2065 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 214 ff. Has it been noticed that a Greek parallel underlies Aristoph. *Ach.* 948 ff., where the Boeotian, about to carry off Nikarchos packed in straw, ejaculates *μέλλω γέ τοι θερίδδειν*, and the Chorus replies *ἀλλ', ὦ ξένων βέλτιστε, συν|θέριζε κ.τ.λ.*?

[3] *Supra* i. 357.

[4] C. Neergaard 'Ravsmykkerne i Stenalderen' in the *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 1888 p. 281 ff. figs. 2, 3, 7, 8, S. Müller *Nordische Altertumskunde* trans. O. L. Jiriczek Strassburg 1897 i. 51 ff. figs. 26 and 27, M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1898 p. 376.

[5] R. Klebs *Der Bernsteinschmuck der Steinzeit von der Baggerei bei Schwarzort und anderen Lokalitäten Preussens* Königsberg 1882 pl. 7 figs. 1, 2, 4, 9, pl. 11 figs. 1, 8, pl. 12 fig. 8, quoted by M. Hoernes *loc. cit.*

[6] Cp. E. Krause *Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas* Glogau 1893 pp. 48—60, *id. Die nordische Herkunft der Trojasage bezeugt durch den Krug von Tragliatella* (*Nachtrag zu den Trojaburgen Nordeuropas*) Glogau 1893 p. 46 f.

[7] *Od.* 18. 295 f., cp. 15. 460.

[8] *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 463 Müller.


MAP
SHOWING THE TWO RECORDED ROUTES
OF THE
HYPERBOREAN OFFERINGS.
Western Route of the Offerings.
Eastern Route of the Offerings.
Trade-Routes for Amber.
BALTIC SEA
HYPERBOREANS
SCYTHIANS
BLACK SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
THRACE
MACEDONIA
ILLYRIA
EPIRUS
THESSALY
EUBOIA
AITOLIA
CRETE
RHODES
R. Vistula
R. Elbe
R. Danube
R. Dniester
R. Po
R. Axios
Mt. Bora
Apollonia
Dodona
Malian Gulf
Delphoi
Athens
Karystos
Sinope
10°
15°
20°
25°
30°
35°
40°
55°
50°
45°
40°
35°

explained amber as the juice or sweat of solar rays[1]. Moreover, its Greek name *élektron* is akin to *eléktor*, a poetic title of the sun[2]; and the ancients maintained that the latter was derived from the former[3], or the former from the latter[4]. Among the Rhodians, too, Elektryone —locally worshipped as Alektrona[5]—was said to be the daughter of Helios[6].

Our enquiry, as a whole, leads up to the following conclusions. The cult of Apollon came into Greece along the older Amber Route from the land of the Hyperboreans, which is best located near the source of the Danube. The *Agyieús*-pillars of Apollonia, Orikos, Olympe, Ambrakia mark out the 'Way[7]' and point onwards to Delphoi, where the Hyperboreans Pagasos and Agyieus established the oracle[8]. Apollonia in Illyria was left as a milestone on the road[9], if not also Apollonia in Akarnania[10] and Apollonia in Aitolia[11].

[1] Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 36.

[2] *Il.* 6. 513 ἠλέκτωρ, 19. 398=*h. Ap.* 369 ἠλέκτωρ Ὑπερίων, Euphorion *frag.* 74 Meineke *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 4. 5 p. 259, 1 f. Stählin καί οἱ γείνατο κοῦρον, ὃς οὐκ ἠλέκτορα εἶδεν. E. E. Sikes on *h. Ap.* 369 justly cp. Emped. 327 Karsten (*frag.* 22 Diels) ἠλέκτωρ, 'fire.'

[3] Schol. L. *Il.* 6. 513 ὥστ' ἠλέκτωρ·...ἢ ὅτι λαμπρός, παρὰ τὸ ἤλεκτρον=*et. Gud.* p. 239, 58 f., cp. *et. mag.* p. 425, 36 ff.=Zonar. *lex. s.v.* ἠλέκτωρ; Apion (on whom see L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2806) *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 659, 28 f. (cp. pp. 826, 11, 1189, 62 f., *in Od.* p. 1483, 33 f.) ἠλέκτωρ δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἥλιος, ὡς δὲ Ἀπίων φησίν, ὁ λάμπων ὡς ἤλεκτρον; Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 83, 20 f. ἠλέκτωρ· ἐπιθετικῶς ὁ ἥλιος, ἤτοι ὁ λαμπρός, παρὰ τὴν τοῦ ἠλέκτρου οὐσίαν, περὶ οὗ φησὶν "ἠλέκτωρ ὑπολάμπεθ'" (Hes. *sc. Her.* 142 ἠλέκτρῳ θ' ὑπολαμπές).

[4] Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 31 electrum appellatum, quoniam sol vocitatus sit Elector, Isid. *orig.* 16. 24. 1 electrum vocatur quod ad radium solis clarius auro argentoque reluceat. sol enim a poetis Elector vocatur. etc., schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 740 κόραι Φαέθοντος· Ἡλίου γὰρ βούλεται αὐτὰς ὁ μῦθος εἶναι. διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸ δάκρυον αὐτῶν φωτεινοειδὲς λέγεσθαι εἶναι ἤλεκτρον ὀνομαζόμενον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἠλέκτωρ ὁ Ἥλιος καλεῖται, Favorin. *lex.* p. 851, 1 ff. ἤλεκτρον...παρὰ τὸν ἥλιον, ὃς ἠλέκτωρ ὀνομάζεται.

[5] C. T. Newton *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1883 ii. 122 ff. no. 349=*Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 677=J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 145=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 434=Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 560 on a marble *stéle* of *s.* iii B.C. found near Ialysos: line 19 ff. νόμος ἃ οὐχ ὅσιον ἐσίμειν οὐδὲ | ἐσφέρειν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ τέ|μενος τᾶς Ἀλεκτρώνας· μὴ ἐσί|τω ἵππος, ὄνος, ἡμίονος, γῦνος, | μηδὲ ἄλλο λόφουρον μηθέν, μη|δὲ ἐσαγέτω εἰς τὸ τέμενος μη|θεὶς τούτων μηθέν, μηδὲ ὑποδή|ματα ἐσφερέτω μηδὲ ὕειον μη|θέν. κ.τ.λ. with the notes of W. Dittenberger and L. Ziehen *ad loc.*

[6] Diod. 5. 56, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 24 h (p. 204, 17 f. Drachmann).

[7] *Supra* pp. 161 f., 166.

[8] *Supra* p. 169.

[9] This assumes that the Corcyraean colony of 588 B.C. (J. Oehler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2827 f., G. Hirschfeld *ib.* ii. 112) found Apollon already established on the spot. Interest attaches to an archaic 'Apollon'-torso of white limestone (15 cm. high), which came to light at *Durazzo* (C. Praschniker—A. Schober *Archäologische Forschungen in Albanien und Montenegro* Wien 1919 p. 40 fig. 47, R. Pagenstecher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Jan. 29, 1921 p. 109=*Class. Rev.* 1921 xxxv. 83).

[10] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀπολλωνία.

[11] Liv. 28. 8.

It is noticeable that a town in Thrace[1] and no fewer than four towns in Makedonia bore the same name[2], including the settlement on Mount Athos whose inhabitants were called *Macrobii*[3]—a title suggestive of Hyperborean longevity[4]. With regard to Apollon's original character we are still lamentably ignorant. That he was from the first a sun-god is neither proved, nor probable[5]. *Apóllon* appears to be merely a cult-epithet, 'he of the Black-Poplars[6].' The full name of the god is possibly preserved in the Homeric designation Phoibos *Apóllon*[7]. If so, the name means 'the Clear One,' 'the Pure One[8],' and would be applicable to any deity of the bright, shining sky. Not improbably Phoibos and Phoibe were sky-god and earth-goddess respectively. On reaching Delphoi, Phoibe as a chthonian power succeeded to Gaia and Themis[9], while Phoibos, finding another sky-god already in possession, became affiliated to Zeus and acted as his interpreter to men[10]. For the rest, Phoibos *Apóllon*, god of the clear, pure sky, underwent both physical and ethical development: on the one hand, his clarity, specialised into that of the sun[11], enabled him to rival and in part displace the ancient Helios; on the other hand, his essential purity[12] made him a god of light and leading to the whole civilised world.

We have, so far as I can see, no right to assume that Artemis entered Greece along with Apollon or came from the same northern home. Herodotos indeed adduces as a parallel to the Hyperborean usage the fact that Thracian and Paeonian women, when they sacrifice to Artemis *Basíleia*, hold their offerings 'not without wheaten

[1] G. Hirschfeld *loc. cit.* ii. 113 f. [2] *Id. ib.* ii. 114. [3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 37.

[4] Schol. Dionys. *per.* 560 Μακροβίων· ἄποικοι γάρ εἰσιν οὗτοι τῶν ἐφῶν Αἰθιόπων ἢ τῶν Ὑπερβορείων. Orph. *Arg.* 1106 ff. makes the Argonauts, after reaching the land of the Ὑπερβόρεοι (1077, 1082), arrive at the wealthy folk of the Μακρόβιοι, whose span of 12000 months each as long as 100 years (1108) recalls Pindar's description of the Hyperboreans as χιλιετῶν (*supra* p. 465 n. 1). See further Daebritz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 261 f., 274 f.

[5] *Supra* i. 258 n. 4. [6] *Supra* p. 484 ff.

[7] H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1885 i. 154, ii. 439 f., L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iii. 371. The Homeric poems, if drafted in northern Greece, would be likely to preserve the original name of the god.

[8] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 493, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 1032. Prof. H. M. Chadwick suggests to me (June 30, 1921) that a north-Greek form of the same stem may be seen in Βοίβη, ἡ Βοιβηὶς λίμνη, etc.: cp. W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 i. 216.

[9] Aisch. *Eum.* 1 ff. See also Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2395 ff.

[10] Aisch. *Eum.* 7 ff. *Supra* pp. 204 n. 1, 265 f.

[11] Cp. Aisch. *P. v.* 22 f. σταθευτὸς δ' ἡλίου φοίβῃ φλογὶ | κ.τ.λ. One of the Heliades was named Φοίβη (Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2397).

[12] Plout. *de* E *apud Delphos* 20 φοῖβον δὲ δήπου τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἁγνὸν οἱ παλαιοὶ πᾶν ὠνόμαζον, ὡς ἔτι Θεσσαλοὶ τοὺς ἱερέας ἐν ταῖς ἀποφράσιν ἡμέραις αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἔξω διατρίβοντας, οἶμαι, φοιβονομεῖσθαι λέγουσι.

straw[1].' But, as K. Wernicke[2] points out, 'Artemis *Basíleia*' is merely Herodotos' translation of the Thracian *Bendîs*[3]; and we have not the remotest reason to connect Bendis with Apollon. Again, the story of Kleinis made that Mesopotamian worthy accompany Apollon and Artemis to the land of the Hyperboreans[4]. But, when they got there, it was Apollon, not Artemis, that received the sacrifice; and, in any case, a contaminated Hellenistic romance is a source of very dubious value[5]. O. Crusius[6] would emend Pindar's account of the Hyperborean 'brute beasts ramping bolt upright (*orthían*)[7]' in such a way as to make the delighted spectator, not Apollon, but Artemis *Orthía*—a desperate expedient. Crusius urges that Pindar elsewhere describes how 'Leto's horse-driving daughter' (Artemis) welcomed Herakles to 'the Istrian land[8].' But Pindar wishes us to believe that Herakles brought thence the wild-olive and, as we have already seen[9], is giving a southern colour to a northern myth. Lastly, it might be contended that the names of the Hyperborean maidens Opis and Arge (Hekaerge), or Hyperoche and Laodike, imply the cult of Artemis. That is probably true, and has been admitted[10]. But they imply the cult of Artemis at Delos rather than in the land of the Hyperboreans.

In short, we have no real ground for supposing that Artemis was *ab initio* the twin sister of Apollon. There is more to be said for the view that he first met her in Asia Minor or the Archipelago, where she originated as the younger form of the Anatolian mother-goddess, being related to Leto in much the same way as Persephone to Demeter[11].

(*b*) Lightning as a flash from an Eye.

W. Schwartz in a noteworthy chapter of his *Indogermanischer Volksglaube* collects a mass of evidence to show that lightning is

[1] Hdt. 4. 33 *οἶδα δὲ αὐτὸς τούτοισι τοῖσι ἱροῖσι τόδε ποιεύμενον προσφερές, τὰς Θρηικίας καὶ τὰς Παιονίδας γυναῖκας, ἐπεὰν θύωσι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Βασιλείῃ, οὐκ ἄνευ πυρῶν καλάμης ἐχούσας τὰ ἱρά.*

[2] K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1370, 1381: so also G. Knaack *ib.* iii. 270.

[3] Hesych. *s.v.* Βενδῖς· *ἡ Ἄρτεμις, Θρᾳκιστί*, Palaiph. 31 (32) *τὴν Ἄρτεμιν Θρᾷκες μὲν Βένδιν, κ.τ.λ.*, schol. Plat. *rep.* 317 A *τούτων δὲ καὶ Θρᾷκες ἐκοινώνουν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Βένδις παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡ Ἄρτεμις καλεῖται, κ.τ.λ.* Cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Βούσβατον· *τὴν Ἄρτεμιν. Θρᾷκες.*

[4] *Supra* p. 463 n. 1.

[5] The same, or worse, must be said of Artemis' journey from the Hyperboreans as sketched by Diodoros after Dionysios Skytobrachion (*supra* i. 244 f.).

[6] O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2816 n., *id. Die delphischen Hymnen* (*Philologus* 1894 liii Ergänzungsheft) Göttingen 1894 p. 52 n. 65, cj. *ὀρῶσ'...'Ορθία* for *ὀρῶν...ὀρθίαν* in Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 36.

[7] *Supra* p. 463. [8] *Supra* p. 465. [9] *Supra* p. 466.

[10] *Supra* p. 452. [11] *Supra* i. 396 f.

often regarded as the piercing glance of a fiery eye, and that the wide-spread belief in the evil eye is directly traceable to this conception[1]. Of the conclusions here stated I should accept the first and reject the second. There are, I think, grounds for supposing that the Greeks sometimes at least viewed lightning as a glance from the eye of Zeus, and indeed as the glance of his evil eye. But to explain the evil eye of men as derived from the evil eye of a god is—apart from other objections—to invert the order of religious causation.

Hesychios the lexicographer quotes from an unnamed Greek tragedian the phrase—

as the eye of Zeus,

and informs us that it means 'as a flash of lightning[2].' This is

[1] W. Schwartz *Indogermanischer Volksglaube* Berlin 1885 pp. 169—219. Cp. some sentences in an earlier work by the same author (F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 212 f.), and the helpful chapter of W. H. Roscher *Die Gorgonen und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1879 p. 63 ff. ('Der Blitz als Wuthblick eines himmlischen Ungeheuers,' etc.).

[2] *Frag. trag. adesp.* 278 Nauck[2] *ap.* Hesych. *s.v.* ὥσπερ οὐφθαλμὸς Διός· ὡς ἀστραπή. οὐφθαλμὸς Διός is the correction of A. Meineke (*Philologus* xii. 630) for ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς τοῦ Διός cod. A. Nauck reads ὀφθαλμὸς Διός.

Homer alludes four times to the ὅσσε φαεινώ of Zeus (*Il.* 13. 3 and 7, 14. 236, 16. 645), once to those of Athena (*Il.* 21. 415), once to those of Menelaos (*Il.* 17. 679), and once to the ὄσσε φαεινά of Alkathoos (*Il.* 13. 435). But it is to be observed that, according to Dr W. Leaf and Mr M. A. Bayfield *ad locc.*, the first four passages belong to a decidedly earlier *stratum* of the poem than the last three. Hence we may perhaps infer that 'flashing eyes' were appropriate to Zeus as a lightning-god, and to Athena as his second self (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (μ)). Menelaos was at most Διοτρεφής (*Il.* 17. 679), as was the father of Alkathoos (*Il.* 13. 427): Agamemnon was ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἴκελος Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ (*Il.* 2. 478. *Infra* Append. I).

Later writers usually lay stress on the eye of Zeus as the wakeful witness of right and wrong: *e.g.* Hes. *o.d.* 267 (*supra* i. 187 n. 9, 196 n. 6), Aisch. *suppl.* 646 ff. Δῖον ἐπιδόμενοι πράκτορά [τε] σκοπόν | δυσπολέμητον, ὃν [οὐ]τίς ἂν δόμος ἔχοι | ἐπ' ὀρόφων μιαίνοντα; βαρὺς δ' ἐφίζει with schol. *ad loc.* Διὸς σκοπόν, τὸν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸν τὸν πάντα σκοποῦντα (W. Headlam, after F. Bamberger and T. G. Tucker, would read πράκτορά τοι κότον. I should keep σκοπόν, but explain it as alluding to the eagle, not to the eye, of Zeus), Soph. *O.C.* 704 ff. ὁ γὰρ αἰὲν ὁρῶν κύκλος | λεύσσει νιν Μορίου Διὸς | χὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθάνα (the schol. *ad loc.*, cited *supra* p. 20 n. 4, equates Zeus Μόριος with Zeus Καταιβάτης), Eur. *Hipp.* 886 τὸ σεμνὸν Ζηνὸς ὄμμ' ἀτιμάσας, Cornut. *theol.* 11 p. 11, 20 Lang πάντ' ἐφορᾷ Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει. But there is at least a negative reminiscence of the 'flashing eyes' in Ov. *met.* 2. 857 nullae in fronte minae, nec formidabile lumen.

Athena was worshipped as Ὀξυδερκής or Ὀξυδερκώ at Argos (Paus. 2. 24. 2), as Ὀξυδέρκα at Epidauros (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1074 Ὀξυδέρ|κας. | Διονύσι|ος (Διονυσίου) | πυρφορή|σας with circle no. 40 (*ib.* p. 189) and numeral λγ'), as Ὀπτιλέτις (Plout. *v. Lyc.* 11, *apophth. Lac. Lyc.* 7) or Ὀπτιλία (Olympiod. *in* Plat. *Gorg.* 40 ἱστορεῖται γὰρ ὅτι Πτιλλίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐποίησε· πτίλλους δὲ ἐκάλουν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, cp. C. A. Lobeck *Pathologiae linguae Graecae elementa* Lipsiae 1853 i. 83) or Ὀφθαλμῖτις at Sparta (Paus. 3. 18. 2). These cult-titles recall her poetic epithets γλαυκῶπις, γοργῶπις, ὀβριμοδερκής, etc. (Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 7, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1198 n. 3) and her intimate relation to the Gorgon (W. H. Roscher *Die Gorgonen und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1879 Index p. 135 *s.v.* 'Athene,' *id.* in the *Lex. Myth.* i. 677, 1696, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1201

testimony which we cannot control; but the general trustworthiness of Hesychios and the occurrence of analogous expressions elsewhere combine to render it credible. Aischylos tells how an oracle bade Inachos drive Io from his home:

> And if he would not, there should come from Zeus
> A fire-eyed thunderbolt to blast his race[1].

But neither the reading nor the interpretation of the word translated 'fire-eyed' is quite certain[2]. More convincing are two other passages from the plays of the same poet. Klytaimestra in the *Agamemnon* has at length induced her husband to enter his palace treading a pathway strewn with purple as though he were a god. He does so, saying:

> Well, if thou wilt, let some one loose forthwith
> The shoes that serve my foot as slaves, and while
> I tread these sea-wrought robes, oh may no envy
> Of a divine eye strike me from afar[3].

Again, the chorus of Argive elders give the following expression to their belief in the jealousy of heaven:

> Exceeding good report is dangerous;
> For a thunderbolt is flung by the eyes of Zeus.
> Luck without envy is my choice[4].

These passages certainly seem to imply that lightning is a glance

n. 1, 1209 n. 2, Ziegler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1641 f.). It may be suspected that she was credited with a potentially evil eye (cp. such passages as Prop. 2. 28. 12 Palladis aut oculos ausa negare bonos? Hyg. *fab.* 165 Iuno et Venus cum eam irriderent, quod et caesia erat (B. Bunte cj. esset) et buccas inflaret, Loukian. *dial. deor.* 8 γλαυκῶπις μέν, ἀλλὰ κοσμεῖ καὶ τοῦτο ἡ κόρυς, 20. 10 ἢ δέδιας μή σοι ἐλέγχηται τὸ γλαυκὸν τῶν ὀμμάτων ἄνευ τοῦ φοβεροῦ βλεπόμενον;).

A fine bronze statuette of Zeus from Paramythia, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 36 no. 275 pl. 7, A. S. Murray *Greek Bronzes* London 1898 p. 81 with pl.), had eyes inlaid with silver. So have other bronze statuettes of Zeus at Paris (Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 1 no. 1 fig., p. 1 f. no. 3 fig., p. 2 f. no. 4, p. 3 no. 5 fig., p. 3 f. no. 6 fig., p. 4 f. no. 8 fig., p. 5 f. no. 9 fig., p. 9 f. no. 17 fig., p. 10 no. 18 fig., cp. p. 13 no. 27, p. 13 no. 29 fig., De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* i. 76 no. 511 pl. 38) and doubtless elsewhere. Silver was a metal specially appropriate to Zeus (*supra* i. 25 n. 2, 625 f.).

[1] Aisch. *P.v.* 667 f. κεἰ μὴ θέλοι, πυρωπὸν ἐκ Διὸς μολεῖν | κεραυνόν, ὃς πᾶν ἐξαϊστώσοι γένος.

[2] The Laurentian MS. has πυρωτὸν, other MSS. πυρωπὸν, which is printed by Dindorf and Wilamowitz. E. E. Sikes and St. J. B. Wynne Willson adopt their cj. πυρῶπ' ἄν. Even if πυρωπὸν be kept, it may mean no more than 'of fiery aspect.'

[3] Aisch. *Ag.* 944 ff. The essential words are 947 μή τις πρόσωθεν ὄμματος βάλοι φθόνος.

[4] Aisch. *Ag.* 466 ff. τὸ δ' ὑπερκόπως κλύειν | εὖ βαρύ· βάλλεται γὰρ ὅσσοις Διόθεν κεραυνός. | κρίνω δ' ἄφθονον ὄλβον. T. G. Tucker's cj. κάρανα, accepted by W. Headlam, would mean: 'for lofty peaks are struck from heaven by jealous eyes of Zeus.' For other cjj. see A. W. Verrall *ad loc.*

shot from the jealous eye of Zeus. And, when we remember that the 'jealous eye' was another name for the evil eye[1], it becomes highly probable that the Greeks sometimes considered lightning as an exhibition of the evil eye on the part of Zeus.

Now W. Wundt[2] in his masterly *Völkerpsychologie* has shown that the superstition of the evil eye[3] presupposes a belief in the eye as the seat and doorway of the soul[4]. Primitive man regards reflections on the cornea as due to an inward fire and, since this fire is dimmed or extinguished by death, connects it with the soul's activity[5]. The pupil of the eye he takes to be a hole through which the soul can pass outwards to work its will at a distance. Parenthetically I may add that this explanation accounts, not only for the evil eye, but also for the good eye[6]. If the glance of the eye

[1] O. Jahn 'Über den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks bei den Alten' in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1855 p. 31 n. 9.

[2] W. Wundt *Völkerpsychologie* Leipzig 1906 ii. 2. 27 f.

[3] For recent investigation of the evil eye see Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 358. To the articles cited by him must now be added the important volumes of S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 i. 1—406, ii. 1—526 (reviewed by R. Wünsch in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Jan. 21, 1911 p. 75 ff. and in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 546, cp. K. T. Preuss *ib.* 1910 xiii. 453 ff.) and the very thorough-going monograph of B. Schmidt 'Der böse Blick und ähnlicher Zauber im neugriechischen Volksglauben' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1913 xxxi. 574—613.

[4] On the eye as seat of the soul see E. Monseur 'L'âme pupilline' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1905 li. 1—23, L. Deubner in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1907 x. 319, O. Waser in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3209 and in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 381, G. Elliot Smith *The Evolution of the Dragon* Manchester 1919 pp. 52—55.

[5] Cp. *e.g.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 64 augurium ex homine ipso est non timendi mortem in aegritudine, quamdiu oculorum pupillae imaginem reddant, Iul. Capit. *v. Pert.* 14. 2 ea die, qua occisus est, negabant in oculis eius pupulas cum imaginibus, quas reddunt spectantibus, visas.

[6] Examples of 'Der gute Blick' are collected by S. Seligmann *op. cit.* i. 244—251, cp. *ib.* ii. 493 Index *s.v.* 'Gutes Auge.' I have it from Prof. P. Gardner that the modern Greek peasant believes in the influence of a good eye as well as in that of an evil eye. I have noted the following ancient allusions to the good eye of deities: Kallim. *h. Ap.* 50 ff. *ῥεῖά κε βουβόσιον τελέθοι πλέον, οὐδέ κεν αἶγες | δεύοιντο βρεφέων ἐνιμηλάδες, ᾗσιν Ἀπόλλων | βοσκομένῃς ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπήγαγεν κ.τ.λ.*, Theokr. 9. 35 f. *τόσσον ἐμὶν Μοῖσαι φίλαι· οὔς γὰρ ὀρεῦντι | γαθεῦσαι, τοὺς δ' οὔ τι ποτῷ δαλήσατο Κίρκη* (cp. Kallim. *ep.* 23. 5 f. Μοῦσαι γὰρ ὅσους ἴδον ὄμμασι παῖδας | *μὴ λοξῷ, πολιοὺς οὐκ ἀπέθεντο φίλους*, where *μὴ λοξῷ* is read by schol. Hes. *theog.* 82, *ἄχρι βίου* by *Anth. Pal.* 7. 525. 6), cp. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 11 f., *Pyth.* 3. 85, Hdt. 1. 124, Alkiphr. *ep.* 1. 36, 3. 44, Aristain. *ep.* 1. 11, 1. 19, Hor. *od.* 4. 3. 1 ff. See further C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 p. 343 n. 5. In the case of men I have no certain instances, but cp. Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 14 ff. *τὸ μέν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς | ἐσσὶ μεγαλᾶν πολίων· | ἔχει συγγενὴς | ὀφθαλμὸς αἰδοιότατον γέρας, | τεᾷ τοῦτο μιγνύμενον φρενί.* The 'eye born with' Arkesilas of Kyrene, which brought him worship and honour as an inalienable prerogative, may well have been his good eye. It seems to have been hereditary: *ib.* 51 ff. *ὁ Βάττου δ' ἕπεται παλαιὸς ὅλβος ἔμπαν τὰ καὶ τὰ νέμων, | πύργος ἄστεος ὄμμα τε φαεννότατον | ξένοισι.* J. Bridge 'ΣΥΓΓΕΝΗΣ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΣ' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1900 xi. 141 ff. gives a different explanation (*συγγενὴς ὀφθαλμός* = *συγγενὴς πότμος*, 'the guardian spirit of the race,' cp. Aisch. *cho.* 934

is the soul projected to a distance[1], it follows that the glance will be bad or good according to the nature of the soul's intention. Applying now Wundt's illuminating hypothesis to the Greek[2] conception of lightning as a glance from the eye of Zeus, we reach again by a different route the conclusion that lightning was part and parcel of the bright sky-god, a flash of his own fiery self darted forth from his eye in heaven.

(*c*) Lightning as a weapon.

Sir John Evans[3] and, more recently, C. Blinkenberg[4] have shown that throughout the confines of Europe, indeed far beyond them, stone celts or axes are regarded as thunderbolts. They are supposed to have fallen with a flash of lightning in the thick of a thunderstorm, and are consequently venerated as being of celestial origin.

The modern Greeks form no exception to this almost universal belief—witness the following tale from Zakynthos. The Giants (it is said), fancying themselves mightier than God, once laid claim to be lords of heaven and earth. They climbed a high mountain and flung rocks at God. But He grasped his thunderbolts and hurled them at the Giants, who were all dashed headlong from the mountain. Many of them were killed: the rest fled. One of them, however, did not lose heart. He cut a great many reeds, bound them together, and so made an enormously long pole, with which he tried to reach heaven[5]. He had nearly succeeded, when suddenly a flash of lightning from God reduced him to ashes[6]. After this his companions made a last

ὀφθαλμὸν οἴκων). See also the *modus operandi* of love as conceived by Plout. *symp.* 5. 7. 2, Heliod. 3. 7 f., Eumath. 3. 7.

[1] The philosophers here too built upon popular belief. Emped. *frag.* 84 Diels (302 ff. Karsten) compared the eye to a lantern, the light of which leaps forth through its surrounding framework. Plat. *Tim.* 45 B ff. holds that, in the act of sight, a pure fire within us issues through the eye as a visual current (ὄψεως ῥεῦμα): it is akin to the fire of daylight in the air, and unites with it to make a uniform substance, which meets the vibrations from the visible object and transmits them to the eye and so to the soul. Cp. Aristot. *de sensu* 2. 437 b 10 ff.

[2] The same conception is to be found in Latin literature. W. Schwartz *op. cit.* p. 176 f. calls attention to Sil. 12. 719 ff. where Iuno says to Hannibal: huc vultus flecte atque aude spectare Tonantem: | quas hiemes, quantos concusso vertice cernis | sub nutu tonitrus! *oculis qui fulgurat ignis! Id. ib.* p. 177 cites Ov. *met.* 2. 787 ff. where Invidia, the personified evil eye, blasts the landscape like a thunder-storm.

[3] Sir J. Evans *The Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*[2] London 1897 p. 56 ff.

[4] C. Blinkenberg *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* Cambridge 1911 pp. 1 ff., 68 ff. (a valuable, though somewhat miscellaneous, collection of facts).

[5] Cp. the tale of the Thracian Kosingas (*supra* p. 130). J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 74 regards the incident of the reeds as 'probably an imperfect reminiscence of the legend of Prometheus.'

[6] At Arachova, a village near Delphoi, when a big tree is struck, people exclaim κάποιον διάβολον ἔκαψε (*sc.* ὁ θεός rather than ἡ ἀστραπή), 'He's blasted a devil!'—it being thought

attempt to get up to heaven and destroy God. They piled one mountain on the top of another. So, when God saw that they would not be quiet, in great wrath He again hurled His lightning at them, and sent His angels to inform the survivors of their fate, which was perpetual imprisonment inside a mountain[1]. B. Schmidt, who reports this Zakynthian tale, comments on its similarity to the classical myths of the Giants and the Titans, observing that the *rôle* of the pagan Zeus has been simply transferred to the Christian God[2]. He also remarks that the word here used of God's 'thunderbolts' is *astropelékia*[3], and adds: 'The common expression for lightning that strikes is *astropeléki*, and this term proves that in the eyes of the populace the flash travelling downwards from the air appeared as an axe[4].' Rather let us say that the flash was thought to be accompanied by a tangible axe. For in Greece the name *astropelékia* is given to actual neolithic celts[5]. Schmidt himself has lately published the important observation that such celts are called, not only *astropelékia*, but also *astrapopelékia* (Epeiros) and *astrapóboula* (Parnassos)[6]—fuller forms which denote 'lightning-axes,' 'lightning-bolts,' and explain the otherwise puzzling prefix[7]. The celts are kept in houses as a preservative against lightning[8]; and portions of them are worn by way of protection from evil spirits or the evil eye. The inhabitants of Parnassos declare that fragments of these stones are found in places that have been struck by lightning.

The beliefs of the modern peasantry are of no recent growth. About the year 1081 A.D. Alexios i Komnenos, emperor of Constantinople, sent a number of presents to Henry iv, emperor of Germany, and among them an *astropelékys* set in gold[9]. Centuries

that God aims his lightning at such trees in order to destroy demons residing in them (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 33, J. C. Lawson *op. cit.* p. 73).

[1] B. Schmidt *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder* Leipzig 1877 p. 131 ('Gott und die Riesen'), J. C. Lawson *op. cit.* p. 73 f.

[2] B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 33, 202, *id. Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder* Leipzig 1877 p. 241.

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 131 n. 1 τσακώνει τὰ ἀστροπελέκια του.

[4] *Id. Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 32 f.

[5] Sir J. Evans *op. cit.*[2] p. 59, C. Blinkenberg *op. cit.* p. 107.

[6] B. Schmidt in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1913 xxxi. 599 (ἀστροπελέκια, ἀστραποπελέκια, ἀστραπόβουλα).

[7] C. Blinkenberg *op. cit.* p. 107 wrongly translates ἀστροπελέκι, 'sky-axe.' Ἀστροπελέκια is by haplology for ἀστραποπελέκια.

[8] My friend Prof. R. M. Dawkins has kindly furnished me with the following corroboration (May 23, 1919): 'I have seen a man from one of the islands, I think *Symi*, who told me that one of his women-folk kept a celt among her wool to prevent the garments from being destroyed by fire.'

[9] Anna Komnen. *Alex.* 3. 10 (i. 177 Schopen) ἀστροπελέκυν δεδεμένον μετὰ χρυσαφίου, on which see Sir J. Evans *op. cit.*[2] p. 59.

earlier, in the reign of Anastasios i (491—518 A.D.), Timotheos of Gaza recommended as a safe-guard against thunderstorms the keeping of an inscribed thunder-stone in the house[1]. And Pliny already

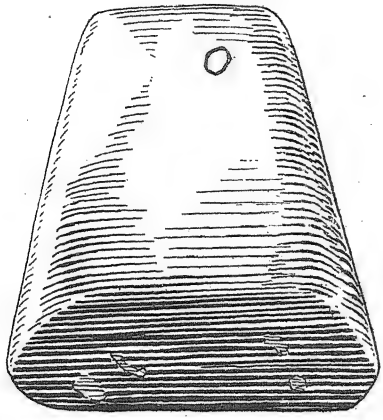


Fig. 382.

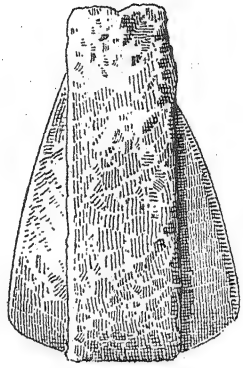


Fig. 383.

informs us that a rare variety of thunder-stone, much sought after by the Magi, is to be found only on a spot struck by lightning[2]—

[1] Timoth. Gaz. *de animalibus* published by M. Haupt in *Hermes* 1869 iii. 30, 26 ff. (=*id. Opuscula* Lipsiae 1876 iii. 302, 25 f.) περίαπτον (so H. Graff for περιάπτων cod.) δὲ πρὸς κεραυνὸν ἕξεις ἐὰν λίθον (so H. Graff for ἐὰν δὲ εἰς λίθον cod.) κεραύνιον ἐπιγράψας ἔχῃς (ἔχει cod.) ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ "ἀφία ἀφρύξ." The inscription is enigmatic: ἀφίει ἄφρυκτα might mean 'Let (my belongings) be unscorched.'

[2] Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 135 Sotacus et alia duo genera fecit cerauniae, nigrae rubentisque [similes eas esse securibus] (these four words, omitted in cod. B, are bracketed by C. Mayhoff). ex his quae nigrae sint ac rotundae, sacras esse; urbes per illas expugnari et classes; baetulos vocari; quae vero longae sint, ceraunias. faciunt et aliam raram admodum, Magorum studiis expetitam, quoniam non aliubi inveniatur quam in loco fulmine icto, 37. 176 ombria, quam alii notiam vocant, sicut et ceraunia et brontea, cadere cum imbribus et fulminibus dicitur eundemque effectum habere; praeterea hac in aras addita libamenta non amburi, *alib.* Pliny's remarks on the *ceraunia* are served up again by Solin. 20. 15, 23. 9, Isid. *orig.* 16. 13. 5, and Myth. Vat. 3. 8. 7 f. See further the passages cited in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 1464 A and in the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* iii. 856, 45 ff., 857, 9 ff. Cp. also Damigeron *de lapidibus* (printed in J. B. Pitra *Spicilegium Solesmense* Parisiis 1855 iii. 324 ff. and better edited by E. Abel as a sequel to Orph. *Lith.* Berolini 1881) praef. p. 162, 19 Abel Lapis quartus, qui dicitur ceraunius, sagittarii, 12 p. 173, 8 ff. Abel *Lapis Ceraunius.* Ceraunius est lapis, quem Aegyptii smaragdum vocant; invenitur autem in illis locis, ubi fulminis iactus fit; narratur tamen ex contritione nubium inter se fieri et pro hac causa hoc nomen meruit. Hunc siquis cum castitate portat, numquam a fulmine ferietur, nec domus, nec villa in qua fuerit. Praeterea si habuerit eum aliquis navigans, non periclitabitur per fulmen aut turbinem. Ampliusque ad omnem victoriam et certamen qui portat eum exsuperabit in omnem rem. Sed et oracula dat obsecranti, in somnis bona somnia; tanta est virtus huius ceraunii lapidis. Damigeron's account, with some additions from Pliny, was hitched into hexameters and passed on to the middle ages by Marbodus (bishop of Rennes—died 1123 A.D.) *liber lapidum seu de gemmis* (ed. J. Beckmann Gottingae 1799) 28 *De ceraunio.* Ventorum rabie cum



Fig. 384.

turbidus aestuat aër, | Cum tonat horrendum, cum fulgurat igneus aether, | Nubibus illisis, coelo cadit iste lapillus, | Cuius apud Graecos extat de fulmine nomen. | Illis quippe locis, quos constat fulmine tactos, | Iste lapis tantum reperiri posse putatur. | Unde ceraunius est graeco sermone vocatus. | Nam quod nos fulmen, Graeci dixere ceraunon. | Qui caste gerit hunc, a fulmine non ferietur, | Nec domus aut villae, quibus affuerit lapis ille. | Sed neque navigio per flumen vel mare vectus, | Turbine mergetur, vel fulmine percutietur. | Ad caussas etiam, vincendaque proelia prodest, | Et dulces somnos, et dulcia somnia praestat. | Huic binae dantur species, totidemque colores. | Crystallo similem Germania mittere fertur, | Caeruleo tamen infectum rutiloque colore. | Mittit et Hispanus, regione manens Lusitana, | Flammas spernentem, similemque colore pyropo. Later references are given by G. F. Kunz *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* Philadelphia & London 1913 pp. 34, 134, 162, *id. The Magic of Jewels and Charms* Philadelphia & London 1915 pp. 76 f., 92, 94 f., 106 ff., 161, 350.

information which he derived from Sotakos of Karystos, a Hellenistic writer on precious stones.

Monumental evidence for the like beliefs in the classical area is fairly abundant. A 'Minoan' grave at Phaistos yielded a small celt of softish black stone, not steatite, pierced with a hole and doubtless worn as an amulet (fig. 382)[1]. A very ancient votive deposit from Norba in Latium includes a small celt of green stone encircled lengthwise by an iron band, which must once have ended in a hook for attachment (fig. 383)[2]. A tomb at *Narce* in the Faliscan district con-



Fig. 386.



Fig. 385.

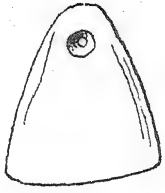


Fig. 387.

tained a small celt of diorite serving as pendant to a necklace of beads made in blue vitreous paste (fig. 384)[3]. In the Führer catacomb at Syracuse a celt of greenish serpentine flecked with white, which has a partially bored hole at one end, was found on the breast of a woman (fig. 385)[4]—a good example of a pagan superstition surviving into Christian times. In Spain two small celts of fibrolite were used as prophylactic pendants (figs. 386, 387)[5]. At Vettersfelde in Nieder-Lausitz, a district of Brandenburg, a remarkable hoard of objects in gold—the complete equipment of a Scythian chief—was

[1] L. Savignoni 'Scavi e scoperte nella necropoli di Phaestos' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1904 xiv. 616 with fig. 75 (on p. 606)=my fig. 382, C. Blinkenberg *op. cit.* pp. 22 f. fig. 10, 108. Height: 0·026m.

[2] R. Mengarelli and R. Paribeni 'Scavi sulle terrazze sostenute da mura poligonali presso l' Abbazia di Valvisciolo' in the *Not. Scavi* 1909 p. 257 fig. 23=my fig. 383, C. Blinkenberg *op. cit.* p. 108.

[3] A. Pasqui 'Delle tombe di Narce e dei loro corredi' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1894 iv. 490, C. Blinkenberg *op. cit.* pp. 29 fig. 16 (=my fig. 384), 108.

[4] P. Orsi 'La catacomba di Führer nel predio Adorno-Avolio in Siracusa' in the *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte* 1895 ix. 476 ff. pl. 2 fig. 1 (=my fig. 385).

[5] L. Siret *Questions de chronologie et d'ethnographie ibériques* Paris 1913 i. 252 f. fig. 85, 3 and 4 (=my figs. 386, 387), 276 fig. 101, 15.

turned up by the ploughshare in 1882[1]: among these objects was a small celt of dark serpentine, half-sheathed in gold and fitted with a hollow cylinder for suspension (fig. 388)[2]. There can be little doubt that the celt was worn as an amulet in the early decades of *s.* v B.C.[3]

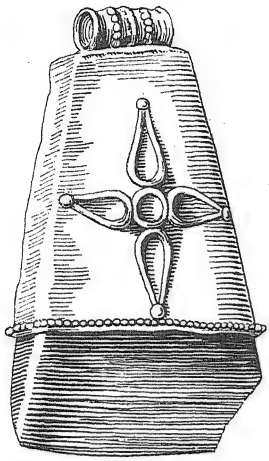


Fig. 388.

Of special interest are certain examples that bear incised inscriptions. A magnificent axe-head of brown banded agate, acquired by Cardinal S. Borgia (1731—1804) probably from some missionary to the East, later in the Tyszkiewicz collection, and now in the American Museum of Natural History at New York, has cut upon it a Sumerian inscription in archaic cuneiform characters (fig. 389)[4]. The inscription appears to record the owner of the axe, but not its dedication to a god. The implement is, however, in all probability of a votive character. Its epigraphy points to a period *c.* 2000 B.C.[5] A celt of serpentine,

[1] A. Furtwängler *Der Goldfund von Vettersfelde* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* xliii) Berlin 1883 pp. 1—52 with cuts in the text and three pls. = *id. Kleine Schriften* München 1912 i. 469—516, pls. 18—20, E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pp. 236—239 figs. 145—148.

[2] A. Furtwängler *Der Goldfund von Vettersfelde* p. 10 pl. 1, 3 = *id. Kleine Schriften* i. 475 pl. 18, 3, C. Blinkenberg *op. cit.* pp. 17 fig. 6 (= my fig. 388), 108, E. H. Minns *op. cit.* pp. 64, 236 (cp. *ib.* p. 398 n. 11).

[3] E. H. Minns *op. cit.* p. 236.

[4] G. F. Kunz 'On the ancient inscribed Sumerian (Babylonian) axe-head for the Morgan Collection in the American Museum of Natural History,' with translation by Prof. I. M. Price and discussion by Dr W. H. Ward, in the *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* 1905 xxi. 37—47, I. M. Price 'An ancient Babylonian (Ax-head) Inscription' in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 1904—1905 xxi. 173—178 with figs., G. F. Kunz *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* Philadelphia & London 1913 pp. 232—234 with pl. (= my fig. 389), F. Lenormant 'Tre monumenti caldei ed assiri di collezioni romane' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1879 vii. 19—25 pl. 6, 1, É. Cartailhac *La France préhistorique* Paris 1889 p. 4 fig. 1, G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*[4] London 1901 p. 755 fig.

[5] I am indebted for this information to my friend Mr Sidney Smith, who examined and criticised for me the readings propounded by other Assyriologists. He says: 'The probable translation is "Ḫad-ḫimil, elder brother of Adad-ili." The first name might also be read Ḫattish.' Mr Smith adds that a votive hammer-head of Shudurkib, last king of the Sargonid dynasty of Akkad, is now in the British Museum and will be published in *Cuneiform Texts* Part 36.

H. Zimmern 'Zu den Weihinschriften der Kassiten-Könige' in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 1898 xiii. 302 ff. put together and elucidated the text of an inscription, in which the Kassite king Nazi-Maruttaš dedicates to Bel an axe 'of brilliant lapis-lazuli'... 'for his life and the welfare of his land.'

found in the Argolid and preserved in the Central Museum at Athens, is engraved with two Mithraic subjects and an inscription in Greek letters (fig. 390)[1]. A smaller celt of dark green jade or

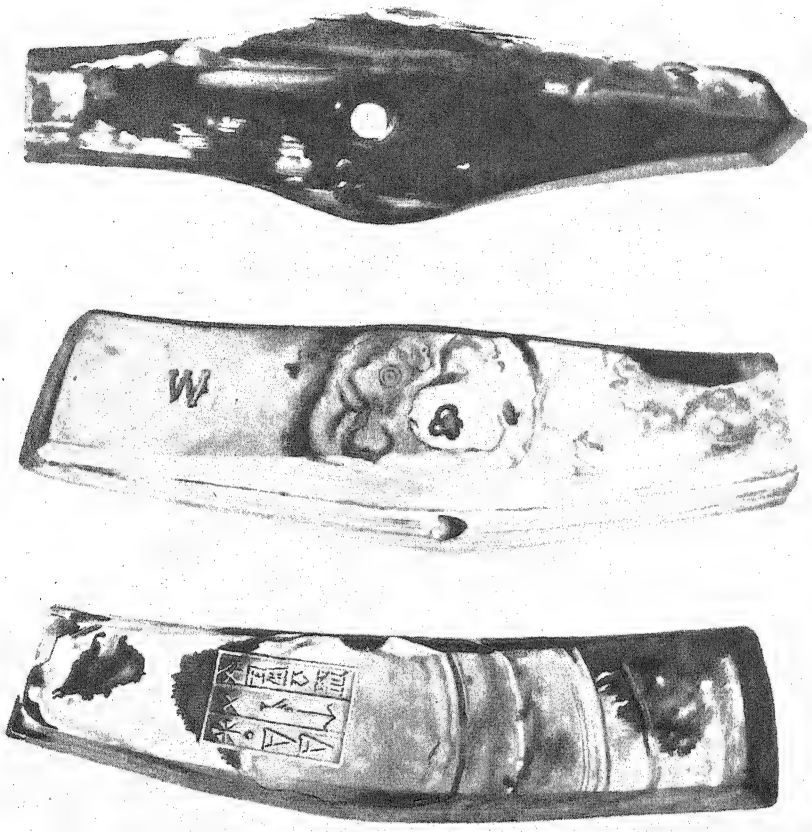


Fig. 389.

nephrite, brought from Egypt in 1812 by Colonel Milner, *aide-de-camp* to Lord J. Bathurst, and presented by Mrs Milner to the Christy collection, is covered on both faces with 'Gnostic' inscriptions

[1] A. Dumont in G. de Mortillet *Matériaux pour l'histoire primitive et philosophique de l'homme* Saint-Germain en Laye 1868 iv. 9 first drew attention to this axe. E. T. Stevens *Flint Chips* London 1870 p. 114 and Sir J. Evans *The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons and Ornaments, of Great Britain*[2] London 1897 p. 61 f. followed suit. É. Cartailhac *L'âge de pierre dans les souvenirs et superstitions populaires* Paris 1877 p. 31 fig. 14 = Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 119 fig. 5 (inaccurate). Harrison *Themis* p. 57 fig. 6 (inscription corrected, after R. M. Dawkins). My illustration is from an impression in plaster kindly furnished by Mr B. Staes.

(fig. 391)[1]. Lastly, the paraphernalia of a diviner, discovered in the lower town at Pergamon and thence transferred to Berlin, comprise among other items of interest three polished black stones inscribed on both sides with magical *formulae*, the text of which is virtually identical on all three stones (fig. 392)[2]. It was pointed out by

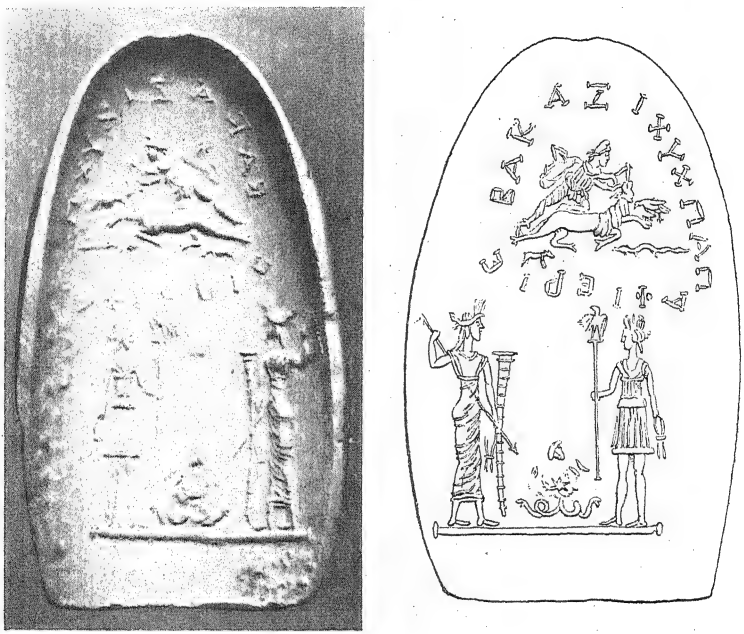


Fig. 390.

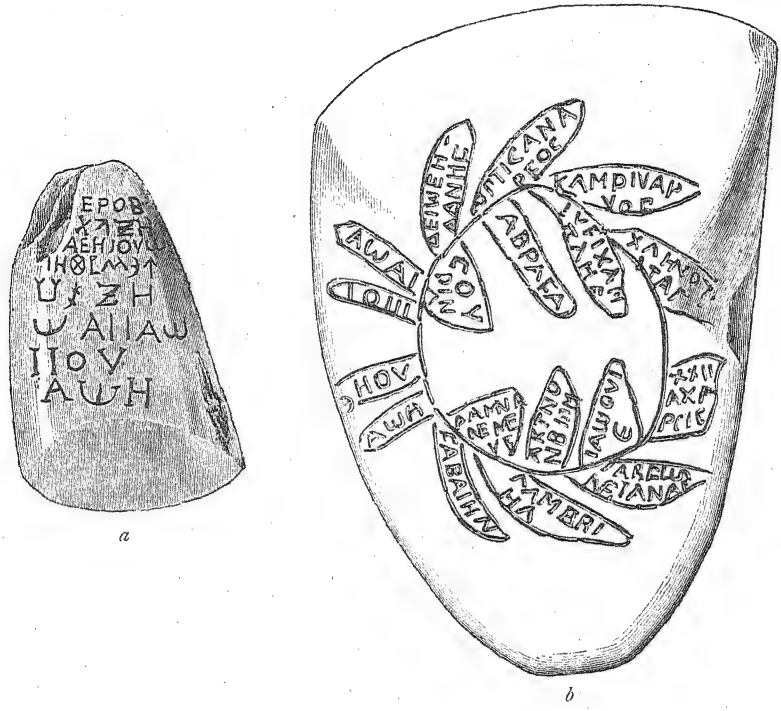
R. Wünsch that these stones are simply slices of one or more neolithic celts, cut up to serve as amulets. Special virtue was doubtless attributed to any section of a thunderbolt.

It would seem, then, that the beliefs attaching to neolithic celts among the modern Greeks can be traced back to classical times.

[1] Brigadier-General Sir H. Lefroy in *The Archaeological Journal* 1868 xxv. 151 f., C. W. King 'On a *Ceraunia* of jade converted into a Gnostic talisman' *ib.* 1868 xxv. 103—116 with pl. (=my fig. 391), E. T. Stevens *Flint Chips* London 1870 p. 109 f., Sir J. Evans *The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons and Ornaments, of Great Britain*[2] London 1897 p. 60 f. fig. 11, G. F. Kunz *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* Philadelphia & London 1913 p. 129 fig. and pl. opposite p. 122.

[2] A. Conze in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 199 f., R. Wünsch *Antikes Zaubergerät aus Pergamon* (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* Ergänzungsheft vi) Berlin 1905 pp. 16 f., 39 ff. pl. 4, figs. 16—20 (=my fig. 392), C. Blinkenberg *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* Cambridge 1911 pp. 16 f. figs. 5 A, 5 B (from photographs), 108. *Supra* i. 285 n. 1.

That being so, it is reasonable to push the investigation one step further and raise the question whether the like beliefs were already operant in the great pre-classical civilisation known to us as 'Minoan.'



a *b*

Fig. 391.

i. The double axe in 'Minoan' cult.

Looking round for evidence, we are at once impressed by the prominent position accorded to the double axe in cults of the 'Minoan' age. Here, however, in the absence of deciphered documents, we must move with the greatest caution. The double axe is an implement apt to cut both ways. It has already lent itself to diametrically opposite interpretations[1]. And the assumption that it was the hatchet of a sky-god, though a legitimate hypothesis, is hardly self-evident. In such a matter the only safe plan of procedure is to classify without prejudice the extant examples of the object in dispute, and to see how far our hypothesis will serve to explain their complex details.

[1] This, if nothing more, is made plain by the polemic of my friend Dr W. H. D. Rouse 'The Double Axe and the Labyrinth' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 268—274.

(α) The double axe in mid air.

In the cult-scenes of 'Minoan' art the double axe sometimes appears as an isolated object suspended in the air. The famous gold

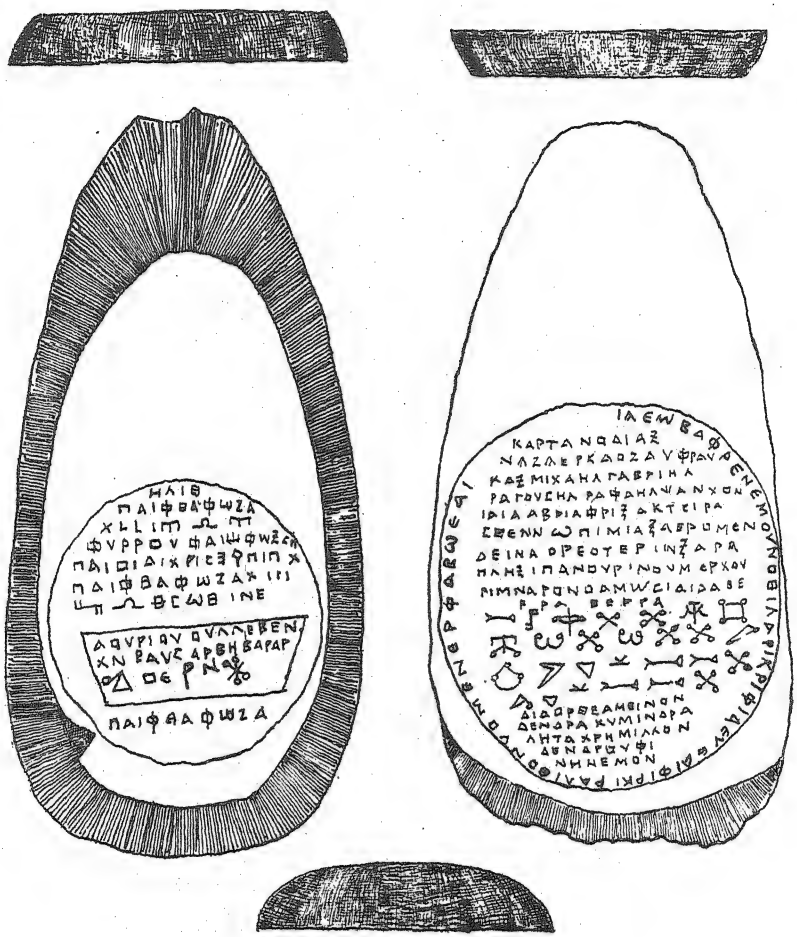


Fig. 392.

ring found by Drosinos and P. Stamatakes in a complex of buildings on the lower terrace of the Akropolis at Mykenai and now preserved in the Central Museum at Athens[1] affords a case in point (*supra* p. 47, fig. 18)[2]. It shows a female figure seated on stony ground

[1] Staïs *Coll. Mycénienne: Athènes* p. 66 f. no. 992.

[2] Fig. 18 is after Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 108 fig. 4 (scale ⅔). O. Rossbach in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1883 xli. 169—173 fig. has a careful line-drawing (scale ½) made from two impressions of the ring in different materials. Furtwängler *Ant.*

beneath a vine (?)[1], with three poppy-heads in her hand. Two other females approach, with gestures of adoration, bringing her lilies and lotuses. The goddess and her attendant nymphs, if such they are, alike wear lilies in their hair, necklaces, and divided skirts: their waists are tightly constricted, their breasts prominent and bare[2]. Immediately in front of the goddess and represented on a much smaller scale a woman stands on a heap of stones or rude altar to offer flowers. Behind the tree another woman, on the same small scale, uplifts her hands in worship. The scene is closed on the left by a row of six lion-heads[3]. These suggest the cult of Rhea[4], who being an earth-mother might well hold poppy-heads[5] and receive gifts of flowers[6] as she sat beneath a vine[7]. Her place at Argos, Sparta, and Mykenai was later taken by the Greek Hera[8]. And it can hardly be accidental that a statue of Hera at Argos had a wreath of vine-shoots on its head and a lion-skin beneath its feet[9]. Moreover, Hera is expressly stated to have loved lilies[10]. In short, it seems highly probable that the gold ring found at Mykenai commemorates the great goddess of the locality, the 'Minoan' Rhea. But if the lower part of the design gives us the earth, the upper part gives us the sky. The sun and moon are manifest, with a double wavy line

Gemmen i pl. 2, 20 gives a photograph of an impression, and *ib.* ii. 9 f. a bibliography and description.

[1] Opinions differ. H. Schliemann *Mycenæ* London 1878 p. 354 ff. fig. 530 consulted two professors of botany at Athens: one of these experts, T. Orphanides, concluded that the tree is 'a breadfruit-tree' (!); the other, whom Schliemann follows, pronounced it to be 'simply a vine laden with bunches of grapes.' C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 276 ff. fig. 281 says: 'a clumsy representation of a vine.' Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 45 ff. fig. 23: 'un pin.' Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 840 ff. fig. 425: 'un pin ou un olivier.' Staïs *loc. cit.*: 'olivier?' Furtwängler *loc. cit.*: 'ein dicht belaubter Baum.'

[2] This 'Minoan' usage ultimately gave rise to two Homeric epithets, *βαθύζωνος*, 'deep-girt' (*i.e.* with girdle cutting deeply into the waist), and *βαθύκολπος*, 'deep-bosomed' (*i.e.* with deep hollow between the breasts): see F. Studniczka *Beiträge zur Geschichte der altgriechischen Tracht* Wien 1886 pp. 120 f., 104, W. Amelung in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2314, E. B. Abrahams *Greek Dress* London 1908 p. 15 f.

[3] So Furtwängler *op. cit.* ii. 10.

[4] A. Milchhöfer *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland* Leipzig 1883 pp. 35, 102 fig. 39 rightly regards the figures in the foreground as a group of divinities, *viz.* Mother Rhea receiving fruit and flowers from her nymphs (*pace* C. Schuchhardt *op. cit.* p. 277 f. and M. Mayer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii. 190).

[5] Cornut. *theol.* 6 p. 6, 7 f. Lang *κωδίαν δ' ἀνατιθέασιν αὐτῇ παριστάντες, ὅτι αἰτία τῆς ζωογονίας αὕτη ἐγένετο.* Cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1542 n. 1.

[6] Orph. *h. Erot.* 58. 6 Πέα (so W. Wiel for *θεὰ*) ...χλοόκαρπος.

[7] Ap. Rhod. 1. 1117 ff., Euphorion *frag.* 146 Meineke *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1119.

[8] *Il.* 4. 50 ff.

[9] Tert. *de cor. mil.* 7, cp. *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway on his sixtieth birthday 6 August 1913* Cambridge 1913 p. 220 n. 3.

[10] Clem. Al. *paed.* 2. 8. 72. 4 p. 201, 24 Stählin (quoted *supra* i. 624 n. 2).

beneath them, best taken to denote the Milky Way[1] conceived as Okeanos the celestial river[2]. Below this are two significant objects. To the left is a shield with human head, hands, and feet projecting from behind it: it grasps a spear or staff and is—to judge from analogous representations[3]—conceived as descending through the air. To the right, and occupying the very centre of the field, is a double axe with duplicated blades likewise descending from the region of the sun and moon towards the goddess and her *entourage*. It is reasonable to suppose that the shield and axe thus falling from above are the weapons of the sky-god. Further than that we cannot at present go.

Another example of the double axe in mid air has been thought to occur on a clay sealing found by D. G. Hogarth in a 'Minoan' house at *Kato Zakro*, a village of eastern Crete[4]. But of this impress a more likely explanation has been advanced by G. Karo, as we shall subsequently see[5].

(β) The double axe in relation to tree- or plant-forms.

In a second group of cult-scenes the double axe is brought into more intimate relations with tree-or plant-forms. A small *sarcophagus*, discovered by the Italian excavators close to the palace at *Hagia Triada*, two miles to the north-west of Phaistos, and now to be seen in the Museum at *Kandia*, has first claim upon our attention[6]. It was found, lidless, empty, and partially damaged, in a rectangular tomb-building, which can be referred to the end of the period known as 'Late Minoan ii' or the beginning of 'Late Minoan iii,' that is, to a date *c.* 1400 B.C. The *sarcophagus*, made of greyish limestone, in

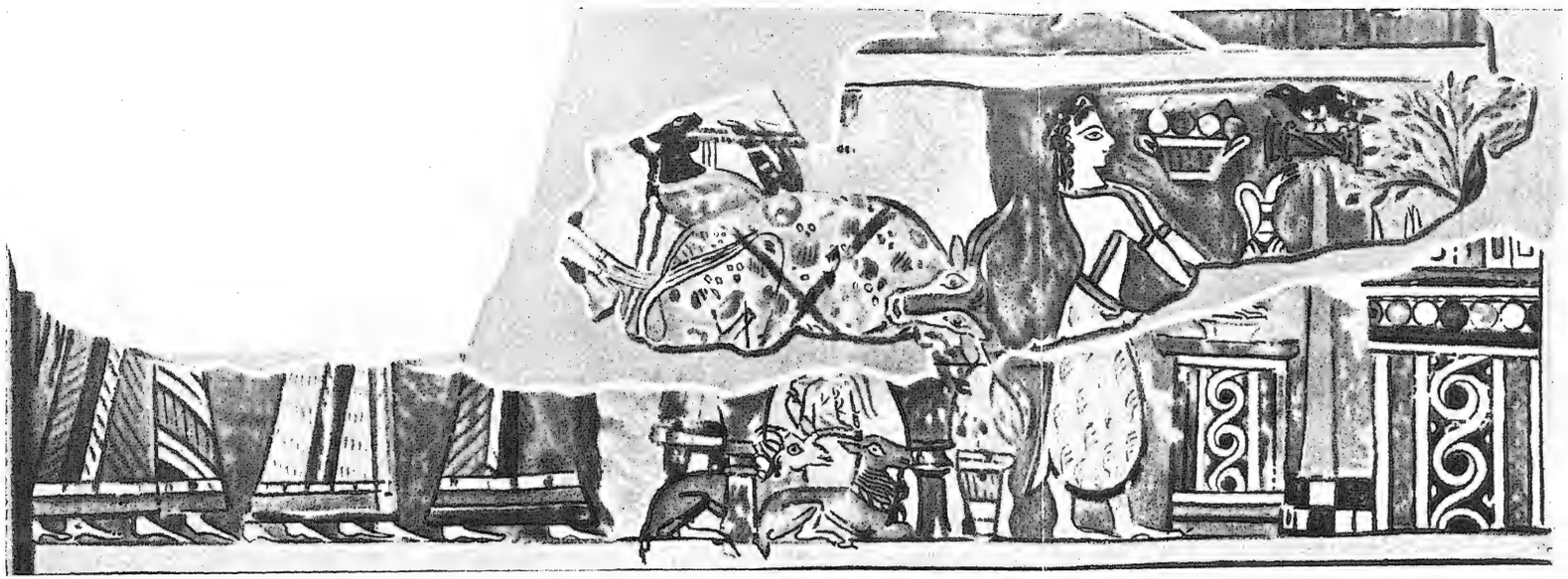
[1] *Supra* p. 49 n. 1. [2] *Supra* p. 481 f.

[3] See the *sarcophagus* from *Milato* (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 174 fig. 50) and the gold ring from Knossos (*id. ib.* 1901 xxi. 170 fig. 48). *Supra* p. 47 ff.

[4] D. G. Hogarth in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 77 f. fig. 5, cp. Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900—1901 vii. 54.

[5] *Infra* § 3 (*c*) i (*μ*).

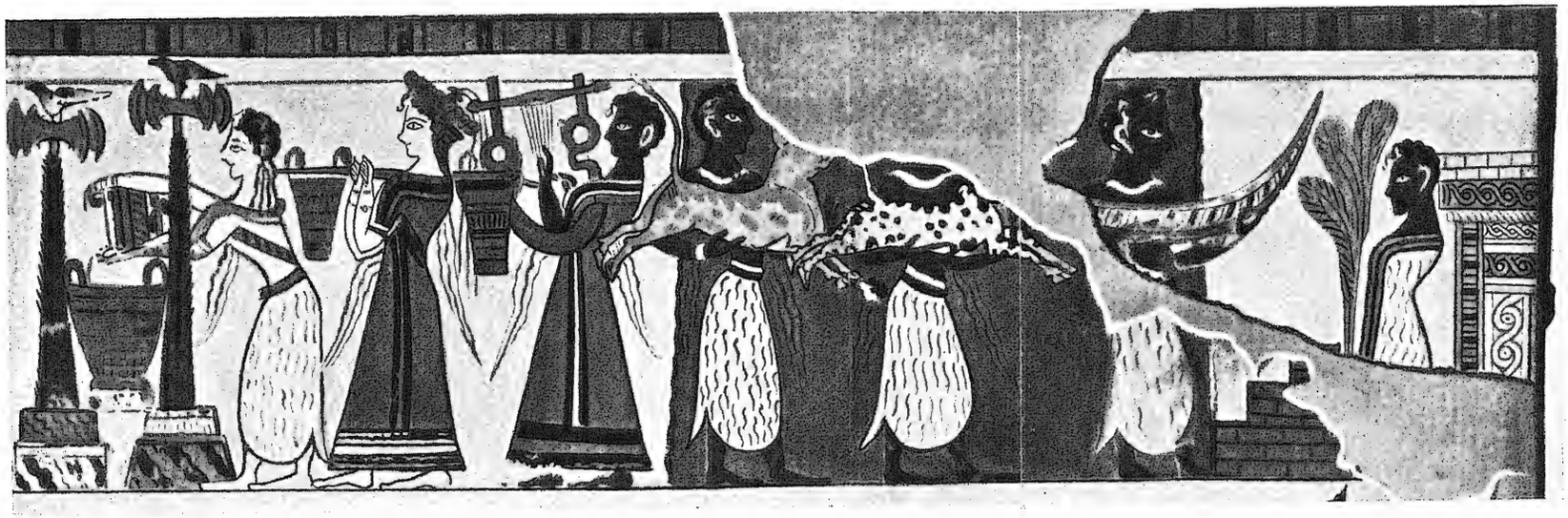
[6] R. Paribeni in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1903 xii. 343 ff. (description), *id.* 'Ricerche nel sepolcreto di Haghia Triada presso Phaestos' in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1904 xiv. 714—719, *id.* 'Il sarcofago dipinto di Haghia Triada' in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 5—86 with 23 figs. in text and 3 minutely accurate coloured plates by Stefani (=my pl. xxvii). The three articles together constitute the most authoritative account of this important monument. For further discussion see F. M. J. Lagrange 'La Crète ancienne' in the *Revue Biblique internationale* Nouvelle Série 1907 iv. 338—345 figs. 30—32, 34 f. (inexact), A. J. Reinach 'Le Sarcophage de Haghia Triada' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1908 ii. 278—288 with 4 figs., F. von Duhn 'Der Sarkophag aus Hagia Triada' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 161—185 pls. 2—4, E. Petersen 'Der kretische Bildersarg' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 162—170 with 5 figs., Harrison *Themis* pp. 158 ff. fig. 30 f., 209 f.



a



c



b



d

The painted limestone *sarcophagus* from Hagia Triada near Phaistos.

See page 516 ff.

shape imitates a wooden coffer, and is covered with a skin of fine white stucco. On this ground the designs were drawn in yellow and painted in a variety of colours.

The decoration comprises four panels, two long and two short. Of the long sides one represents animal and vegetable offerings at a 'Minoan' shrine (pl. xxvii, *a*). From the left a procession of five women with bare white feet and long coloured robes advances towards a table-altar, on which lies a spotted bull bound with red bands. The blood flows from his throat into an *ámnion*[1] or bucket on the ground; his frightened eyes are wide open; and his tail still whisks. Beneath the table two goats, of some domesticated species, wait their turn. Behind it stands a red-skinned man playing a double flute; his hair is long and falls in a couple of black tresses down his back; a bordered robe covers him from neck to knee. Further to the right a woman is standing at a small altar. She wears an ornament of gold in her black hair, a white jacket sleeved to the elbow and bordered with pink, and a baggy white skirt tailed and tufted with red. She extends her hands over a small basin or basket, placed on the altar. Above it, that is, beyond it are visible a beaked jug somewhat resembling an *oinochóe* and a two-handled basket full of fruit. On the extreme right is a larger altar, of similar architectural design but surmounted by four pairs of ritual horns[2]. Behind grows a sacred tree probably meant for an olive[3]. Between the adjacent altars appears a platform or base of two courses, from which rises a large double axe of most remarkable aspect. A tapering pillar or tree-

[1] *Od.* 3. 444 *ἀμνίον*. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1476, 38 ff. *Κρῆτες δὲ ἄμνιόν φασιν ἀγγεῖον εἰς ὃ τὸ αἷμα τῶν ἱερείων ἐδέχοντο, αἱμνιόν τι ὂν παρὰ τὸ αἷμα. Πόρσιλος οὖν ὁ Ἱεραπύτνιος ἱστορεῖ, φασί, παρὰ τοῖς Ἱεραπυτνίοις ἔτι σώζεσθαι τὴν φωνήν, αἱμνιον, δασέως μετὰ τοῦ κατ' ἀρχὴν ἰῶτα προφερομένην παρὰ τὸ αἷμα. φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ οὕτως αὐτὸ προφέρεσθαι, περιαιρεθῆναι δὲ τὸ ἰῶτα ὑπό τινων*, cp. schol. H. M. Q. R. *Od.* 3. 444. See further Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* i. 2. 133 C—D, G. Meyer *Griechische Grammatik*[3] Leipzig 1896 p. 267, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 34, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 54.

The blood collected in the *ἄμνιον* would then be poured over the altar (Eustath. *loc. cit.* p. 1476, 41 f. *Ἀττικοὶ δὲ σφάγιον τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀγγεῖον ἐκάλουν, εἰς ὃ πρῶτον αἷμα δεχόμενοι τῷ βωμῷ ἐπέχεον*=schol. H. M. Q. R. *Od.* 3. 444)—a rite suggestive of chthonian worship (S. Eitrem 'Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer' in the *Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter* ii Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1914 no. 1 Kristiania 1915 p. 434 f.).

[2] Cp. *supra* i. 506 ff.

[3] R. Paribeni in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1903 xii. 348 takes the tree to be either an olive or a laurel. But in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 42 f. he decides for an olive. So do A. J. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1908 ii. 282 ('derrière, semble s'épanouir un olivier'), F. von Duhn in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 164 ('Lorbeer oder Öl, wahrscheinlich letzteres'), Harrison *Themis* p. 161 ('an unmistakable olive-tree'), H. R. Hall *Ægæan Archæology* London 1915 p. 174 ('an olive-tree'). F. M. J. Lagrange in the *Revue Biblique internationale* Nouvelle Série 1907 iv. 341 thinks it a shrub rather than a tree, and suggests the *agnus castus*.

trunk; coloured pink (wood?), forms as it were the handle of a double axe, coloured yellow (gold?)[1]. The blades of this axe are duplicated—as on the ring from Mykenai[2]—and marked with diagonals. Upon them is perched a bird of black plumage, almost certainly to be identified as a raven[3]. The background of the panel changes from yellow to white and from white to blue as the eye travels from left to right; but this change of colour is apparently due to mere love of variety. The design as a whole puts beyond doubt the actual worship of the double axe. That here, as on the Mycenaean ring, it was conceived as the sky-god's weapon may be inferred partly from its elevated position, set on the apex of a tapering pillar, partly from its association with a raven, that prophet of the coming storm[4].

[1] R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 43 'la doppia ascia d' oro,' cp. *ib.* p. 29 'due doppie asce d' oro o di metallo dorato.'

[2] *Supra* p. 47 fig. 18.

[3] R. Paribeni in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1903 xii. 344, 348 regarded the birds represented on the axes of this *sarcophagus* as pigeons or ravens. But in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 31 f., 43 he prefers ravens ('corvi') to pigeons ('colombe'). G. Karo in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 130 makes them eagles ('Adler'). F. M. J. Lagrange in the *Revue Biblique internationale* Nouvelle Série 1907 iv. 341 f. would recognise a crow or an eagle on one side of the *sarcophagus* ('on dirait d'un corbeau ou d'un aigle'), but pigeons on the other ('la physionomie est ici celle de colombes plutôt que celle de corbeaux ou d'aigles'). A. J. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1908 ii. 281 f. leaves the matter undecided ('corbeau ou colombe,—colombe noire comme celles de Dodone,' 'un oiseau noir'). Sir A. J. Evans in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 195 says: 'perhaps the sacred black woodpeckers of the Cretan Zeus.' J. E. Harrison *ib.* ii. 155: 'a bird of black colour, possibly a pigeon or, as Dr Evans suggests, a black woodpecker.' Cp. Sir A. J. Evans in *Archaeologia* 1914 lxv. 54 'perhaps the sacred woodpecker, afterwards identified with the Cretan Zeus.' E. Petersen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 163 argues for a cuckoo ('Kuckuck'). H. R. Hall *Ægæan Archæology* London 1915 p. 173 speaks of 'a bird which looks very like a magpie,' but *ib.* p. 175 adds: 'One may wonder whether this apparent magpie is not really intended for an eagle, the sacred bird of Zeus.' F. von Duhn in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 166 ff. states that at first he thought the bird a dove ('Taube'), but that, after inspecting the original, he pronounced it to be a raven ('Rabe'). He reports *ib.* p. 167 n. 2 the expert opinion of W. Warde Fowler: 'I have examined the birds with a strong magnifying glass, and have no hesitation in identifying them as ravens: the one in the upper plate to the right is quite unmistakeable to the eye of anyone accustomed to observe birds out of doors, as I have done for the last thirty-five years and more. The other two are not quite so convincing, but must, I think, be the same. They all have the outline of head and beak which is peculiar to the raven (corvus corax) and which even the crow (corvus corone) has not in quite the same degree, nor any other bird known to me. I mean that there is only a very slight depression where the beak emerges from the feathers of the head, so that the upper outline of the bird's head is almost an uninterrupted curve. Perhaps I ought to mention that the raven of the southern Mediterranean is smaller than ours and unknown to me (c. umbrinus), but I believe that it resembles the northern bird in everything but colouration. I am certain these birds cannot be woodpeckers: apart from the head and beak no one sees a black woodpecker perched as these are.' This authoritative verdict may well be allowed to decide the issue.

[4] Aristot. *frag.* 241 Rose *ap.* Ail. *de nat. an.* 7. 7 κόραξ δὲ ἐπιτρόχως (so R. Hercher for ταχέως καὶ ἐπιτρόχως codd.) φθεγγόμενος καὶ κρούων τὰς πτέρυγας καὶ κροτῶν αὐτάς, ὅτι

The other long side of the *sarcophagus* (pl. xxvii, *b*) depicts two scenes, distinguished from each other, not so much by the variable background (white—blue—white), as by the fact that the human figures at the point of junction are standing back to back. On the left we see another episode from the ritual of the double axe[1]. A red-skinned man, wearing his hair short with a fore-lock[2], and clad in a

χειμὼν ἔσται κατέγνω πρῶτος. κόραξ δὲ αὖ καὶ κορώνη καὶ κολοιὸς δείλης ὀψίας εἰ φθέγγοιντο, χειμῶνος ἔσεσθαί τινα ἐπιδημίαν διδάσκουσι, Theophr. *de signis tempest.* 16 *κόραξ πολλὰς μεταβάλλειν εἰωθὼς φωνάς, τούτων ἐὰν ταχὺ δὶς φθέγξηται καὶ ἐπιρροιζήσῃ καὶ τινάξῃ τὰ πτερά, ὕδωρ σημαίνει. καὶ ἐὰν ὑετῶν ὄντων πολλὰς μεταβάλλῃ φωνὰς καὶ ἐὰν φθειρίζηται ἐπ' ἐλαίας. καὶ ἐάν τε εὐδίας ἐάν τε ὕδατος ὄντος μιμῆται τῇ φωνῇ οἷον σταλαγμούς, ὕδωρ σημαίνει. ἐάν τε κόρακες ἐάν τε κολοιοὶ ἄνω πέτωνται καὶ ἱερακίζωσιν, ὕδωρ σημαίνουσι. καὶ ἐὰν κόραξ εὐδίας μὴ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν φωνὴν ᾖ καὶ ἐπιρροιβδῇ, ὕδωρ σημαίνει,* 39 *καὶ κορώνη καὶ κόραξ καὶ κολοιὸς ὀψὲ ᾄδοντες χειμέριοι,* 40 *κόραξ φωνὰς πολλὰς μεταβάλλων χειμῶνος χειμέριον,* Arat. *phaen.* 963 ff. *δή ποτε καὶ γενεαὶ κοράκων καὶ φῦλα κολοιῶν | ὕδατος ἐρχομένοιο Διὸς πάρα σῆμ' ἐγένοντο, | φαινόμενοι ἀγεληδὰ καὶ ἰρήκεσσιν ὁμοῖον | φθεγξάμενοι. καί που κόρακες δίους σταλαγμούς* (*δίους δὲ σταλαγμούς* cod. G. *δίους γε σταλαγμούς* cod. L. *δίους σταλαημούς* is proposed in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 652 B) *| φωνῇ ἐμμήσαντο σὺν ὕδατος ἐρχομένοιο, | ἢ ποτε καὶ κρώξαντε βαρείῃ δισσάκι φωνῇ | μακρὸν ἐπιρροιζεῦσι τιναξάμενοι πτερὰ πυκνά* with schol. *ad loc.*, Nik. *ther.* 406 *κόραξ τ' ὀμβρήρεα κρώζων* with schol. *ad loc.*, Plout. *de sanitate praecepta* 14 *ἄτοπον γάρ ἐστι κοράκων μὲν λαρυγγισμοῖς...ἐπιμελῶς προσέχειν, σημεῖα ποιουμένους πνευμάτων καὶ ὄμβρων· κ.τ.λ.*, Ail. *de nat. an.* 6. 19 *βούλεται δὲ τῶν ὄμβρων μιμεῖσθαι τὰς σταγόνας ὁ κόραξ,* *Geopon.* 1. 3. 8 *καὶ κόρακες καὶ κολοιοὶ ἀθρόως ἐπιφαινόμενοι καὶ κρώζοντες* (*κράζοντες* codd. H. M.)*...ὄμβρον σημαίνουσι,* and the passages cited in the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* iv. 1079, 31 ff. See further D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 94, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 98 f., Gossen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 21.

Ravens were prophets of fine weather also (Theophr. *de signis tempest.* 52 *καὶ κόραξ δὲ μόνος μὲν ἡσυχαῖον κράζων, καὶ ἐὰν τρὶς κράξῃ μετὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις κράξῃ, εὐδιεινός,* Arat. *phaen.* 1003 ff. *καὶ κόρακες μοῦνοι μὲν ἐρημαῖοι βοόωντες | δισσάκις, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα μέγ' ἀθρόα κεκλήγοντες* (*κεκληγῶτες* cod. L.)*· | κ.τ.λ.* with schol. *ad loc.*, *Geopon.* 1. 2. 6 *καὶ κόρακες πλείονες ἀγεληδὸν ὥσπερ χαίροντες καὶ κρώζοντες* (*κράζοντες* codd. H. M.) *ἀνομβρίαν δηλοῦσιν,* Plin. *nat. hist.* 18. 362 corvique singultu quodam latrantes seque concutientes, si continuabunt, serenum <diem (ins. Oehmichen)>; si vero carptim vocem resorbebunt, ventosum imbrem. On Verg. *georg.* 1. 410 ff. see W. Warde Fowler *A Year with the Birds*[2] Oxford 1886 p. 150 ff., T. F. Royds *The Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil*[2] Oxford 1918 p. 40 ff.).

We need not, therefore, hold with D. A. Mackenzie *Myths of Crete & Pre-Hellenic Europe* London s.a. p. 290 f. that ravens are necessarily 'birds of ill omen, who foretell death and disaster' or that the birds on the *sarcophagus* are 'the raven spirits of Hades... receiving a propitiatory offering of blood or wine.' F. von Duhn in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 167 f. takes a wider and a wiser view. I should, however, be inclined to add that the bird was perhaps originally regarded, not 'als himmlischer Bote' etc., but as a telephany of the sky-god himself (*supra* p. 187). See further O. Keller 'Rabe und Krähe im Altertum' in the *Jahresbericht des Vereins für Volkskunde und Linguistik in Prag* 1893.

[1] F. M. J. Lagrange in the *Revue Biblique internationale* Nouvelle Série 1907 iv. 344 holds that the first long side of the *sarcophagus* together with the first portion of the second long side forms a continuous frieze, the subject of which is the cult of *three* sets of axes on handles. Obvious objections to this view are (1) the very different treatment of the axe-handles on the two sides of the *sarcophagus*; (2) the interposition of one of the short sides between the two long sides; (3) a serious lack of symmetry.

[2] *Supra* i. 23 n. 6 *sub fin.*

bordered pink robe that reaches from his shoulders to his bare feet, advances slowly from right to left. He holds a large golden lyre, which has seven strings and sides shaped like the necks of swans[1]. As he goes, he plucks the strings of the lyre, but apparently uses no *plêktron*[2]. In front of him moves a woman, whose fore-lock and front curls peep out from beneath a golden head-dress of peculiar type. She is clothed in a blue jacket and skirt with coloured borders; and she carries a pink pole, on which are slung two particoloured buckets. Before her stands another woman, wearing a white jacket sleeved to the elbow and bordered with blue, also a baggy white skirt tailed and tagged with red. She is engaged in pouring a red liquid (wine? blood??) out of another brightly coloured bucket[3] into a larger jar or *kratér*, which, being painted blue with circular bands of yellow, may be taken to represent a silver vessel inlaid with gold. It rests on a base between two pedestals, one consisting of superposed steps, the other resembling a truncated pyramid[4]. From each of these pedestals there springs a tapering pillar or tree-trunk, thickly covered with green leaves[5] and serving as the haft of a yellow (gold?) double axe with duplicated blades and ravens (?) perched upon them. As to the meaning of this scene, E. Petersen has rightly insisted on the contrast between the one bare stem and the two leafy stems, arguing that the former betokens the worship

[1] Clearly shown by A. Mosso *The Palaces of Crete and their Builders* London 1907 p. 317 f. fig. 156.

[2] R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 37.

[3] R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 33 f., 36 regards all these buckets as *situlae* of decorated metal (gold, silver, copper).

[4] Pedestals of the sort have come to light in the palace at *Hagia Triada* (R. Paribeni in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1903 xii. 338, *id.* in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 30), in the palace at Phaistos (L. Pernier *ib.* 1902 xii. 69 and 103), at *Palaikastro* (R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 300), in a small house at Knossos (Sir A. J. Evans in *Archaeologia* 1914 lxv. 68), in the 'Little Palace' at Knossos (*id. ib.* 1914 lxv. 72), and in the Dictaean Cave (*id. ib.* 1914 lxv. 72 fig. 82).

[5] R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 29 thinks that the trunks are those of palm-trees and suggests the date-palm (*phoenix dactylifera*), but notes that palm-trunks are cylindrical, not conical like these. His identification as palms is accepted by A. J. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1908 ii. 281 f. and by J. E. Harrison in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 154 f. E. Petersen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 163, 168, 170 is more reserved ('hier nur ein Pfeiler, dort zwei; diese zwei mit grünem Laub umkleidet, jener eine kahl und ohne Grün,' etc.). F. von Duhn in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 173 was the first to recognise obelisks covered with cypress-leaves ('zwei cypressengeschmückte Obelisken') and to recall the fact that at Knossos Rhea had an ancient grove of cypresses (*supra* i. 649 n. 3). Accordingly in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 189 I wrote: 'Professor von Duhn kindly informs me that these supports are apparently pillars or posts covered with leaves —most probably with cypress leaves. If so, they were obviously ritual substitutes for cypress-trees.'

of the sky-god in the winter, the latter his marriage with the earth-goddess in the spring[1]. Petersen remarks that of the two leaf-clad pillars one is noticeably larger than the other, and that its axe-head has the same diagonals as the axe-head of the leafless pillar—a hint that the paired pillars are those of god and goddess respectively[2]. We may, then, assume provisionally that the worshippers of the double axe as depicted on the *sarcophagus* are performing rites intended to call down the vernal showers and so bring about the revival of vegetation.

But what of the second scene represented in immediate contiguity with this? Three bearers of offerings pass towards the right. Each has short hair and no clothing beyond a belt and a baggy white skirt tailed and tagged as before. The tags of these peculiar garments vary in colour, those of the first and last men being black, those of the second man red. All three have necklaces, and two have bracelets. Number one carries the model of a boat; number two, that of a white calf spotted with black; number three, that of a yellowish calf with spots of deeper yellow[3]. They are approaching a flight of three steps, coloured a dull red, beyond which is a tree of some doubtful species[4]. By it stands a man of shorter stature, with a fore-lock of black curly hair. He is swathed in a white robe with red tags and yellow border, which covers and conceals his arms. Behind him a polychrome building, enriched with spirals, completes the design. Egyptian parallels, adduced by R. Paribeni[5], have made it highly probable that the erect figure is that of a dead man, and that the building at his back is his tomb or tomb-chapel. His dwarfish height implies that he died young[6].

[1] E. Petersen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 163 ff.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 165 n. 11.

[3] R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 26 ff. is disposed to view the offerings as an actual boat and live calves, not mere models. Later critics, without discussing the matter, appear to agree with him. They may be right. But size and position alike point rather to the use of models, such as are common in the tombs of Egypt and other lands.

[4] So R. Paribeni in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1903 xii. 346 suggests the *ficus Indica*. But in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 20 he is less explicit. F. M. J. Lagrange in the *Revue Biblique internationale* Nouvelle Série 1907 iv. 342 : 'un arbre..., semblable à une plante grasse à trois panaches.' A. J. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1908 ii. 280 f.: 'l'arbre—une sorte de palmier,' 'le palmier funéraire.' F. von Duhn in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 180: 'Palme.'

[5] R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 15 ff. fig. 3. M. Meurer 'Zu den Sarkophagen von Klazomenai' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1900 xvii. 65—68 with figs. 1—3 argues that the trapezoidal, as distinct from the rectangular, *sarcophagi* of Klazomenai were designed to be set up on end uncovered and so hold the body upright, probably during the funeral ceremony,—a usage apparently derived from Egypt *viâ* Phoinike.

[6] R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 19 f. F. von Duhn in the *Archiv f. Rel.*

Certain traits common to the two long sides of the *sarcophagus* suggest that the scenes of axe-cult are intimately related to the offerings made at this young man's tomb. The tagged garments worn by the priestesses of the double axe, by the ministrants at the tomb, and by the dead man himself have been recognised by Paribeni[1] as hairy sackcloth, originally made of animals' skins and still retaining a sort of tail: such a garb is presumably funeral in character. Again, three of the axe-worshippers and two of the tomb-ministrants are decked with red scarves or streamers, to which also we should attach some sepulchral significance[2]. It may therefore be surmised that the magic rites of revival performed before the double axes of the sky-god and the earth-goddess were believed to ensure the continued vitality or resurrection of the dead. Nay more, it is conceivable that the young man buried in this princely tomb was regarded as himself an incarnation of the sky-god. Was not Zeus said to have perished as a prince in Crete[3]? On this showing the Cretan prince was one of many who in their time played the part of Dionysos or Zagreus, the reborn Zeus[4]. And here, forestalling for a moment the results of a later section[5], we must note the curious parallelism of the Cretan and the Tenedian axe-cults[6]:—

HAGIA TRIADA.	TENEDOS.
Worship of a double axe erect on a stepped base.	Worship of a double axe erect on a stepped base[7].
Worship of two double axes.	Worship of two double axes[8].
Kratér set between double axes.	*Amphora* attached to double axe[9].
Sacrifice of a bull in the cult of an axe-god.	Sacrifice of a bull-calf in the cult of Dionysos *Anthroporrhaístes*[10], probably an axe-god[11].

But, if the youth buried in the *sarcophagus* actually posed as Dionysos or Zagreus, we should look to find him treated as the consort of the great 'Minoan' goddess Rhea[12]. Was this the case? An answer is perhaps to be sought in the designs of the two remaining panels.

1909 xii. 179 f. rather fancifully conjectures that the custom of crouched burial led to the dead being conceived as of smaller dimensions than the living. E. Petersen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 162 thinks that this is no mummified mortal, but a young god resembling Dionysos Φαλλήν and swathed because phallic.

[1] R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 22 ff.

[2] *Supra* i. 58 n. 2. To the references there given add A. Sonny 'Rote Farbe im Totenkult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 525—529.

[3] *Supra* i. 157 n. 3, 645, 663 n. 2.

[4] *Supra* i. 398 f., 647. *Hagia Triada* is about 11½ miles (in a direct line) from the Idaean Cave.

[5] *Infra* § 3 (c) i (o).

[6] *Supra* i. 660.

[7] *Infra* § 3 (c) i (o).

[8] *Infra* § 3 (c) i (o), cp. § 3 (c) i (μ).

[9] *Infra* § 3 (c) i (o).

[10] *Supra* i. 469 n. 4, 659, 711.

[11] *Supra* i. 659.

[12] *Supra* i. 649 n. 7.

One of the short sides (pl. xxvii, *c*) represents a pair of horses, blue and yellow on a white ground, drawing a two-wheeled chariot, in which rides a couple of white-skinned women. Their robes are pink bordered with blue, and blue bordered with yellow and white. The four red reins are apparently held by the woman nearest the spectator: she has two in her left hand and two in her right, which encircles her companion. We have no reason to think that these are goddesses[1] or even priestesses[2]. More probably they are just ladies belonging to the princely court—the queen, let us suppose, and her charioteer.

The other short side (pl. xxvii, *d*) shows a group roughly similar in appearance but widely different in meaning. A two-wheeled chariot on a red ground is drawn by a pair of griffins with canine rather than leonine bodies, variegated wings, and high plumed crests. In it ride two female figures, of whom the nearer one in a blue robe bordered with yellow and white holds the reins round her more gorgeously dressed companion. In the field above the griffins hovers a bird, which has been compared with a hoopoe[3] and even with a sparrow-hawk[4]. But its short beak, yellow-brown, blue, and white feathers, black marking, and erectile crest proclaim it to be a somewhat glorified jay[5]. This bird, the *corvus glandarius* of Linnaeus, the *garrulus glandarius* of later ornithologists, gets its modern scientific name from the fact that 'the acorn is its favourite food[6].' But the ancients were mainly impressed by its bright colouring and its talkative tongue. The former trait made it comparable with the woodpecker: the Romans called the one *pica*, the other *picus*[7]; and,

[1] Cp. E. Petersen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 168 ff.

[2] A. J. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1908 ii. 287.

[3] R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 61: 'Non esiste nell' avifauna mediterranea un uccello di quella forma e di quei colori: l' upupa, alla quale si potrebbe pensare, ha il becco lungo, e drizza il suo pennacchio, ma non lo rovescia in avanti, come fa il nostro uccello, e come avviene nel cacatua e in qualche altro uccello esotico.' But it must be remembered that the young hoopoe develops its crest before its beak (R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1895 iv. 58).

[4] F. M. J. Lagrange in the *Revue Biblique internationale* Nouvelle Série 1907 iv. 339 would recognise 'un épervier'!

[5] I am indebted for this suggestion to my wife. A good coloured plate of the jay is given by J. L. Bonhote *Birds of Britain* London 1907 p. 156 ff. pl. 47.

[6] R. Lydekker *Wild Life of the World* London s.a. i. 108 with col. pl., cp. *id. The Royal Natural History* London 1894—95 iii. 319 f. with fig., C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 p. 75. Hence the Italian name *ghiandaia*, and the German *Eichel-häher*. Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 13. 615 b 22 f. ὅταν δ' ὑπολίπωσιν αἱ βάλανοι, ἀποκρύπτουσα ταμιεύεται (*sc.* ἡ κίττα).

[7] The relation of both words to *pingo*, ποικίλος, etc. is doubtful (Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 580). So is that of our *jay*, French *geai* (in Picardy *gai*), Spanish *gayo*, *gaya*, Portuguese *gaio* to the adjective *gay* (G. Körting *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*[2] Paderborn 1901 p. 187).

if the Cretan Zeus took shape as a woodpecker (*Pîkos*)[1], the Cretan Dionysos very possibly figured as a jay. The latter trait brought it into the company of ravens[2] and other garrulous birds[3]: in this capacity too it was sacred to Dionysos[4]. We may, therefore, fairly conjecture that the jay here represented denotes the soul of the youth who in his lifetime had played the Dionysiac part. In the earth-coloured goddess with a plumed head-dress, towards whom the jay with a characteristic[5] flap of its wings is flying, we can recognise the Cretan Rhea[6]. She, like the Nemeseis of Smyrna[7], stands erect in a griffin-drawn car. In short, it seems probable that this panel, which formed the head-end of the *sarcophagus*[8], marks the reunion of the dead man with his divine consort in the other world.

The *sarcophagus* of *Hagia Triada* does not stand alone. Several of its motives are repeated on a painted earthenware *lárnax* found by J. H. Marshall at *Palaikastro*, thirteen miles north-east of Praisos and eight miles north of *Zakro*, in eastern Crete[9]. Its two long sides are divided each into a couple of square panels. Those of one side show (*a*) a fish, perhaps meant for a dolphin, upside down with two stars and a rosette in the field; (*b*) a bird of uncertain species[10] with high curled wings and spread tail. The panels of the other side (fig. 393) are more elaborately decorated. One of them (*c*) depicts a large lily-plant with three flowers. Those to right and left have their stamen-tips shaped like double axes. That in the centre appears, on closer inspection, to be not a flower at all, but an arrangement of cult-objects simulating a flower. Instead of a stalk there is a slender column with base, capital, and *abacus* complete. It supports, not a three-petalled lily, but a double axe rising from a stepped base[11] and flanked by a pair of pillars[12]. The remaining panel

[1] *Supra* i. 158 n. 2, 237 n. 1. [2] Pers. *sat. prol.* 13.

[3] See D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 pp. 39, 85.

[4] Cornut. *theol.* 30 p. 61, 22 f. Lang καὶ τὴν κίτταν δὲ ὡς λάλον ὄρνεον καθιεροῦσιν αὐτῷ (*sc.* τῷ Διονύσῳ).

[5] R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1894—95 iii. 320.

[6] I cannot subscribe to the *bizarre* contention of R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 60 f. and F. von Duhn in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 183 f. that the pale personage is the dead man accompanied by his soul-bird! A. J. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1908 ii. 285 f. rightly protests.

[7] *Supra* i. 270 fig. 197.

[8] E. Petersen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 168.

[9] Published by R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 297 ff. pls. 18 (=my fig. 393) and 19, G. Karo in G. Maraghiannis *Antiquités Crétoises* Deuxième Série Candie s. a. p. xii pl. 38.

[10] It appears to belong to the order *anseres*, and may be intended for a duck, goose, or swan. [11] *Supra* p. 520 n. 4.

[12] R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 299 speaks of these as 'a pair of "sacred horns."' We should, however, distinguish these cigar-shaped pillars from the horns of the adjacent panel.

(*d*) exhibits a griffin with wings like those of the bird on the opposite side. In the field is a lily-flower before it, a star above it, and, higher up, two pairs of ritual horns[1] resting on a horizontal line. The ornamentation of the lid includes a couple of stars; that of the ends, a pair of horns with a bud springing from between them.

We are not in a position to clear up the meaning of all this symbolism. But we can at least explain some parts of it with more or less probability. The double axe set upright on a stepped base between a pair of pillars is again comparable with the Tenedian



Fig. 393.

coin-type[2] and suggestive of the 'Minoan' sky-god[3]. Its intimate connexion with the lily recalls the Mycenaean ring, on which a double axe descends from heaven towards a goddess decked with lilies[4], presumably Rhea[5]. The axe combined with the lily thus betokens the life-giving union of the sky-god with the earth-goddess, and is analogous to the scene of the leafy axes on the *sarcophagus* from *Hagia Triada*. Whether the griffin can be regarded as an allusion to the griffin-drawn goddess is more doubtful.

[1] Cp. the stucco horns found in house *B* at *Palaikastro* (R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 314 fig. 27).

[2] *Infra* § 3 (c) i (o).

[3] *Supra* p. 522.

[4] *Supra* p. 47 fig. 18.

[5] *Supra* p. 515.

A superb jar, found by R. B. Seager on the island of Pseira in



Fig. 394.

north-eastern Crete (fig. 394)[1], dates from the last stage of the period

[1] R. B. Seager *Excavations on the island of Pseira, Crete* (*University of Pennsylvania:*

known as 'Late Minoan i' (*c.* 1500 B.C.) and again illustrates the combination of double axe and lily. Round its rim is a series of axes with knobbed tops; round its base, a simplified axe-pattern; beneath its handles, other axe-forms. The main frieze, on its shoulder, has double axes of the knobbed variety alternating with bulls' heads. Each axe is erect on a square base. Each bull's head between its horns bears another double axe, the stem of which is shaped like an open lily. And the space between axes and bulls' heads is filled by olive-sprays. A second large jar of the 'Late

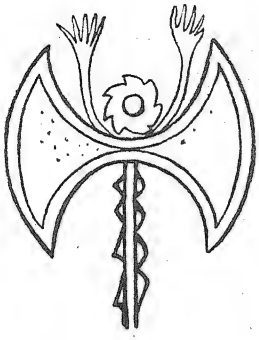


Fig. 395.

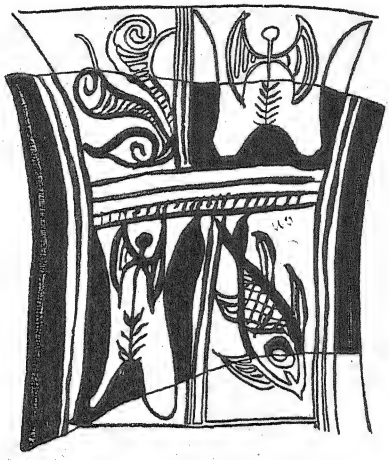


Fig. 396.



Fig. 397.

Minoan I' age, obtained by Seager on the neighbouring island of Mochlos[1], treats the floral stem of the axe in a freakish human fashion (fig. 395)[2] that brings to mind the quaintest flower-fays of Mr Arthur Rackham.

Vase-fragments of late 'Minoan' style, found by Sir Arthur Evans in a superficial layer of deposit covering the north-west building at Knossos, show the double axe rising from a leafy shaft between the sacred horns[3]. On the example here reproduced (fig. 396) this design fills two compartments, the other two being occupied by

The Museum: Anthropological Publications iii. 1) Philadelphia 1910 p. 26 f. pl. 7 (=my fig. 394).

[1] R. B. Seager 'Excavations at Mochlos' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1909 xiii. 299 with fig. 19, G. Karo in G. Maraghiannis *Antiquités Crétoises* Deuxième Série Candie s.a. p. viii pl. 13, 2.

[2] G. B. G[ordon] 'The Double Axe and some other Symbols' in *University of Pennsylvania: The Museum Journal* 1916 vii. 48 fig. 38 (=my fig. 395).

[3] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 114 f. fig. 71 (=my fig. 396).

a fish and a scroll derived from three Triton-shells treated as tentacles of an argonaut. Again, a hieroglyphic sign, found by the same explorer on a clay sealing from the Cnossian palace, represents a tree—apparently a cypress—serving as the handle of a double axe (fig. 397)[1].

A certain analogy with the foregoing examples of 'Minoan' religious art is afforded by an amulet, which forms the central pendant of an Etruscan gold necklace (fig. 398)[2]. It consists of a neolithic arrow-head of flint imbedded in the stem of a golden lily[3], on which rests a disk enclosing a decorative double axe (?). Since flint arrow-heads, no less than flint axes, were held to be thunderbolts[4], it is likely enough that this amulet[5] too was believed to combine the virtues of the sky-god and the earth-goddess.

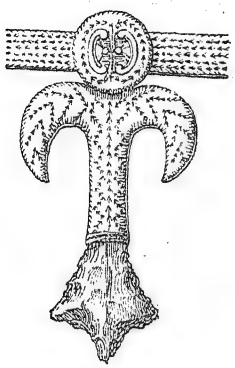


Fig. 398.

(γ) The double axe in relation to columns or pillars.

Thirdly, the double axe had a religious significance for the 'Minoan' age, when it was stuck into the columns of a sacred building or cave. Fragments of painted plaster from the palace at Knossos[6] show portions of a sanctuary with a row of columns, which, from their shape and colour, are obviously meant to represent the wooden supports usual in the architecture of the period. Between each pair of columns and also along the top of their entablature are set large ritual horns. Into the upper part of the shaft, and into the upper part of the *echinus*, of every column is driven from opposite sides a couple of double axes, which, like the horns, are painted white. Finally,

[1] Sir A. J. Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 195 no. 36, *g* (=my fig. 397) pl. 3, P. 70 a.

[2] É. Cartailhac *La France préhistorique* Paris 1889 p. 6 fig. 3 (=my fig. 398). This appears to be the pendant, in the Campana collection, very inadequately described and figured by E. Braun in the *Mon. Ann. e Bull. d. Inst.* p. 54 pl. 10.

[3] The arrow-head itself is lily-shaped, the tang forming the central spike of an inverted flower.

[4] See *e.g.* Sir J. Evans *The Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*[2] London 1897 p. 362 ff.

[5] Other examples of flint arrow-heads set in gold, silver, or bronze and worn as amulets by the ancient Etruscans etc. are given in C. Blinkenberg *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* Cambridge 1911 p. 28 f. fig. 14 f., p. 109.

[6] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1903—1904 x. 40 ff., fig. 14, pl. 2 (=my fig. 399).

below the sacred edifice is a decorative band of rosettes—a motive, be it remembered, readily derivable from the Egyptian lotus[1]. The stamens of these rosettes, shaped like double axes, recall the axe-

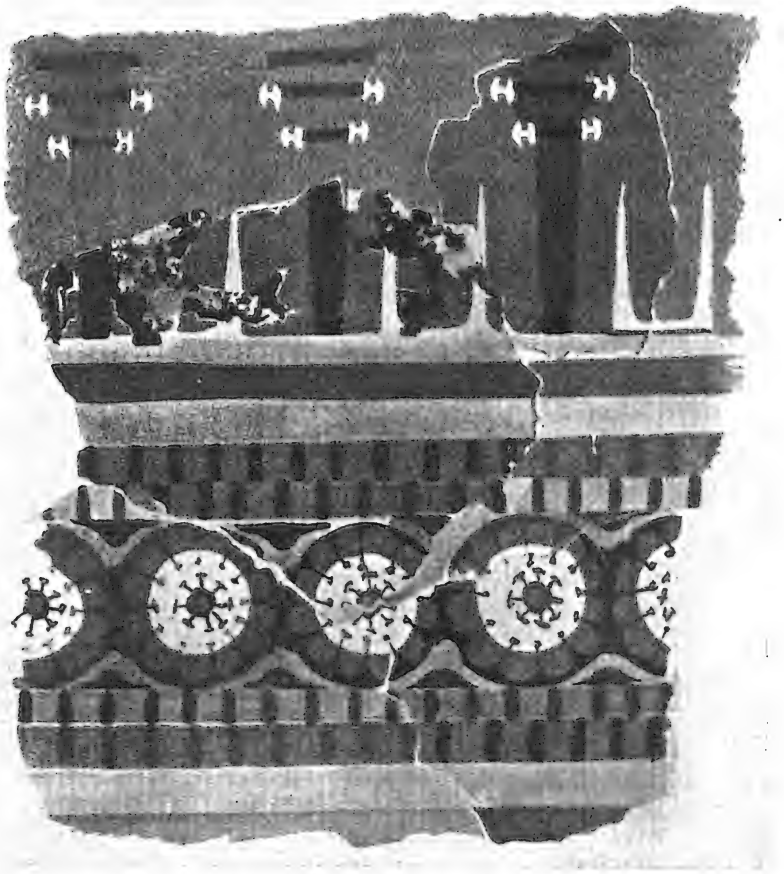


Fig. 399.

stamens of the lily-plant on the *sarcophagus* from *Palaikastro*[2]. The whole design (fig. 399) makes it clear that double axes of metal were imbedded in the wooden columns of 'Minoan' shrines[3].

[1] A. Riegl *Stilfragen* Berlin 1893 p. 52 ff., O. Montelius *Die älteren Kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa* Stockholm 1903 i. 78 f. fig. 303, cp. W. H. Goodyear *The Grammar of the Lotus* London 1891 p. 103.

[2] *Supra* p. 524.

[3] M. Meurer 'Form und Herkunft der mykenischen Säule' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1914 xxix. 14 ff. fig. 6 f. thinks that the white objects affixed to the columns are not axes at all, but knobs for hangings, and compares the white-glazed and

Similarly small double axes of bronze (fig. 400)[1] were found inserted in the stalactite pillars of the famous cave in Mount Dikte (fig. 401)[2]. D. G. Hogarth gives a graphic description of their discovery:

'By June 11th,' he says[3], 'we had exhausted the Upper Grot and the Terrace, and seemed to be at the end of discoveries. I had always intended, however, to have the *talus* in the Lower Grot searched before leaving the place, and on the 12th put the men and women, now reduced to thirty in all, with petroleum candles on to the steep slope below the precipice. Various bronze objects were quickly brought to light, and some bits of gold appeared in the sieves. Meanwhile a few

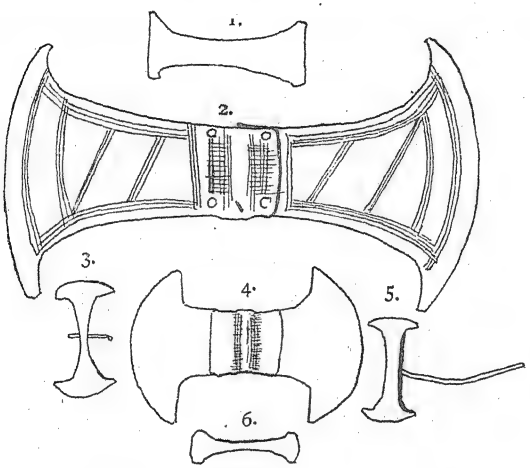


Fig. 400.

men were sent to search the various patches of earth, carried down by water and deposited in hollows in the lowest parts of the cavern, and they found these singularly productive. Where a thin crust of stalactite had formed over the mould and pebbles, it always was worth while to break through. While engaged on this work one of the men observed a bronze knife blade in a vertical slit of a stalactite pillar beside him, and, searching, soon found more blades and pins.

painted plates of terra cotta found at Ashur in the palace of Ashur-naṣir-pal iii (884—860 B.C.). He justly dismisses the notion that they are 'Phallusformen' (!), but does not even mention the highly probable view of their discoverer, that they are double axes.

[1] From the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 109 fig. 40 (size *circa* 1 : 4). D. G. Hogarth *ib.* p. 108 f. says: 'Remains of 18 undoubted double axes were recovered, all found in the Lower Grot, and in almost every case *in situ* in the stalactite niches. Two retained their shafts, and many bronze pins, found in the same region, had doubtless been attached to other axes. Two specimens are of almost pure copper (Nos. 3, 5). The largest of all the axe heads, a perfect example 280 millimetres long (No. 2), found in a niche of a small lateral hall near the head of the subterranean pool, shows lines, drawn with a fine tool, crossing the blades obliquely.' Etc.

[2] *Infra* Append. B Crete. Fig. 401 is reduced from D. G. Hogarth's plan in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi pl. 8.

[3] *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 100 f.

I immediately set others, especially women and boys, to examine the pillars systematically, and found the vertical crevices so productive that, leaving only a small gang to finish the upper earth, I concentrated all hands in the lowest depths. Some of the chinks contained as many as ten bronze objects apiece—blades, fibulae and an occasional votive double axe. These stood up edgeways in the slits and in many cases could not be extracted without smashing the stalactite, which had almost closed over them. How many more there may not be completely hidden in the pillars I cannot say, but I do not think we left an accessible

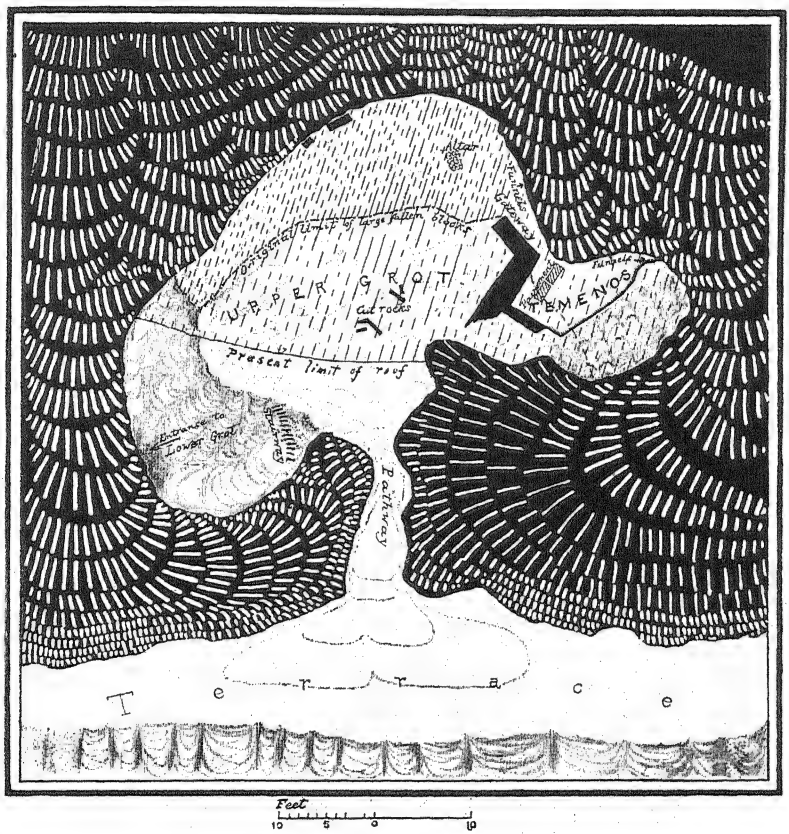


Fig. 401.

niche unexamined. Nor did we leave any part of the pebbly mud at the water's edge unwashed. Thence we obtained over a dozen bronze statuettes, and half a dozen engraved gems, beside handfuls of common rings, pins, and blades, perhaps sucked by floods out of the stalactite niches. In hope of the reward, which I gave for the better objects, and in the excitement of so curious a search, which, in their earlier illicit digging, it had not occurred to them to attempt, the villagers, both men and women, worked with frantic energy, clinging singly to the pillars high above the subterranean lake, or grouping half a dozen flaring li[illegible] 313, r a productive patch of mud at the water's edge. It was a grotes[illegible] without

precedent in an archaeologist's experience. But beyond a certain point the niches proved empty, and the icy water too deep to be dredged, and by the evening of the 14th there was no more to be done.'

The existence of wooden and stalactite columns into which axes were, so to speak, hafted throws light on another group of 'Minoan' monuments. Already in 1900 Sir A. J. Evans had drawn attention to two small chambers in the palace at Knossos, each of which contains a central pillar formed of four square gypsum blocks and

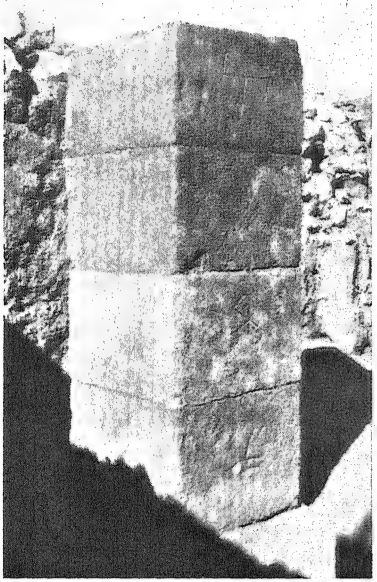


Fig. 402.

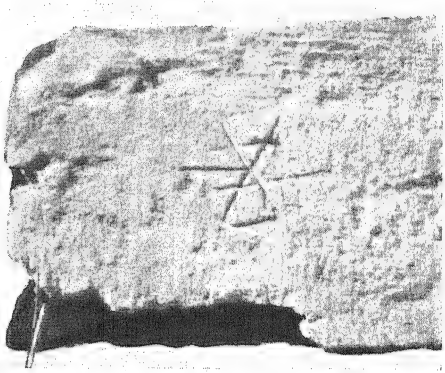


Fig. 403.

repeatedly engraved with the sign of the double axe (fig. 402)[1]. Commenting with great acumen on that signature he had said:

'There can, I venture to think, be little doubt that these chambers are shrines, probably belonging to the oldest part of the building, and the pillars thus marked with the sign of the God are in fact his aniconic images... It will be shown from a variety of evidence that the most typical form of the Mycenaean sacred pillar is represented as actually performing a structural function, and is in fact a "Pillar of the House[2]."'

[1] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 32—34 fig. 6. Figs. 402 and 403 are from photographs taken by me in 1901. The latter shows an interesting block, in the palace wall, with a trident incised on the top of a double axe ('Middle Minoan iii?' *Sch.* A. J. Evans *ib.* 1903—1904 x. 28).

[2] Sir A *Brit. S*[illegible]s in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 111 fig. 5.

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Subsequent discoveries strengthened this conjecture. In 1914 Sir Arthur was able to write:

'An interesting parallel, highly illuminating as to the cult connected with these pillars, was supplied by a small house dating from the last Middle Minoan Period excavated on the south-east borders of the Palace. Here in a small chamber of fine ashlar masonry..., was a central pillar, the upper block of which was exceptionally marked with the double-axe sign. At the foot of the pillar on the north side, moreover, was a small limestone base of stepped pyramidal form, with a socket above, corresponding with the stands of the sacred Double Axes as seen on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus... The pillar cult is here clearly brought into connexion with the divinity of the Double Axes—the great Minoan Goddess... In the case of many of the smaller pillar-rooms with a single pillar—such as those of the South-East House and Royal Villa at Knossos, that of the house on the hill of Gypsades, and those in the two small rooms at Phylakopi—there is no obvious structural reason for such a central support. Yet it is probable that in all cases these stone pillars served a constructive purpose, and their presence, even in small chambers easily spanned by beams, is accounted for in the most natural manner by the assumption that they acted as supports of the wooden columns of a chamber above, as seems to have been certainly the case with pillars of the sanctuary quarter in the Knossian Palace... Of the sanctity of such wooden columns as "Pillars of the House" there is abundant evidence among the representations on Minoan and Mycenaean works of art[1].'

It will be observed that, where Sir Arthur spoke formerly of a 'God,' he speaks now of a 'Goddess.' In my own opinion the double axe belongs primarily to the sky-god, secondarily to the earth-goddess associated with him, while the tree, or column, or pillar, belongs primarily to the earth-goddess, secondarily to the sky-god associated with her. The combination of axe and tree, axe and column, axe and pillar, implies the union of both[2]. I take it, then, that the double axe hafted into a tree, or affixed to a wooden column, or incised on a stone pillar, is sign and symbol of the god, whereas

[1] Sir A. J. Evans in *Archaeologia* 1914 lxv. 68 f.

[2] We should perhaps compare the tall beam pierced by an iron nail and erected in honour of Thor (?) by the Lapps of Finmark (*supra* p. 423 n. 3), and also the high-seat pillars of the old Norsemen with their sacred nails (*supra* p. 57 n. 1). With regard to the latter Miss N. Kershaw has kindly sent me (Nov. 9, 1920) the following references: *Eyrbyggia Saga* 4 'Thorolfr Mostrarskegg...sailed along the south coast [of Iceland] westward past Reykjanes... Thorolfr threw overboard his high-seat pillars, which had been standing in the temple. The image of Thor was carved on one of them. He declared his intention of making his home in Iceland at the spot where Thor brought them ashore. There he had a temple erected. It was a big building. There was a door in the side-wall near one end. Inside stood the high-seat pillars, and there were pegs in them which were called *regin-naglar**' [**naglar*, 'pegs.' The exact meaning of *regin* is uncertain. The word is used of the gods in the *Edda* poems.], *Landnamabok* 1. 6, 1. 7 f., 4. 5, *Vatnsdæla Saga* 15. See further G. Vigfusson—F. York Powell *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* Oxford 1883 i. 403, 406, ii. 686, E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 364, *id.* in Hoops *Reallex.* ii. 313, H. Falk *ib.* ii. 538 f.

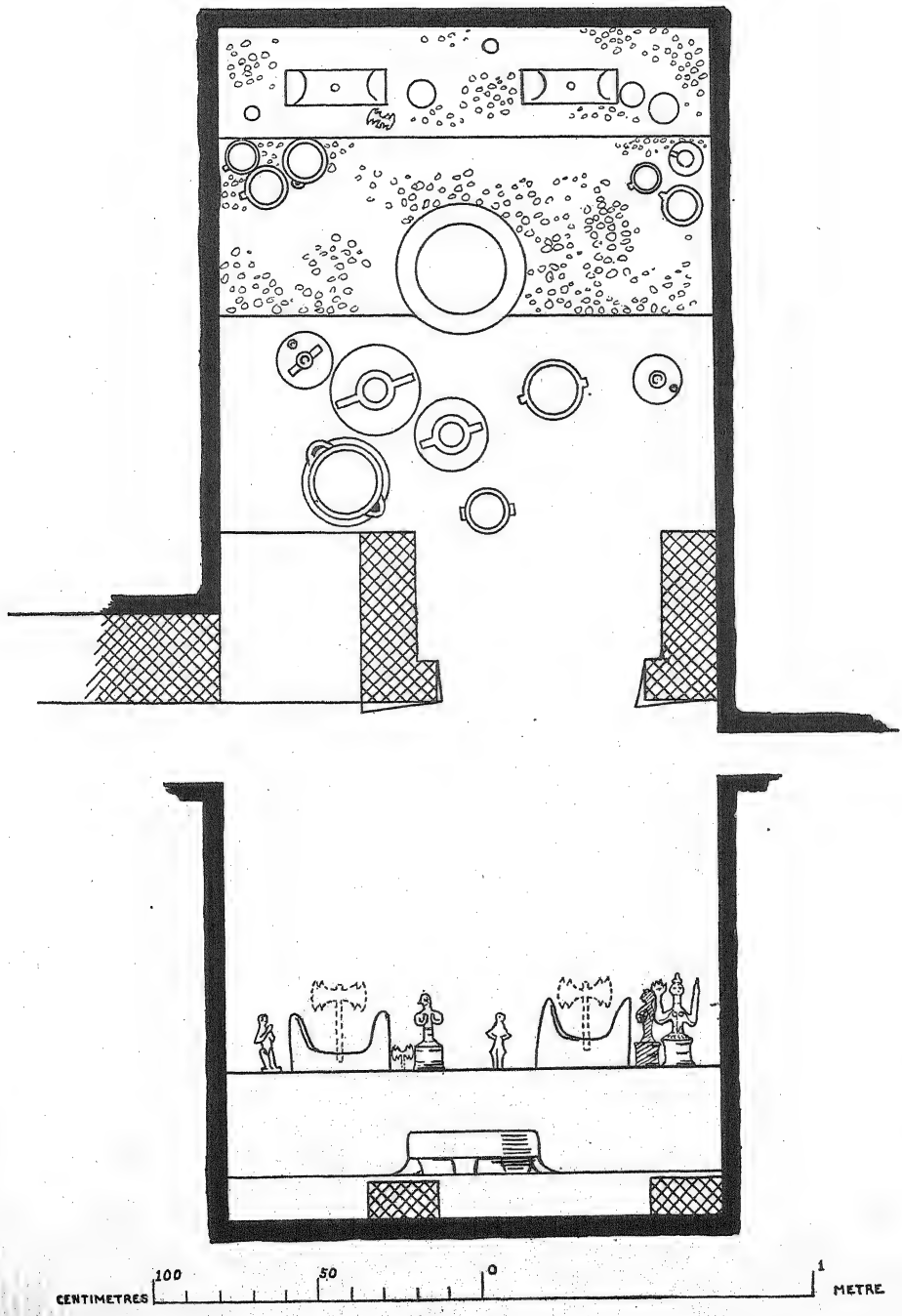


Fig. 404.

the tree, or column, or pillar, betokens the presence of the goddess—a view supported by the later emergence of the axe-bearing god[1] on the one hand and the pillar-shaped goddess or 'Caryatid[2]' on the other.

(δ) The double axe in relation to horns.

Fourthly, 'Minoan' religion brought the double axe into connexion with sacred horns. Of this we have already seen some examples[3]; and many more might be cited.

Fragments of pottery from Knossos show the double axe, in one case set between horns, in a second placed before a shrine[4]. An actual shrine of small size (only 1½ m. square) was found by Sir A. J. Evans in the Cnossian palace[5]. It was referable to the period of partial re-occupation ('Late Minoan iii'), and it was arranged as follows (fig. 404)[6]. On the floor of stamped clay were bowls and vases. A raised daïs or step had a plaster tripod fixed into its pebbly surface, on which stood also some cups and small jugs. A higher step with a pebbled floor and a plastered front had attached to it two pairs of horns made of white-coloured stucco with a clay core. Leaning against one of them was a miniature double axe of steatite with duplicated blades (fig. 405)[7]. And each pair of horns had a central socket, which in all probability was meant to receive the shaft of a double axe. On either side of these horned sockets stood painted terra-cotta figures of votaries and deities. To the left of the left-hand pair of horns was a male votary on a small flat base: he was wearing a loin-cloth and some sort of tunic laced behind, while he held out a dove as an oblation (fig. 406 *a*)[8]. To the right of the same horns was a goddess on a high cylindrical base: she had long hair falling down her back and over her shoulders; her head was turned towards the horns, and her hands were curved up over her breasts

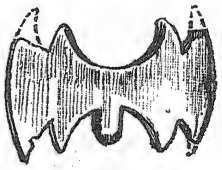


Fig. 405.

[1] *Infra* § 3 (c) i (ε).

[2] See now T. Homolle 'L'origine des Caryatides' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1917 i. 1—67 with six figs. and pl. 4 f.

[3] *Supra* pp. 517 f., 524 f., 528 f.

[4] D. Mackenzie in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1903 xxiii. 203.

[5] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 95—102 with figs. 55—57.

[6] *Id. ib.* p. 97 fig. 55 (redrawn in my fig. 404).

[7] *Id. ib.* p. 101 fig. 57 ('slightly enlarged') = my fig. 405.

[8] G. Maraghiannis *Antiquités Crétoises* Troisième Série Candie s.a. pl. 50 (part of which = my fig. 406).

(fig. 406 *b*)[1]. To the left of the right-hand pair of horns was a female votary, whose type (a half-sitting posture) and technique (punctures and incisions with white gypsum filling) were alike primitive. To the right of these horns were two goddesses. One of them, except for the fact that she had a plant design painted on her back, closely resembled the goddess already described. The other rose from a higher cylindrical base. She wore necklaces, armlets, and signets on her



a *c* *b*

Fig. 406.

wrists. She raised both hands, one palm outwards, the other in profile, and each with a dark band drawn across it. Her breast was painted with a pair of wings[2]; and her body ended in a pattern perhaps meant to recall the spread tail of a bird. On her head rested a dove (fig. 406 *c*)[3]. It is clear that the little sanctuary thus furnished

[1] *Id. ib.*

[2] So at least I have ventured to suggest (J. E. Harrison in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 156 n. 1).

[3] G. Maraghiannis *loc. cit.*

was *c.* 1400—*c.* 1200 B.C. used for oblations to two double axes, beside each of which was placed a goddess, or a pair of goddesses, and a

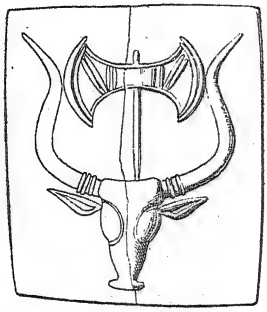
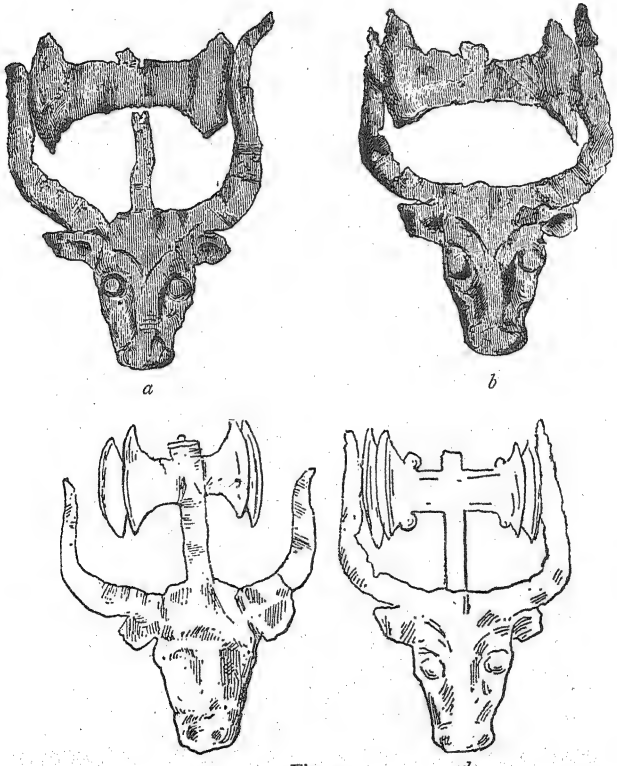


Fig. 407.



Fig. 408.



a *b* *c* *d*

Fig. 409.

single devotee. The duplication of the double axe, as in the cases of *Hagia Triada*[1] and Tenedos[2], suggests the joint cult of a god and a goddess.

[1] *Supra* p. 521.

[2] *Supra* p. 522, *infra* § 3 (c) i (ξ) and (ο).

An earlier[1] shrine of somewhat similar character was discovered by Miss H. A. Boyd, now Mrs Boyd-Hawes, at *Gournia* in eastern Crete[2]. Here too was a low earthen tripod thinly coated with plaster, 'four cultus vases bearing symbols of Minoan worship, the disk, consecrated horns and serpent, a terra-cotta female idol entwined with a snake, two heads of the same type as the idol, several small clay doves and serpents' heads, all of coarse terra cotta, and a fragment of a pithos, on which a double-ax and disk are modeled in relief[3].'

The horns that appear so frequently in connexion with the double axe are in all probability bovine. An agate intaglio from Knossos, belonging to the 'Late Minoan' period, shows a double axe rising between the curved horns of a bull's head (fig. 407)[4]. A lentoid sardonyx from the Argive Heraion, now in the Schliemann collection at Berlin, is engraved with a similar design (fig. 408)[5]. In the fourth shaft-grave at Mykenai were found about fifty-six specimens of bull's head-and-axe cut out of gold plate; some of these had a double axe of normal shape (fig. 409 *a*, *b*)[6]; others had its blades duplicated (fig. 409 *c*, *d*)[7]. Finally, a Mycenaean *kratêr* from Salamis in Kypros (*Enkomi*), preserved in the British Museum[8], is decorated

[1] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 105 says 'of still later date,' but *ib.* 1902—1903 ix. 84 n. 1 'perhaps contemporary (as most of the remains at Gournia) with the First Period of the Later Palace at Knossos.' See also R. M. Dawkins *ib.* 1903—1904 x. 195.

[2] H. A. Boyd-Hawes, B. E. Williams, R. B. Seager, and E. H. Hall *Gournia, Vasiliki and other prehistoric sites on the Isthmus of Hierapetra, Crete* Philadelphia 1908.

[3] H. A. Boyd in the *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution* for 1903—1904 Washington 1905 p. 570. See also C. H. & H. Hawes *Crete the Forerunner of Greece* London—New York 1909 pp. 93, 97 f., H. R. Hall *Ægæan Archæology* London 1915 p. 155 fig. 55, D. A. Mackenzie *Myths of Crete & Pre-Hellenic Europe* London s. a. p. 261 f.

[4] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 114 fig. 70 (=my fig. 407) completed and enlarged to a scale of $\frac{3}{1}$.

[5] H. Schliemann *Mycenæ* London 1878 p. 362 fig. 541 (=my fig. 408), Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 2, 42, ii. 13. The handle of the axe here points upwards, not downwards; and the device is flanked by two objects of doubtful character, perhaps sacred knots (see P. Wolters 'Faden und Knoten als Amulett' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1905 viii. (Beiheft) 1 ff., F. W. von Bissing 'Ägyptische Knotenamulette' *ib.* 1905 viii. 23 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo pp. 293—317 ('Knots and Rings tabooed'), I. Scheftelowitz *Das Schlingen- und Netzmotiv im Glauben und Brauch der Völker* Giessen 1912 pp. 1—64, C. Bonner 'The Sacred Bond' in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 1913 xliv. 233—245).

[6] H. Schliemann *Mycenæ* London 1878 p. 218 figs. 329, 330 (=my fig. 409 *a*, *b*), C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 249 fig. 249. It is noteworthy that in this fourth grave was found a fringed knot of alabaster (Schliemann *op. cit.* p. 242 fig. 352, Schuchhardt *op. cit.* p. 252 fig. 253).

[7] Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1899—1901 i. 198 figs. 33, 34 (=my fig. 409 *c*, *d*).

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* i. 2. 81 f. no. C 401 fig. 138, A. S. Murray—A. H. Smith—H. B. Walters *Excavations in Cyprus* London 1900 p. 38 f. fig. 67 no. 844.

with *bucrania* and ritual horns: both alike have a double axe set upon them (fig. 410)[1], and are plainly felt to be alternatives of like significance.

But what exactly did they signify? The old notion[2] that a single *bucranium*-and-axe denoted the sacrifice of an ox, and that a multiplicity of such symbols commemorated a hecatomb, will not do. The prominent position accorded to the axe, the duplication of its blades, the careful propping of its haft, imply that this was no commonplace tool, but a divine weapon. Are we then to conclude that the axe stands for the sky-god, and the ox-head for the sacrifice offered to him? The explanation is still inadequate; for why should an ox in particular be sacrificed to an axe or an axe-bearing god? and why

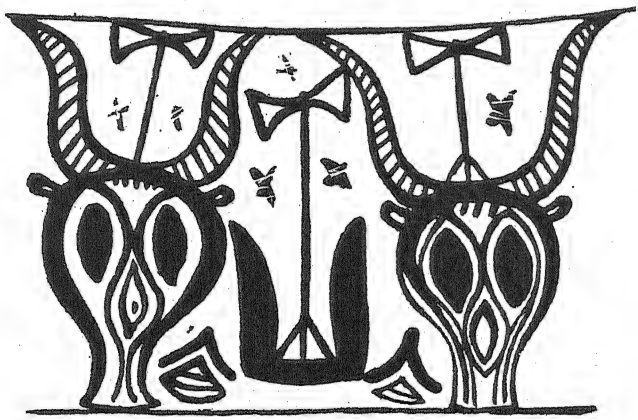


Fig. 410.

should the axe be set up between the ox-horns? To grasp the real meaning of this combination we must bear in mind (*a*) that the bull was the theanthropic animal of the Cretan Zeus, torn asunder in his service[3] and buried in his name[4]; (*b*) that ritual horns appear to have originated in the shrine of a buried bull, regarded as a centre or

[1] The design is completed by Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 107 fig. 3 (=my fig. 410), S. Reinach in *L'Anthropologie* 1902 xiii. 25 fig. 19, J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 480 fig. 204, 3.

[2] *E.g.* A. Milchhöfer *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland* Leipzig 1883 p. 116 f. ('vielleicht lediglich mit Beziehung auf die Opferhandlung'), Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* pp. 238 ('a symbol of sacrifice'), 240, Ch. Tsountas—J. I. Manatt *The Mycenaean Age* London 1897 p. 103 ('they are symbols of sacrifice offered to the dead, in conformity with the well-known ancient custom of offering to gods and heroes metal or terra-cotta simulacra of real victims'), W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 p. 301 ('perhaps representing sacrifice to the dead').

[3] *Supra* i. 660 ff. [4] *Supra* p. 345.

focus of life[1]; and (*c*) that the vital force of the divine beast was gathered into its horns[2], so that any object placed between them would be quickened to the uttermost. Was not this the right position for that dread weapon, which constituted the might of the Almighty?

Bucranium and double axe were for centuries associated in the popular mind. And the peculiar 'Minoan' combination of the two has left traces of itself over a wide area. L. Stephani published a pair of double axes (fig. 411) and eight *bucrania* (fig. 412) found in 1873 on the site of Olbia in Sarmatia[3]. They are flat lead castings with unworked back, and were presumably affixed to some smooth surface, perhaps that of a wooden coffin[4]. The *bucrania* are adorned with fillets and grape-bunches, occasionally also with ivy-leaves.

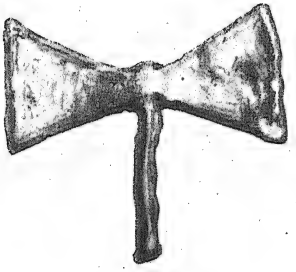


Fig. 411.

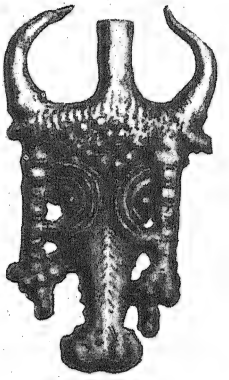


Fig. 412.

Between the horns in every case rises a vertical stem, which is hardly to be explained as a mere tag due to the casting, but more probably should be regarded as a vestige of the double axe once installed in that position of importance. R. Wünsch[5] has recently noticed that the Museum at Stettin possesses a large number of leaden *bucrania* from Pantikapaion (*Kerch*): most of them have an oblong handle between the horns, which he would complete by means of sundry loose heads of double axes found with the *bucrania* in question. Wünsch conjectures that these were amulets derived from the double axe of the ancient Cretan religion. Again, Count Albert de La

[1] *Supra* i. 508 ff. [2] *Supra* i. 499 ff.

[3] L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1873 p. xxix, *id. ib.* 1874 p. 32 f. Atlas pl. 1, 18 (=my fig. 411) and 24; 15, 16, 17, 19 (=my fig. 412), 20, 21, 22, 23.

[4] See E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 373 f. fig. 277.

[5] R. Wünsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 632 f., *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1914 xviii. 227.

Marmora[1] in 1840 described and figured a thin *plaque* of lead in the Capuchin Museum at Palma, said to have come from the *talayot* of Son-Texeguet near Lluc-Major in Minorca (fig. 413). He supposed that it was of Phoenician or Carthaginian origin, and suggested, shrewdly enough, that it looked rather like the skin of an ox-head. The horns have degenerated into concentric circles like the eyes. And four small holes show that it was suspended as an amulet. A close parallel to it was published in 1892 by É. Cartailhac[2] from the

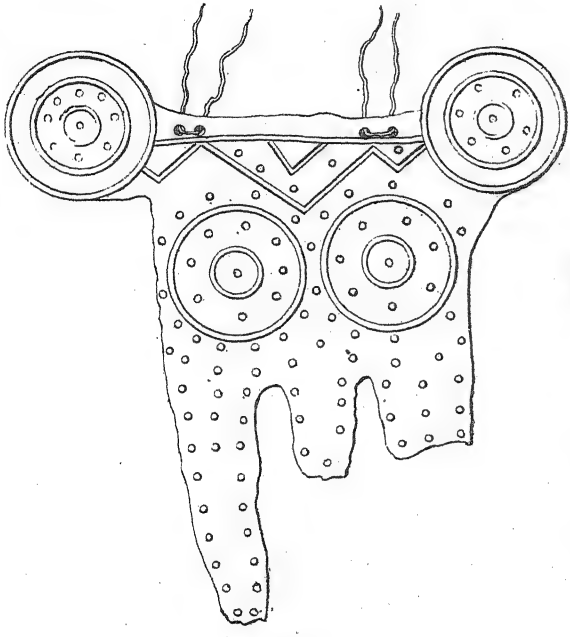


Fig. 413.

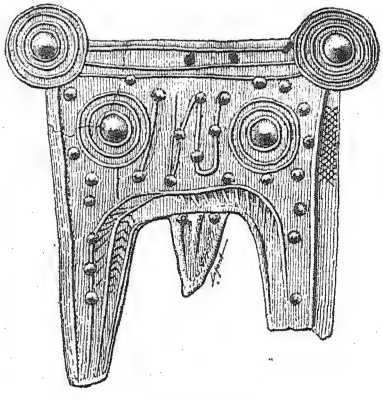


Fig. 414.

collection of M. Moragues (fig. 414)—another thin leaden *plaque* apparently representing a conventionalised *bucranium* with a similar treatment of the horns and eyes.

The decadence of the 'Minoan' type can, however, be best seen in the old indigenous pottery of Apulia. In 1908[3] I drew attention

[1] Le Cte A. de La Marmora *Voyage en Sardaigne* Paris 1840 ii. 533 Atlas pl. 39, 4 (=my fig. 413).

[2] É. Cartailhac *Monuments primitifs des îles Baléares* Toulouse 1892 p. 68 f. fig. 82 (=my fig. 414 inverted), J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 476.

[3] 'The Cretan Axe-cult outside Crete' in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 188 f. figs. 6, 7, 8, 9.

to certain specimens of this ware[1] now in the British Museum[2]. They are flat bowls with a high handle shaped like a pair of bovine horns. It differs from the ordinary *ansa lunata* or *Mondhenkel* of North Italy and Central Europe, because it represents the forehead and eyes of the beast as well as the horns. It has also an additional



Fig. 415.



Fig. 416.



Fig. 417.

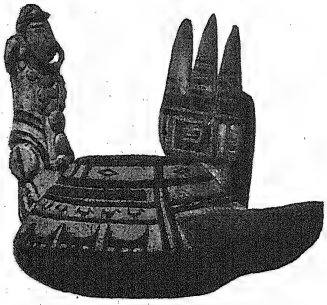


Fig. 418.

feature of interest. Between the horns rises what I took to be a stylised form of the double axe (fig. 415). This double axe, if such

[1] See the elaborate articles of M. Mayer 'Ceramica dell' Apulia preellenica i. La Messapia' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 201—252 figs. 1—22 pl. 10, 'ii. La Peucezia' *ib.* 1899 xiv. 13—80 figs. 1—20 pls. 2—5, 'Die Keramik des vorgriechischen Apuliens iii. Daunia' *ib.* 1904 xix. 188—243 figs. 1—11 suppl. pl. 1, 276—316 figs. 14—17 suppl. pls. 2 and 3, 'iv. Daunia (Fortsetzung) v. Tarent' *ib.* 1908 xxiii. 167—262 figs. 1—9 pls. 8 and 9 suppl. pls. 1—10.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* i. 2. 266 f. nos. H 253 pl. 27, H 254 pl. 27, H 252 pl. 27. My figs. 415—418 are from photographs by the Museum photographer. H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* i. 2. 264 assigns the ware to the period *c.* 700—500 B.C.

it be[1], tends to become vestigial (fig. 416), and sometimes disappears altogether (fig. 417). That we are on the right track in explaining these handles by a reference to 'Minoan' cult appears further from sundry vessels of similar fabric but different shape (fig. 418)[2]. Here we have a handle adorned with three cones grouped together in a manner suggestive of a lotus-bud. Before them stands a priestess with ear-rings, necklace, etc., who seems to be presenting the contents of this remarkable vase. Its body is painted with decorative bands, including a frieze of birds and a row of ritual horns quite in 'Minoan' style. Further, the 'hour-glass' ornament, so characteristic of these local Apulian vases[3], may well be viewed as a simple derivative of the double axe. It will be remembered that we have already come across literary evidence also of a 'Minoan' cult persisting into Hellenic times at Tarentum[4].

(ε) The deity of the double axe.

Thus far we have seen that the double axe, whether hanging in mid air or hafted into a tree or affixed to a pillar or set up between horns, is at least intelligible if viewed as the sky-god's weapon.

That this sky-god was conceived in human form is not only *a priori* probable, but *a posteriori* certain. We have observed him as an armed deity descending from above on the gold signets of Mykenai (fig. 18)[5] and Knossos (fig. 19)[6] and on the painted *lárnax* of Miletos (fig. 20)[7]. It is true, he was not actually holding his two-bladed weapon. But Sir A. J. Evans, *à propos* of the double axe on the Mycenaean ring, very justly remarked: 'It stands in a natural relation to the small figure of the warrior God to the left, and probably represents one of the cult forms under which he was worshipped[8].' Moreover, thanks to the kindness of a friend, I am

[1] M. Mayer in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1908 xxiii. 217: 'Zwecklos wäre es auch, an gewisse kretische Symbole, das Hörnerpaar mit der Doppelaxt, hier erinnern zu wollen.' Masner *Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien* p. 4 no. 38 pl. 1 mistook the whole arrangement for an idol with raised arms (!), and H. B. Walters *loc. cit.* p. 267 speaks of 'a vertical projection ending in two discs, perhaps intended for a rude human head.' It is, of course, quite conceivable that the double axe had become degraded (or exalted) into human features.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* i. 2. 271 no. H 263 pl. 28, *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 189 fig. 9. Cp. M. Mayer in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1908 xxiii. 194 ff. no. 15 pl. 8, 4 and col. pl. 9, no. 16 suppl. pl. 1, 4, no. 17 suppl. pls. 1, 5, 3, 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* i. 2. 270 f. no. H 262 pl. 28.

[3] *E.g. Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 206 f. no. 5 fig. 2, 207 f. no. 6 fig. 3, 211 no. 14 fig. 7.

[4] *Supra* p. 29 ff.

[5] *Supra* pp. 47 ff. fig. 18, 514 ff.

[6] *Supra* p. 49 fig. 19.

[7] *Supra* p. 49 f. fig. 20.

[8] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 108.

enabled here to publish (fig. 419)[1] a lenticular gem of onyx-marble, probably from Melos, now in his possession. It shows a bearded god with wings on his shoulders[2] and winglets on his heels, who is



a

Fig. 419.

rushing through the air with a double axe in his hand. We can hardly be wrong in identifying him as the 'Minoan' sky-god in his stormy aspect.

It would seem, then, that, just as various nations of antiquity worshipped axe[3] or spear[4] or sword[5] meaning thereby to extol the

[1] Fig. 419 is drawn from an impression, to the scale of $\frac{2}{1}$. Fig. 419 *a* is a sketch of the gem itself.

[2] In accordance with a well-known convention of archaic art (*e.g.* Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 38 no. 301, E. Gerhard in *Arch. Zeit.* 1854 xii. 180 ff. pl. 61 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 380, 4, F. Studniczka in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1751 f. fig. 7), which aptly illustrates E. Loewy's law of memory-pictures, the wings, seen in their greatest extension, are simply superposed on the figure without organic connexion.

[3] The Egyptian term for 'god,' 'spirit,' 'supernatural power' is *neter*—a word of very uncertain origin. The hieroglyph that is used both as the determinative of this word and also as an ideograph is . Thus or  denotes 'god,' and or or or 'gods.' Birch, Brugsch, Budge and other competent Egyptologists hold that represents an axe-head let into and fastened in a long wooden handle (E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 63 ff. and A. Wiedemann in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 275. See also F. Legge in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* 1899 xxi. 310 f., A. Mosso *The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilisation* London 1910 p. 145 fig. 83). A dissentient is F. Ll. Griffith *A Collection of Hieroglyphs* London 1898 p. 46 col. pls. 3, 26 (=my fig. 421), 8, 114 (=my fig. 420), who says: 'A roll of yellow cloth (for bandaging?), the lower part bound or laced over, the upper end appearing as a flap at the top, probably for unwinding... In N. K. hatchets were made which in outline resemble this figure, perhaps intentionally. It is possible, indeed, that the present object represents a fetish, e.g. a bone carefully wound round with cloth, and not the cloth alone; but this idea is not as yet supported by any ascertained facts.' The green colouring of the handle in the two figures here given suggests that the haft of the sacred axe was conceived as a living vegetable stem, cp. the *sarcophagus* of *Hagia Triada* (*supra* p. 520 f.). Griffith *op. cit.* p. 63 f. col. pl. 5, 60 (=my fig. 422) is a graphic compound consisting of an open stand or funnel (?), an axe,

and a desert slope, together forming the word-sign for ḥr·t nṯr (ḳher·t neṯher), 'that which belongs to a god,' *i.e.* the necropolis or place of the dead.

P. E. Newberry likewise demurs to the view that the *neter*-sign is an axe. In a letter to me, dated Oct. 3, 1908, he says: 'In outline it certainly looks as though it was so, but whenever the sign is coloured the coloured detail shows that it must have been a post (?) wrapped with a band of linen the end of which formed a kind of flag.' But, if this able scholar denies us the single axe, he grants us the double axe; *vide* his important paper 'Two Cults of the Old Kingdom' in the *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1908 i. 27: 'In the Fifth Dynasty there twice occurs†† [†† Mar. *Mast.*, D. 38, now in the National Museum at Copenhagen, No. 5129; Borchardt's, *Abusir*, p. 120; M. A. Murray, *Index*, pl. XXXIV.] a title  ... *khet* '*khet*-priest of the Double Axe'‡‡ [‡‡ The Double Axe as a symbol is found as early as the First Dynasty in Egypt (Petrie *R.T.I.*, VII, 12, and Quibell,

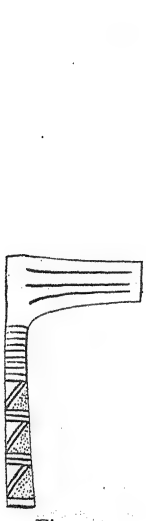


Fig. 420.

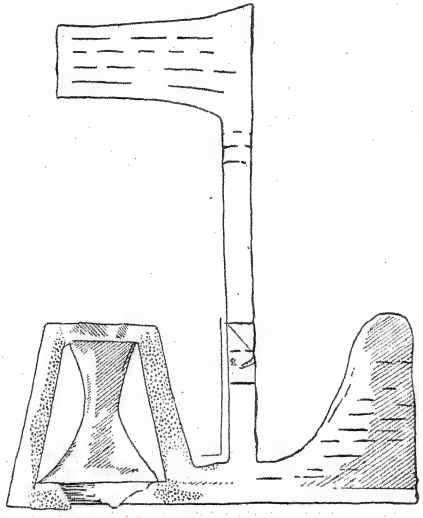


Fig. 422.

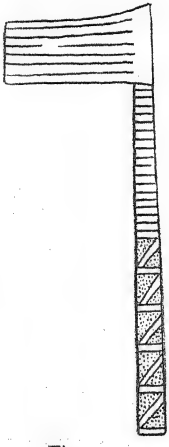


Fig. 421.

Hierakonpolis II, LXVIII).], which it is possible may be connected with HA, for in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty is recorded an Amasis who was  'Priest of HA of the Double Axe?'§§ [§§ *A.Z.*, XXXVIII, 116.] The context shows that HA is the name of a cult-object or divinity representing a mountain with two or more crests. And Newberry compares the Double Axe of 'Minoan' Crete with its 'Horns of Consecration.'

Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *Tools and Weapons* London 1917 pp. 5—18 pls. 1—18 deals with the various forms of axe and adze found in Egypt and elsewhere, but does not include any detailed discussion of their religious significance.

A cylinder of grey chalcedony, now in the British Museum (no. 89470, as Dr R. Eisler kindly informs me), shows an Assyrian priest presenting a sacrifice to a deity, who is symbolised by a knobbed sceptre and an axe set upright on a high-backed throne. Behind the throne crouches an *ibex* or *oryx*, above which are the emblems of Ištar, Sin, and Sibitti (A. de Longpérier in the *Bulletin archéologique de l'Athenæum français* 1855 i. 101 f. = G. Schlumberger *Œuvres de A. de Longpérier* Paris 1883 i. 170 with fig. (= my fig. 423), *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 184 f. fig. 2, W. H. Ward in M. Jastrow *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1912 p. 110 pl. 56, no. 226). The deity thus repre-

sented by axe and sceptre is perhaps Adad, who on a cylinder of rock-crystal in the Museum at Florence (J. Ménant *Les pierres gravées de la Haute-Asie* Paris 1883—1886 ii. 60 fig. 52 (=my fig. 424), *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the*

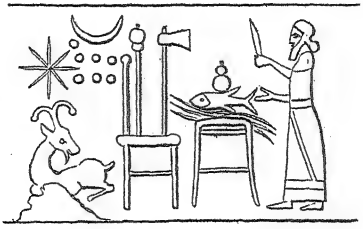


Fig. 423.



Fig. 424.

History of Religions Oxford 1908 ii. 184 f. fig. 3) and on other cylinders (W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* Washington, D.C. 1910 p. 251 figs. 764, 766, *id.* in Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 106 pl. 53, no. 200, *supra* i. 576 f. fig. 446, cp. i. 577 fig. 447) bears an axe in his hand. The adoration of an axe erected as the symbol of a god lasted on into the Persian period, to judge from a seal-stone published by J. Ménant *op. cit.* ii pl. 9, 7 (=my fig. 425), *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 185 fig. 4, which possibly illustrates the *axinomantia* of the Magi (*infra* § 3 (c) i (ψ)).

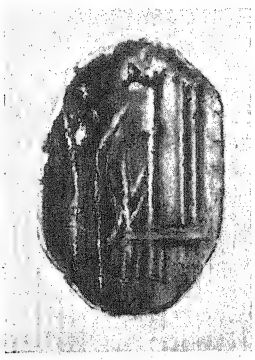


Fig. 425.

The flint held in the hands of those that swore the ancient oath by Iupiter *Lapis* (Polyb. 3. 25. 6 ff. Διὰ Λίθου, Cic. *epist. ad fam.* 7. 12. 2, Paul. ex Fest. p. 115, 4 ff. Müller, p. 102, 11 ff. Lindsay, Plout. *v. Sull.* 10, Apul. *de deo Socr.* p. 132 Oudendorp, Gell. 1. 21. 4), and the flint or flints taken by the Fetiales from the temple of Iupiter *Feretrius* for the purpose of striking a treaty (Liv. 1. 24, 9. 5, 30. 43, Paul. ex Fest. p. 92, 1 f. Müller, p. 81, 16 ff. Lindsay) and deemed equivalent to the effigy of Iupiter himself (interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 641, cp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 12. 206), are best explained as unhafted neolithic celts (G. B. de Rossi in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867 xxxix. 24 f., E. B. Tylor in J. L. Strachan-Davidson *Selections from Polybius* Oxford 1888 p. 77 n. 1, W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 231, *id. The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 p. 130. I have said my say on the subject in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 365).

Barbarised copies of the *drachmé* of Rhode (*Rosas*) in Spain (shortly before *c.* 250 B.C.), struck in silver by the Volcae Tectosages of Gallia Narbonensis and the Sotiates of Aquitania, often exhibit an axe, the type of which is referable usually to the La Tène period, but sometimes to the Hallstatt period, and even to the Bronze Age (R. Forrer *Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donaulande* Strassburg 1908 p. 47 f. figs. 90—92, p. 67 fig. 118, p. 69 f. figs. 126 f., 129—134, pl. 5, 118, 129—134, pl. 22, 127, *id. Reallex.* p. 73 pl. 23, 11—20). It is at least possible that these axes are symbols of an axe-bearing god like Esus (Lucan. 1. 444 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 21), who in Gallia Lugudunensis was associated with Iovis and Volcanus, and in Gallia Belgica with Mercurius and Rosmerta (?) (*supra* i. 481 n. 9: see further S. Reinach 'Teutatès, Esus, Taranis' in the *Revue celtique* 1897 pp. 137—149=*id. Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1905 i. 204—216, M. Ihm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 694 ff.).

Latin tomb-inscriptions from Gallia Lugudunensis are very frequently marked with the sign of an adze, either incised or carved in relief, and end with the *formula*: 'So-and-so dedicated this monument under the adze.' The phrase *sub ascia dedicare* has for the last two centuries provoked the curiosity of the learned. Monographs have been devoted to it, and the literature is already large (a helpful summary in Sir J. E. Sandys *Latin Epigraphy* Cambridge 1919 pp. 78—82). Most scholars, including A. Mau in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1522 f., take it to mean that the monument was dedicated before it was finished, being still, so to say, 'under the adze' of the stone-mason. But O. Hirschfeld, who has edited these inscriptions for the Berlin *Corpus*, records his emphatic opinion that the tombs in question were under the protection of some Gallic divinity symbolised by a sacred adze (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii p. 256). And É. Guimet *L'Ascia des Égyptiens* Lyon 1872 has adduced certain facts which point clearly in the same direction. For example, at Avignon ten sepulchral urns of stone were found arranged in a circle with a bronze axe in the middle of them (*id. op. cit.* p. 1), while in some Italian *columbaria* the urns are covered with a tile of marble or terra cotta on which is the representation of an adze—they are literally *sub ascia* (*id. ib.* p. 2 pl. 1, 10).

A parallel to these Gallic tombstones 'dedicated under the adze' may be found in certain runic tombstones dedicated under, or at any rate marked with, the hammer of Thor. Two good examples from Hanning and Læborg in Denmark were published by H. Petersen *Ueber den Gottesdienst und den Götterglauben des Nordens während der Heidenzeit* trans. M. Riess Gardelegen 1882 pp. 39—41 fig. 1 f., cp. P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 239. The parallel suggests that the adze on the Gallic tombs was, like Thor's hammer, the tool of a thunder-god.

R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 765, after Küentzle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1018, explains *et. Gud.* p. 581, 1 f. καὶ ἄτρον (*leg.* ἄστρον) οὕτω (*leg.* οὗτω) καλούμενον (*sc.* Ὡρίων), ἡ λεγομένη Σκεπαρνέα as an allusion to the shape of the constellation ('das Orionsternbild wegen seiner Form ·⁝· als σκέπαρνον = "Doppelaxt" aufgefasst wurde').

[2] Kaineus once planted a javelin in the midst of the market-place and bade men count it as a god (schol. *Il.* 1. 264, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 101, 14 f.): the proverb τὸ Καινέως δόρυ arose from the fact that he forced passers by to swear by his spear (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 57). Parthenopaios the Arcadian used to swear by his spear and reverence it more than a god (Aisch. *s. c. Th.* 529 f.). The god whom the Chaeroneans honoured most was the sceptre that Hephaistos had made for Zeus. It had subsequently belonged to Hermes, Pelops, Atreus, Thyestes, Agamemnon. The Chaeroneans worshipped it, calling it Spear (Δόρυ). It had no temple; but the man who acted as priest kept it in his house for a year. Sacrifices were offered to it daily, and a table was set beside it covered with all sorts of flesh and cakes (Paus. 9. 40. 11 f.: *supra* i. 406. See further *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 371 f.).

The oldest image of Mars at Rome was a spear (δόρυ, *hasta*) kept in the *Regia* and apparently addressed as *Mars* (Varro *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 46. 4 p. 35, 23 f. Stählin and Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 11, Plout. *v. Rom.* 29, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 3).

[3] The Scythian cult of Ares, according to Hdt. 4. 62, was as follows. Bundles of

power that wielded them[1], so the 'Minoans' paid divine honours to the double axe *qua* sign and symbol of an anthropomorphic sky-god.

But an important question remains to be answered. What was the name of this dread deity? He was, we have said, the consort of the great 'Minoan' earth-goddess, whom the Greeks continued to reverence at Knossos as Rhea[2]. Now in Greek myth the husband of Rhea is invariably called Kronos[3]. It follows that Kronos was the name by which the Greeks knew the axe-bearing sky-god of the 'Minoans.' Tradition declared that Kronos and Rhea had reigned together in Crete[4]. And some interesting details of the local cult are on record. Istros the historian, a learned follower of Kallimachos, in his *Collection of Cretan Sacrifices* noted that the Kouretes had in ancient times sacrificed children to Kronos[5]. Xenion

brushwood were heaped together till they formed a stack three stades long and wide. On this stack was constructed a level square. Three sides of it were sheer, the fourth sloping. Every year 150 carts brought brushwood to keep up the stack, which had a tendency to settle down in the winter. An ancient iron scimitar (*ἀκινάκης*) set on the stack was viewed as the image of Ares. To it was brought a yearly sacrifice of sheep and horses. Also one out of every hundred prisoners taken alive in war was sacrificed. The Scythians poured wine on the men's heads, slew them over a vessel, and drenched the scimitar with their blood. Others below cut off the right shoulders and arms of the victims, flung these into the air, and, leaving them to lie where they fell, offered the rest of their sacrifices and departed.

The Alani had no temple, but fixed a naked sword (*gladius*) in the ground with barbaric rites and worshipped it as Mars, the chief of the steppes through which they roamed (Amm. Marc. 31. 2. 23).

Attila, lord of the Hunni, was emboldened by the discovery of the sword (*gladius*) of Mars, which the kings of the Scythians always regarded as sacred. A herdsman noticed one of his heifers limping, followed the blood-drops, and found the sword, upon which the heifer while feeding had accidentally trodden. He dug up the sword and brought it to Attila, who thereupon deemed that he was ruler of the world and that the sword of Mars made him irresistible in war (Priscus Panites *frag.* 8. Bekker—Niebuhr (p. 224 ed. Bonn.) *ap.* Iordan. *de Getarum sive Gothorum origine et rebus gestis* 35. The original Greek account by Priscus (p. 201 ed. Bonn.) is somewhat less detailed). Cp. *infra* § 3 (c) i (*σ*).

Silver coins of the Bituriges, imitated from the gold *statér* of Philip ii (359—336 B.C.) of Makedonia, introduce a short sword of La Tène type over the horse on the reverse (R. Forrer *Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donaulande* Strassburg 1908 p. 47 fig. 89). This perhaps implies the cult of the sword (cp. A. de Longpérier in the *Bulletin archéologique de l'Athenæum français* 1855 i. 102=G. Schlumberger *Œuvres de A. de Longpérier* Paris 1883 i. 171).

[1] See an eminently reasonable article on 'Weapon-worship' by A. Lang in the *Morning Post* for Oct. 14, 1910.

[2] *Supra* i. 649 n. 3.

[3] See *e.g.* A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 88 ff. (who, however, does not believe that Rhea was *ab origine* a Cretan goddess).

[4] Kedren. *hist. comp.* 29 B (i. 52 Bekker) *κατὰ τούτους δὲ τοὺς χρόνους* (*sc.* anno mundi 3413) *ἐν οἷς Ἰσαὰκ ἐγεννήθη, ἐν Κρήτῃ ἄρξαι Κρόνον καὶ Ῥέαν Ἕλληνες ἱστοροῦσι.*

[5] Istros *frag.* 47 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 424 Müller) *ap.* Porph. *de abst.* 2. 56 *Ἴστρος δὲ ἐν τῇ Συναγωγῇ τῶν Κρητικῶν θυσιῶν φησὶν τοὺς Κουρῆτας τὸ παλαιὸν τῷ Κρόνῳ θύειν παῖδας* =Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 7.

too in his work *On Crete* told how the cave on Mount Ide called *Arkésion* had come by its name. It had 'helped' (*arkésai*) the Kouretes, when they fled from Kronos and concealed themselves in its depths[1]. Since the Kouretes in the rites of Zeus *Idaîos* posed as Zagreus[2], the infant thunderer slain by the Titans[3], it is probable that originally one of the initiates was done to death and eaten by the rest as a re-birth of the 'Minoan' sky-god[4]. The grim legend of Kronos swallowing his own children finds at last an explanation[5].

And here it is permissible to conjecture that the word *Krónos*, whatever it meant to 'Minoan' ears, was understood by the Greeks as 'Chopper[6]'—a name appropriate, not only to the axe-bearer, but to the axe that he bore. The distinctive Homeric epithet of Kronos is *ankylométes*[7], which I would interpret as 'he of the crooked blade[8]'

[1] Xenion *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 528 Müller) *ap. et. mag.* p. 144, 33 ff. Ἀρκέσιον· οὕτω καλούμενον ἄντρον τῆς Κρητικῆς Ἴδης· παρὰ τὸ ἀρκέσαι, τὸ βοηθῆσαι, φασὶν αὐτὸ ὑπὸ Κουρήτων ὀνομασθῆναι, ὅτι τὸν Κρόνον αὐτοῖς φεύγουσι, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ καταδυεῖσι (F. Sylburg cj. καταδῦσι) καὶ κρυπτομένοις, ἐπήρκεσεν. οὕτω Ξενίων ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κρήτης.

[2] *Supra* i. 648 ff. [3] *Supra* i. 398 f., 647. [4] *Supra* i. 654 ff.

[5] For previous attempts to explain the myth see M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1538 ff. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 425 speaks of it as 'den an ein Menschenopfer sich anlehnenden Mythos von der Verschlingung der eigenen Kinder.'

[6] As *θρόνος* is derived from the root *dher* (Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 187, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 349 f.), and *χρόνος* from the root *gher* or *ĝher* (Prellwitz *op. cit.* p. 515), so *Κρόνος* presupposes the *κερ* of *κείρω*, 'I cut.' My expert friend Dr P. Giles, whom I consulted on the matter, kindly sends me (Oct. 22, 1911) the following *responsum*: 'your derivation seems to be quite possible. The root would be in the weak grade *κρ-* and the suffix *-ονο-*' (see further Append. A.). The connexion of *Κρόνος* with *κείρω* had, in fact, long since been divined by that acute investigator H. D. Müller *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme* Göttingen 1861 ii. 137 f. ('Auch sein Name ist wohl der physischen Seite seines Wesens entlehnt. Derselbe, von *κείρω*,...ist = *ὁ κείρων*, was entweder...geradezu auf den Erndtegott sich beziehen lässt oder auf seine mythische That des Verzehrens, Verschlingens'), cp. *id.* in *Philologus* 1857 xii. 555 f. Support for it may be found in the words *κόρνος*, 'prick' (Hesych. *s.v. κόρνος· κέντρον. μυρσίνη* (M. Schmidt accepts Stephanus' cj. *κεντρομυρσίνη*, cp. Hesych. *s.v. σκόρνος*). *Σικελοί*), *κορνώπιδες*, 'pricking beasties' (Hesych. *s.v. κορνώπιδες· κώνωπες*, cp. Strab. 613 *Κορνοπίωνα* = Eustath. *in Il.* p. 34, 26). Other derivations of *Κρόνος* are listed by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1104 n. 2. Add now A. Carnoy 'Le nom de Cronos' in *Le Musée Belge* 1920 xix—xxiv. 14—20 (cp. Celtic *Cera*, Italian *Cerus-Ceres*: the root is that of *creo, cresco*).

[7] H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1885 i. 14 *s.v. ἀγκῠλο-μήτης*. The same word was used as an appellative of Zeus (Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 no. 13 *ἀγκυλομήτεω* (*sc.* Διός), 266 no. 1 *ἀγκυλομήτεω* (*sc.* Διός), 274 *ἀγκυλομήτης* (*sc.* Ζεύς), 282 *ἀγκυλομήτης* (*sc.* Ζεύς)), and of Prometheus (Hes. *theog.* 546 *Προμηθεὺς ἀγκυλομήτης*, *o. d.* 48 *Προμηθεὺς ἀγκυλομήτης* with Proklos and Moschopoulos *ad loc.* In Orph. *h. Kron.* 13. 7 Kronos himself is addressed as *Ῥέας πόσι, σεμνὲ Προμηθεῦ*, on which see M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1546).

[8] The analogy of *ἀγκυλότοξος* suggests that the epithet is objective, not subjective. For the second element in it see Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 482 *s.v.* 'meto,' I mow: 'Idg. **met-* steht neben **mē-*...oder **amē-* in gr. *ἀμάω* "mähe, ernte," *ἀμάομαι* "sammle" ..., ahd. *māan*, ags. *māwan*, nhd. *mähen*, ahd. *mād* "Mahd," ags. *mæþ* "das Mähen, das gemähte Heu" = gr. *ἀμητός* "abgemähte Frucht, abgeerntetes Feld."'

This interpretation has been in part anticipated by E. Hoffmann *Mythen aus der*

in allusion to the god's *hárpe* or sickle-knife—a Thracian[1] weapon found also among many peoples of Asia Minor[2] (fig. 426)[3]. Saturn, as successor of Kronos, sometimes has a *hárpe* (fig. 427)[4] instead of his usual sickle or bill-hook.

An analogous figure, at once weapon-divinity and divine weapon, occurs among the Hittite rock-carvings of Boghaz-Keui. In the small gallery at Iasily Kaya may be seen a remarkable relief, some



Fig. 426.



Fig. 427.

eleven feet high, which represents (fig. 428)[5] a vast dagger stuck vertically into the ground. Closer inspection shows that the handle is a human head wearing a conical cap with ribs and rings, and that below it, where we look for human shoulders and a human body, there is a curious combination of four lions, two with heads facing outwards, and two hung downwards each by a single hind-leg. Beneath the lions is the great tapering blade with its raised midrib. I would venture to regard this *Mischwesen* as no mere

Wanderzeit der graeko-italischen Stämme i *Kronos und Zeus* Leipzig 1876 pp. 63 f., 82, who supposes that Kronos, being armed with a sickle-shaped ἅρπη or ξάγκλη, was originally entitled 'Αγκυλο-μήδης, 'Sichel-Herrscher,'—a title later altered into the epithet ἀγκυλο-μήτης. Hoffmann, I conceive, was on the right track as regards the first half of the compound, but spoiled his explanation by an improbable, and indeed unnecessary, guess as to the second half.

[1] Clem. Al. *strom.* i. 16 p. 49, 2 f. Stählin ναὶ μὴν Θρᾷκες πρῶτοι τὴν καλουμένην ἅρπην (πάρμην cod. L.) εὗρον· ἔστι δὲ μάχαιρα καμπύλη = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 10. 6. 6.

[2] S. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 970, M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1545.

[3] J. N. Svoronos *ap.* M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1557 fig. 8 (=my fig. 426) draws attention to a coin of Tarsos, struck by Valerianus i (253—260 A.D.) and now at Athens, which shows a bald-headed god moving to the left with a *hárpe* in his hand.

[4] *E.g.* Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 294 (wrongly described) pl. Neria, 1, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 253 f. fig. (=my fig. 427), G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 430 fig. 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 504 nos. 3950–3952 pl. 49, 11. This head appears on coins struck by the two *quaestores urbani*, who administered the *aerarium Saturni* (Babelon *op. cit.* i. pp. xl, xlix, ii. 657 Index).

[5] G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie* etc. Paris 1872 i. 358 f., ii pls. 49 and 50, 3, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 642 figs. 318 (face incorrectly turned to right) and 320, J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 pp. 228, 239 ff., 360 pl. 70 (=my fig. 428), Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 131, 139 f., E. Meyer *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* Berlin 1914 p. 100 f. fig. 77.

'heraldic figure[1],' but as the youthful consort of the Hittite earth-



Fig. 428.

[1] J. Garstang *op. cit.* p. 228. Perrot—Chipiez *loc. cit.* say cautiously: 'un dieu.' J. Garstang *op. cit.* p. 239 f. would identify 'the dirk-deity'...' with the Sandon of Tarsus, Hercules son of Zeus,' pointing out that Hercules too wore a lion-skin. Frazer *op. cit.*[3] i. 139: 'their god was a lion, or rather a lion-man, a being in whom the bestial and human

mother. And that for two reasons. On the one hand, he is evidently a lion-god, and so a fit partner for a lion-goddess like Rhea[1]. On the other hand, he is a cutting blade, and so comparable with *Krónos*, the 'Chopper.' J. Garstang[2] and Sir J. G. Frazer[3] both agree that this dagger-god with his beardless head and leonine body must be identified with the youthful god standing on a lioness (?) in the large recess of the same rock-sanctuary[4]. And it will be remembered that the god in question carries a double axe as well as a short sword. But the double axe, as we have observed, was the weapon of the sky-god. It is, therefore, reasonable to surmise that the divine Dagger plunged into the ground, like the divine Axe hafted into a leafy stem, betokens the all-important union of Sky with Earth.

Returning to Kronos, we note that the 'Minoan' representation of him as posting through the sky with four wings[5] is not without Anatolian parallels. Silver coins of Mallos in Kilikia exhibit a four-winged and sometimes Janiform god hasting on his way with a disk in his hands; and we have already adopted the view that he is a solar Kronos[6]. Similarly bronze coins of Byblos in Phoinike, struck by the Syrian kings from Antiochos iv Epiphanes (175—164 B.C.) to Antiochos viii Grypos (125—96 B.C.)[7] or issued as autonomous and imperial pieces in the first century B.C., show Kronos, the founder of the city[8], as a nude deity equipped with three pairs of wings. He stands resting his right hand on a sceptre and wearing a head-dress of feathers (fig. 429)[9]. This representation of the god

natures mysteriously co-existed.' E. Meyer *op. cit.* p. 100: 'das Symbol eines mächtigen Gottes des Krieges und der Jagd' (cp. *ib.* p. 100 f. fig. 78 a relief from Sinjerli of a winged lion with a human head growing upright from his neck behind the ears).

[1] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900—1901 vii. 28 ff. fig. 9 published a clay sealing from a recess off the central court of the palace at Knossos, which shows a warrior-goddess on a mountain-top flanked by two lions, with a male worshipper to the right and a sacred edifice to the left ('the prototype of the later Kybelê and Rhea'). *Id. ib.* 1902—1903 ix. 59 f. figs. 37 f. published two clay seal-impressions from the 'Temple Repositories' of the same palace. One represents a warrior-goddess accompanied by a lion; the other, a warrior-god accompanied by a lioness (?). *Id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 163—168 figs. 43 and 44 f. further illustrates the 'Minoan' seal-types of a god or a goddess between two lions and concludes: 'The male divinity is not so much the consort as the son or youthful favourite. The relationship is rather that of Rhea than of Hera to Zeus, of Adonis rather than of Arês to Aphroditê.'

[2] J. Garstang *op. cit.* p. 240. [3] Frazer *op. cit.*[3] i. 139.

[4] *Supra* i. 599 n. 6, 603, 605 fig. 476.

[5] *Supra* p. 544 fig. 419. [6] *Supra* i. 297 f. figs. 221—223.

[7] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 791. G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. lxii states: 'Byblus seems to have been a mint of the Seleucidae only from the time of Antiochus iv (175—164) to that of Antiochus vii (138—129).'

[8] Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 568 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* i. 10. 19.

[9] E. Babelon *Les Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène* Paris 1890 p. 85 no. 671 pl. 14, 18, Imhoof-Blumer *Choix de monn. gr.*[1,2] pl. 7, 224 Antiochos iv (=my fig. 429),

agrees in the main with the description of him given by Sanchouniathon[1], whose words are thus rendered by Philon of Byblos[2]:

'Moreover, he (*sc.* the god Taautos, *i.e.* Thoth) devised a mark of royalty for Kronos, four eyes in front and behind, < two of them wide awake > and two quietly closing, and four wings on his shoulders, two of them as it were spread for flight, and two as it were drooped. This symbolised the fact that Kronos saw while he slept and slept while he waked; and likewise with his wings, that he flew while he rested and rested while he flew. To each of the other gods he assigned two wings upon the shoulders, on the ground that they shared in the flight of Kronos. Again, he gave Kronos two feathers on the head, one for the sovereignty of mind and one for sense-perception.'

The same four-winged deity appears in *quasi*-Assyrian garb as the central medallion of a silver-gilt bowl of *s.* vii (?) B.C., found by



Fig. 429.



Fig. 431.



Fig. 432.



Fig. 430.

L. P. di Cesnola at Kourion in Kypros and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York[3]. The god, armed with a short sword, is stabbing a lion—a type which recurs on a silver bowl from Idalion now in the Louvre[4]—, and about him hover two Egyptising hawks.

The double axe of the 'Minoan' Kronos is combined with the *hárpe* of the post-'Minoan' Kronos on certain coppers of Ake (*'Akka, St Jean d'Acre*) or Ptolemaïs in Phoinike discussed by G. F. Hill (figs. 431, 432)[5]. These show a god standing in an *aedi-*

id. Monn. gr. p. 442 nos. 13 and 13 *bis* Antiochos iv, no. 14 Antiochos v, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia pp. lxiii f., lxix, 97 pl. 12, 5 and 98 pl. 12, 8 autonomous, 99 Augustus, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 791. See further A. Judas in the *Rev. Num.* ii Série 1856 i. 395 pl. 13, 7 autonomous (=my fig. 430), cp. *ib.* p. 394 pl. 13, 5 (countermark).

[1] *Supra* i. 191.

[2] Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 569 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* i. 10. 36 f. The context in general is discussed by Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 347 ff., and the treatment of Kronos in particular by M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1498 ff., cp. W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 p. 297 f.

[3] L. P. di Cesnola *Cyprus* London 1877 p. 329 fig., G. Colonna-Ceccaldi *Monuments antiques de Chypre de Syrie et d'Égypte* Paris 1882 p. 166 ff. pl. 10, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 787 ff. fig. 552, J. L. Myres *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* New York 1914 p. 461 no. 4554 fig.

[4] Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 778 ff. fig. 548.

[5] G. F. Hill 'Some Graeco-Phoenician Shrines' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 63 f. pl. 4, 32 and 34, *id.* in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 135 pl. 17, 5

cula or portable shrine with an Egyptian cornice: he holds a double axe in his right hand, a *hárpe* in his left, and is flanked by the fore-parts of two bulls.

When the Bronze Age passed into the Iron Age, the 'Minoan' Kronos was succeeded by the Hellenic Zeus—a succession facilitated by the similar character of the two gods. O. Gruppe[1] points out that Kronos, like Zeus, was worshipped on mountains, many heights in Greece[2], Libye, Italy, Sicily, and the west[3] being

(=my fig. 431) Elagabalos, p. 138 pl. 17, 10 (=my fig. 432) Gallienus, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 794.

[1] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1105 n. 1.

[2] (1) To the north of the Altis at Olympia rises τὸ Κρόνιον (ὄρος) (Pind. *Ol.* 1. 111, 6. 64, *Nem.* 6. 63, Xen. *Hell.* 7. 4. 14, Diod. 15. 77, Plout. *de fluv.* 19. 3, Paus. 5. 21. 2, 6. 19. 1, 6. 20. 1, cp. *Anth. Pal.* 12. 64. 2 (Alkaios Mess.) where Salmasius cj. *αἰπεινῷ*... *ὑπὸ Κρονίῳ* for *αἰπινῆι*...*ὑπὸ κρονία* cod.), otherwise called ὁ Κρόνιος λόφος (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 34, *et. mag.* p. 426, 20 f.) or the like (Pind. *Ol.* 8. 17 *πὰρ Κρόνου λόφῳ*, 10. 49 f. *πάγον* | Κρόνου, 11. 25 *παρ' εὐδένδρῳ*...*ὄχθῳ Κρόνου*), on the top of which the *Basílai* offered sacrifices to Kronos at the spring equinox in the Elean month Elaphios (Paus. 6. 20. 1, cp. Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 34). (2) Ptol. 3. 16. 14 with schol. *ad loc.* mentions a Κρόνιον in Lakonike. (3) Bekker *anecd.* i. 273, 20 f. Κρόνιον *τέμενος· τὸ παρὰ τὸ νῦν* 'Ολύμπιον *μέχρι τοῦ* Μητρῴου *τοῦ ἐν ἀγορᾷ* (leg. *ἐν* "Αγρᾳ or *ἐν* "Αγραις: see C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1874 i. 227, *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 888). (4) P. Chiotis Ἱστορικὰ Ἀπομνημονεύματα *τῆς νήσου Ζακύνθου* Κερκύρᾳ 1849 i. 15 (cited by M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1485) speaks of *σκόπελοι Κρόνιοι* in Zakynthos.

[3] Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 71 p. 123, 7 ff. Wünsch ὁ *δὲ* Κράτης (C. Wachsmuth *De Cratete Mallota* Lipsiae 1860 p. 71 *frag. sedis incertae* 9) *τὸν Κρόνον φησὶ* Σικελίας *καὶ* Ἰταλίας *καὶ τοῦ πλείστου μέρους τῆς Λιβύης βασιλεῦσαι ἀπηνῶς, τὸν δὲ τούτου υἱὸν ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν εἰς ἔσχατον ἐλάσαι τῆς δύσεως, ἡμερώτατα δὲ τῆς βασιλείας ἀντιλαβέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμηθῆναι ὡς θεόν*, 4. 154 p. 170, 6 ff. Wünsch *καὶ βασιλεῦσαι δὲ αὐτὸν* (*sc.* Κρόνον) *ἡ ἱστορία πα<ρα>δίδωσιν, <ὡς ἔμπρο>σθεν ἀφηγησάμην, κ<ατά> τε τὴν Λιβύην <καὶ> Σικελίαν <καὶ τοὺς ἑσπερίους τό>πους καὶ π<ό>λιν κτίσαι, ὡς ὁ Χάραξ φησὶ* (*frag.* 17 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 640 Müller)), *τ<ὴν τότε μὲν λεγ>ομένην Κρονίαν, νῦν δὲ* Ἱερὰν πόλιν, *ὡς* Ἰσίγονος *<περὶ Παλ>ικῶν θεῶν* (*frag.* 20 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 437 Müller)) *καὶ* Πολέμων (*frag.* 102 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 148 Müller)) *καὶ* Αἰσχύλος *ἐν τῇ Αἴτνῃ* (*frag.* 11 Nauck[2]) *π<αραδιδόασιν ἢ ὡς πᾶσ>α ἡ ἱστορία κατὰ τὸν Εὐήμερον* (G. Némethy *Euhemeri reliquiae* Budapestini 1889 *frag.* 10) *ποικίλλ<εται, κ.τ.λ.>*, Diod. 3. 61 *δυναστεῦσαι δέ φασι τὸν Κρόνον κατὰ Σικελίαν καὶ Λιβύην, ἔτι δὲ τὴν* Ἰταλίαν, *καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἑσπέραν τόποις συστήσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν· παρὰ πᾶσι δὲ φρουραῖς διακατέχειν τὰς ἀκροπόλεις καὶ τοὺς ὀχυροὺς τῶν τόπων [τούτων]· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν χρόνου κατά τε τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν νεύοντα μέρη πολλοὺς τῶν ὑψηλῶν τόπων ἀπ' ἐκείνου Κρόνια προσαγορεύεσθαι*, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 44 de patre eorum Saturno id negari potest, quem vulgo maxime colunt ad occidentem?

Saturn was much in evidence throughout Roman Africa, where the Phoenician *Ba'al-ḥammân* (*supra* i. 353 f.) was Latinised as *Saturnus* and on occasion Grecised as *Krónos* (J. Toutain *De Saturni Dei in Africa Romana cultu* Lutetiæ Parisiorum 1894, *id. Les cités Romaines de la Tunisie* Paris 1896 pp. 213 ff., 222 f., *id. Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain* Paris 1907 i. 247 f., A. Schulten *Das römische Afrika* Leipzig 1899 p. 20 ff., G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 441 ff., *id. Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 208). To give but a single example, Saturnus *Balcaranensis* (also *Balcaranesis, Balcharanensis, Balkharanensis*), that is *Ba'al Qarnaim*, 'Lord of the Two Horns,' was worshipped near Carthage on a two-peaked mountain, which still bears the name *Djebel Bou-Kournein*. Here on the highest summit the god had a *témenos* and an altar of masonry set against

the rock, but no temple. J. Toutain 'Le sanctuaire de Saturnus Balcaranensis' in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 1892 xii. 1—124 figs. 1—3 pls. 1—4 (F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2822 f., M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1500 f.) has published the finds made on this interesting site. They include some 60 terra-cotta lamps, a cylindrical jar containing bones of birds (probably doves), a few other vases, some small copper coins, and no less than 365 votive inscriptions (a selection in Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4444[a]—4445), many of them accompanied by reliefs (*e.g.* pl. 1, 2=my fig. 433, pl. 1, 4=my fig. 434, pl. 1, 6=my fig. 435). The dedication takes various forms: *Saturno Augusto sacrum* or *Saturno Domino* or *Saturno Sancto*. And frequently the local epithet is added: *Saturno Augusto Balcaranensi*, *Saturno Balcaranensi Augusto*, *Saturno Domino Balcaranensi Augusto*; *sacerdos dei magni Balcaranensis*. M. Mayer *loc. cit.* observes that the god is always represented as a mere bust in a pediment, flanked by his bill-hook and *patera*, with Sol and Luna in the spandrels, and ingeniously suggests that he is an anthropomorphised *baitylos*. The 'Two Horns' recall the Egyptian hieroglyph of a desert



Fig. 433.

mountain (F. Ll. Griffith *A Collection of Hieroglyphs* London 1898 p. 31 col. pl. 3, 38), in which P. E. Newberry 'Two Cults of the Old Kingdom' in the *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1908 i. 24 ff. figs. 1—15 finds the prototype of the 'Minoan' ritual horns. He has argued his case well; but I adhere to my view that the 'Minoan' horns were originally bovine.

An island in the Ionian Gulf was known as Κρονία and gave its name to the Κρονία θάλασσα (Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 32, cp. Ap. Rhod. 4. 327). Italy as a whole was sacred to Kronos—χῶροι δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦ δαίμονος ἐπώνυμοι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ σκόπελοι καὶ τὰ μετέωρα (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 34). For the identification of Kronos with Saturn and its results on Italian soil see G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 432 ff.

Sicily too had its Κρόνιον (Diod. 15. 16, Polyain. 5. 10. 5). The most noteworthy link between this island and Kronos is, however, the tradition that, not merely the god's sickle (*supra* p. 448 n. o), but the god himself lay buried here (Philochoros *frag.* 184 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 414 Müller) *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 30. 3 p. 22, 14 ff. Stählin Φιλόχορος δὲ ἐν Τήνῳ Ποσειδῶνά φησι τιμᾶσθαι ἰατρόν, Κρόνῳ δὲ ἐπικεῖσθαι Σικελίαν καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν τεθάφθαι, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 25 noster ille est auctor, qui Patrocles Thurius (*Frag. Gr.*

frag. p. 830 Nauck[2]) scriptorum in titulis indicatur, qui tumulos memorat reliquiasque Saturnias tellure in Sicula contineri? (Arnobius has apparently misread the context in

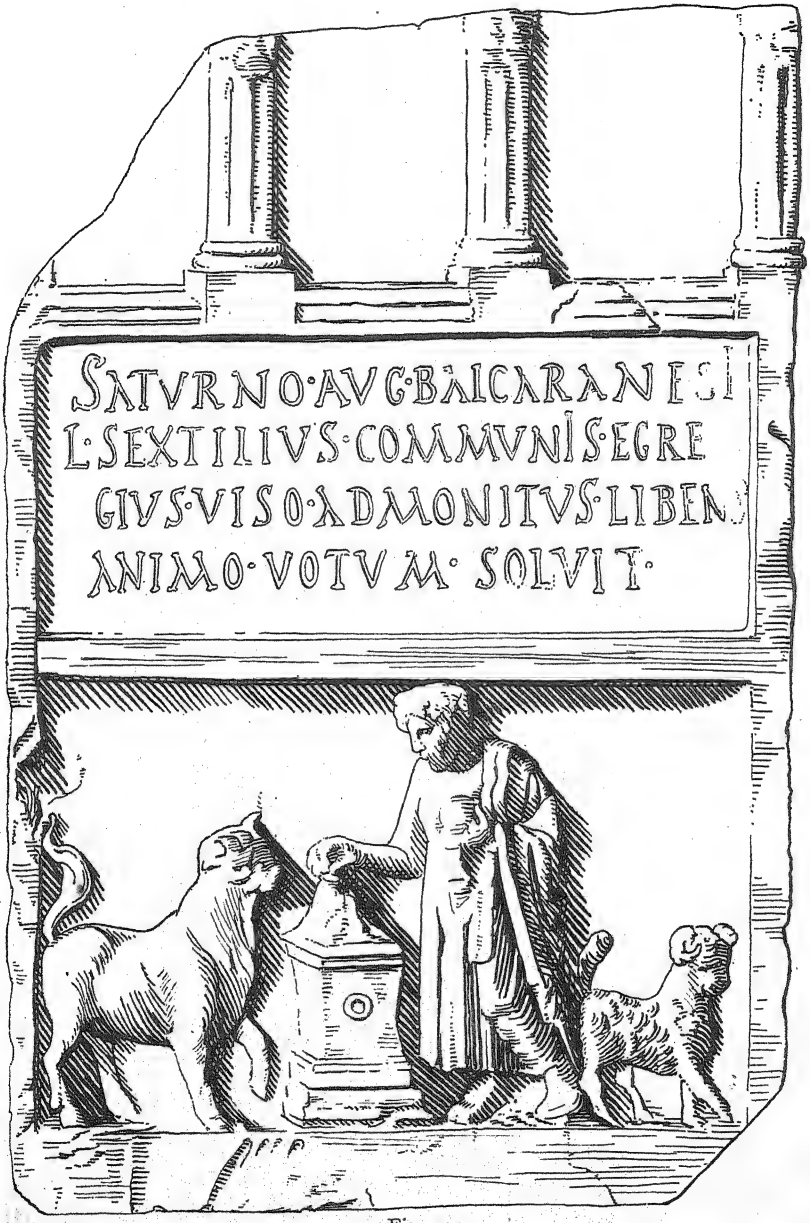


Fig. 434.

Clemens *loc. cit.*)). It is very possible that this belief in a Sicilian grave of Kronos, comparable with the Cretan grave of Zeus, was a genuine heritage from 'Minoan' times.

named after him, and that the memory of him as a rain-god[1],



Fig. 435.

Finally, near Carthago Nova in Spain was yet another Hill of Kronos (Polyb. 10. 10. 11 *προσαγορεύεται* Κρόνου, Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 19 a promunturio, quod Saturni vocatur).

[1] Allegorizing philosophers identified Kronos with dark air (anon. *ἀλληγορίαι ὀνομάτων θεῶν* in A. Westermann *Scriptores poeticae historiae Graeci* Brunsvigae 1843 p. 328, 11 f. *Ζεὺς ὁ καθαρὸς ἀὴρ καὶ τὸ ἄνω ἡμισφαίριον, Κρόνος ὁ ζοφώδης ἀὴρ καὶ τὸ κάτω ἡμισφαίριον*, cp. Tzetz. *Hom.* 289 *τοὔνεκα Νὺξ κατέβαινε ποτὶ Κρόνον ἠερόεντα*); Egyptians, with water (Sallustius *περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου* 4 *οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι...αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα θεοὺς νομίσαντες καὶ καλέσαντες· καὶ Ἶσιν μὲν τὴν γῆν, Ὄσιριν δὲ τὸ ὑγρόν, Τυφῶνα δὲ τὴν θερμότητα, ἢ Κρόνον μὲν ὕδωρ, Ἄδωνιν δὲ καρπούς, Διόνυσον δὲ οἶνον* with J. Conrad Orelli *ad loc.* Cp. interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 12 quod Saturnus humoris totius et frigoris deus sit); 'dwellers in the west,' with winter (Theopompos *frag.* 293 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 328 Müller) *ap.* Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 69 *τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν οἰκοῦντας ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ καλεῖν τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα Κρόνον, τὸ δὲ θέρος Ἀφροδίτην, τὸ δὲ ἔαρ Περσεφόνην· ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης γεννᾶσθαι πάντα*, cp. Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 61, 22 Kroll *διὸ καί φασι τῶν ὡρῶν τὴν μὲν χειμερινὴν εἶναι Κρονίαν, κ.τ.λ.*): neo-Platonists associated him with the pole (Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 213, 4 f. Kroll *τοῦ μὲν Κρόνου τὸν πόλον εἶναί φασι σύμβολον· κ.τ.λ.*, cp. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 115. 5 an oracle *ap.* Porph. *περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 6. 1. 4 *ὑψιπόλοιο Κρόνοιο*, Nonn. *Dion.* 41. 350 *ὑψιπόλοιο* (A. Ludwich cj. *ὑψιπόροιο*) Κρόνου). And nascent etymology connected his name with the words *ῥόος* or *κρουνός* (Plat. *Crat.* 402 B regards both Ῥέα and Κρόνος as *ῥευμάτων ὀνόματα*, Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 12 = H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 546 b 21 ff. *καὶ Κρόνον [μὲν τὸ]ν τοῦ ῥεύ[μ]ατος ῥ[όο]ν, Ῥέαν δὲ τὴν γῆν, Δία δὲ τὸν αἰθέρα* (*supra* i. 29 n. 4), cp. *et. mag.* p. 540, 9 ff. *Χρύσιππος δέ φησιν ὅτι καθύγρων ὄντων τῶν ὅλων καὶ ὄμβρων καταφερομένων πολλῶν τὴν ἔκκρισιν τούτων Κρόνον ὠνομάσθαι*, Porphyrios in schol. B. D. *Il.* 15. 21 *καὶ Ἡσίοδος Οὐρανὸν μὲν λέγει τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν, Κρόνον δὲ τὸν ἄνωθεν κρουνηδὸν ἐπιφερόμενον ὄμβρον, Ῥέαν δὲ τὴν ἐπιρρεομένην ὕδασι γῆν, κ.τ.λ.*).

More weight attaches to the Pythagorean description of the sea as 'Kronos' tear' (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 32 *τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν λεγόμενον ὡς ἡ θάλαττα Κρόνου δάκρυόν ἐστιν*, Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 8 p. 360, 20 f. Stählin *τοιαῦτα καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ᾐνίσσοντο...*

if not also as a lightning-god (fig. 436)[1], lingered on into classical times.



Fig. 436.

Κρόνου...δάκρυον τὴν θάλασσαν ἀλληγοροῦντες, Porph. *v. Pyth.* 41 ἔλεγε δέ τινα καὶ μυστικῷ τρόπῳ συμβολικῶς, ἃ δὴ ἐπιπλέον Ἀριστοτέλης (*frag.* 191 Rose) ἀνέγραψεν, οἷον ὅτι τὴν θάλατταν...ἐκάλει εἶναι (V. Rose cj. Κρόνου) δάκρυον. The Ophite sect of the Peratai in one of their sacred books described an androgynous primeval power, which ἐκλήθη Θάλασσα. ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν ἡ ἀγνωσία ἐκάλεσε Κρόνον, κ.τ.λ. (Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 14 p. 184 Duncker—Schneidewin, where Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 515 f. would alter Θάλασσα into Θαλάτθ, from ילד 'to beget,' in view of Berosos *frag.* 1. 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* Müller ii. 497) *ap.* Alex. Polyhist. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 210 Müller) *ap.* Synkell. *chron.* 29 C (i. 52 Dindorf) ἄρχειν δὲ τούτων πάντων γυναῖκα ᾗ ὄνομα Ὁμόρωκα· εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο Χαλδαϊστὶ μὲν Θαλάτθ, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ μεθερμηνεύεσθαι θάλασσα, cp. Damask. *v. Isid.* 115 *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 343 b 21 f. Bekker ὅτι Φοίνικες καὶ Σύροι τὸν Κρόνον Ἦλ καὶ Βὴλ καὶ Θολάθην (so H. A. Hamaker for βολάθην, βολαθὴν, βωλαθὴν codd.) ἐπονομάζουσιν. M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1475 cites Stob. *ecl.* 1. 5. 14 p. 77, 16 Wachsmuth =Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 3. 147. 10 (Theon Al. seu Hermes) δάκρυ μέν ἐστι Κρόνος, Ζεὺς δ' ἡ γένεσις, λόγος Ἑρμῆς | κ.τ.λ. from a poem on the seven planets).

Again, there seems to have been a popular belief that rain was the sweat of Kronos; for a charm preserved in a magical papyrus of *s.* iv A.D. makes the magician identify himself with Kronos (?): 'I am he whose sweat is rain falling upon the earth to impregnate it' (F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 64 ff. no. 46, 150 ff. ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἀστράπτων | καὶ βροντῶν· ἐγώ εἰμι, οὗ ἐστιν | ὁ ἱδρὼς ὄμβρος ἐπιπειπτων (*leg.* ἐπιπίπτων) ἐ|πὶ τὴν γῆν, ἵνα ὀχεύῃ· κ.τ.λ., A. Dieterich *Abraxas* Leipzig 1891 p. 25, M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1474). Hence Nonnos speaks of 'Kronos dropping rain' (Nonn. *Dion.* 6. 178 ἅτε Κρόνος ὄμβρον ἰάλλων, *supra* i. 398).

The planet Kronos likewise brought rain, hail, wind, and thunderstorms (Epigenes of Byzantion *ap.* Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 7. 4. 2 huic videtur plurimum virium habere ad omnes sublimium motus stella Saturni: 'haec cum proxima signa Marti premit aut [in] lunae viciniam transit aut in solis incidit radios, natura ventosa et frigida contrahit pluribus locis aëra conglobatque. deinde si radios solis adsumpsit, tonat fulguratque: si Martem quoque consentientem habet, fulminat,' Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 336 Saturnus deus pluviarum est... hic autem in Capricorno facit gravissimas pluvias, et praecipue in Italia...ut in Scorpio grandines: item in alio fulmina: in alio ventos = Myth. Vat. 3. 1. 3 stella Saturno deputata ortu suo tristitiam semper denuntiat. illa enim in Capricorno posita pluvias gravissimas, sed praecipue in Italia, commovet...in Scorpio vero grandines, item in alio signo fulmina, in alio ventos, in aliis alia nocua apportat).

[1] The Paris magical papyrus contains a μαντεία Κρονική, in which Kronos is invoked as a god of thunder and lightning (C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 98 pap. Par. 3102 βροντοκεραυνοπάτωρ, on which A. Dieterich *Abraxas* Leipzig 1891 p. 79 n. 9 remarks: 'Man beachte den Rest metrischer Form, die dieses Mühlenlied gewiss gehabt hat'). Cp. also a charm in the Anastasy papyrus (C. Wessely *op. cit.* p. 106 pap. Lond. 151, 155=F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 64 ff. no. 46, 150 f. ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἀστράπτων | καὶ βροντῶν, *supra* p. 558 n. o). For the planet Kronos in relation to thunderstorms see the preceding n. *sub fin.*

A unique silver *litra* of Himera, struck *c.* 413—408 B.C., has for obverse type a bearded head of Kronos, bound with a fillet, and for reverse a thunderbolt between two corn-grains (Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 21 pl. B, 4 (=my fig. 436), M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1553 fig. 5, G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* Westminster 1903 p. 128, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 145). It is probable, though not quite certain, that we should connect the front of this coin with the back and recognise in the combined design a deity with his attributes.

(ζ) The double axe and Zeus *Kataibátes*.

We are, therefore, prepared to find that towns and districts formerly occupied by 'Minoans' might centuries later connect Zeus with the double axe that had belonged to his predecessor. This seems to have been the case, for example, in south Italy. Tradition derived the Iapyges from the Cretan followers of king Minos; and in Iapygia 'bolts from heaven forged of bronze were long to be seen.' The deity who hurled these bolts—'fire and bronze from the sky'—had a pillar-cult, and was called by the Tarentines Zeus *Kataibátes*[1]. A strong presumption is thus raised that the old 'Minoan' sky-god had here passed on the double axe of bronze to his Hellenic successor Zeus[2].

(η) The double axe and Zeus *Labráyndos*, etc.

The same thing happened repeatedly in Asia Minor. Evidence is forthcoming from Lydia, Karia, Kypros, and Kappadokia. Plutarch propounds, as one of his *Hellenic Questions*[3], the following problem: 'Why does the image of Zeus *Labradeûs* in Karia bear an uplifted double axe, and not a sceptre or a thunderbolt?' His solution is this:

'Because Herakles slew Hippolyte, took her double axe along with the rest of her weapons, and gave it as a gift to Omphale. The kings, who, after Omphale, reigned over Lydia[4], used to carry it, receiving it in succession as a sacred heirloom, till Kandaules, disdaining to do so, gave it to one of his friends to carry[5]. But when Gyges revolted from him and made war against him, Arselis[6] came from Mylasa[7] with a force to help Gyges, and slew Kandaules and his friend. The double axe he took into Karia together with the rest of the spoils. He made

[1] *Supra* pp. 29—31.

[2] Not improbably bronze axes, regarded as thunderbolts (C. Blinkenberg *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* Cambridge 1911 p. 121), were from time to time dug up in the locality. *E.g.* T. E. Peet *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily* Oxford 1909 p. 423 records the finding of a bronze winged axe in the *terramara* at Taranto.

[3] Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 45 διὰ τί τοῦ Λαβραδέως Διὸς ἐν Καρίᾳ τὸ ἄγαλμα πέλεκυν ἠρμένον, οὐχὶ δὲ σκῆπτρον ἢ κεραυνόν, πεποίηται;

[4] See now Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 182 ff. ('The Divinity of Lydian Kings').

[5] G. Radet *La Lydie et le monde grec au temps des Mermnades* (687—546) Paris 1893 pp. 88 f., 129 f.

[6] M. Duncker *Geschichte des Alterthums*[5] Leipzig 1878 i. 488 conjectured that Ἀρσηλις was not a historical personage, but the name or epithet of the Zeus of Mylasa—'eine Vermuthung, die dadurch Gewissheit wird, dass Chars-El in den semitischen Sprachen: Beil des El, Beil Gottes bedeutet[2] [[2]Lassen Z. D. M. G. 10, 381].' This ingenious explanation, first put forward by C. Lassen in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* x. 381, is rightly rejected by R. Schubert *Geschichte der Könige von Lydien* Breslau 1884 p. 32 f. and G. Radet *op. cit.* p. 136 n. 2.

[7] A. Meineke corrects ἐκ Μυλέων codd. into ἐκ Μυλασέων.

an image of Zeus, put the double axe in his hand, and named the god *Labradeús* —for the Lydians call the double axe *lábrys*[1].'

Thus, according to Plutarch, the double axe belonged successively to the Amazons, the Lydians, and the Carians.

It is, in fact, constantly associated with the Amazons, and that in two forms—the double axe with a pair of blades (*lábrys*, *pélekys*, *amphipélekkon* (?)[2], *bipennis*) and the battle-axe with one broad blade and one pointed end (*ságaris*, *securis*). These types appear in art from the fifth century B.C. onwards, and thence make their way into literature as part of the regular Amazonian equipment[3]. Now the Amazons stand in intimate relation to the Hittites[4], and both types of axe occur on Hittite monuments[5]. The double axe in particular is borne by the youthful god who stands on a lioness (?) at Boghaz-Keui[6], and by his successor Herakles (Sandas) at Tarsos[7]. I should therefore infer from the story of Herakles taking the *lábrys* of Hippolyte to Lydia that the axe in question belonged to the younger Hittite god, who turns up in Lydia as Sandon Herakles[8].

[1] I. Thomopoulos Πελασγικά Athens 1912 p. 400 f. argues from the forms λάβρα-δεύς, λαβρα-νδεύς that the Carico-Lydian word for 'axe' or 'sword' was *λάβρα, not λάβρυς, and even suggests that the second element of the compound -δεύς is probably for Ζεύς (cp. Hesych. Δεύς· Ζεύς, etc.): "Οθεν λαβραδεὺς σημαίνει "τὸν λαβροφόρον Δία."' A highly precarious speculation.

[2] Hesych. ἀμφιπελέη (so Musurus with cod. G. Soping cj. ἀμφιπελέκη F. Guyet cj. ἀμφιπελέκκη H. Stephanus would read ἀμφιπελέκκη or ἀμφιπέλεκκον M. Schmidt, after L. C. Valckenaer, prints ἀμφιπελέκ.. (*Il.* 13. 612 ἀμφὶ πελέκκῳ))· πελέκιον δίστομον, Κυρηναῖοι. ὁ δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος τὸν τῆς ἀξίνης στελεὸν ἀπέδωκεν.

[3] Hippolyte, daughter of Ares (Schol. *Il.* 3. 189, Hyg. *fab.* 30), has a double axe on a copper of Perinthos struck by Elagabalos (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1884 xvi. 234 f. pl. 4, 4), a battle-axe on an Etruscan mirror (Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iv. 85 f. pl. 341, 2, A. Klügmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2680). See also Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 371 pl. 60, 19 a copper of Herakleia Pontike struck by Macrinus, *ib.* i. 377 pl. 61, 21 another copper of the same town struck by Gordianus iii Pius.

[4] So much, but no more, is clear from the facts cited by W. Leonhard *Hettiter und Amazonen* Leipzig—Berlin 1911 pp. 1—252. See *e.g.* J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 pp. 213 n. 1, 357 n. 4, 372 n. 3, A. J. Reinach 'L'origine des Amazons' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1913 pp. 277—308, F. M. Bennett *Religious Cults associated with the Amazons* New York 1912 p. 73 f. n. 360, E. Meyer *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* Berlin 1914 pp. 91, 159.

[5] W. Leonhard *op. cit.* p. 113 n. 2 with title-*vignette*.

[6] *Supra* i. 599 n. 6, 603, 605 fig. 476, ii. 552 n. 4.

[7] *Supra* i. 599 figs. 462—464, cp. i. 631 f.

[8] Lyd. *de magistr.* 3. 64 p. 155, 18 ff. Wünsch (*à propos* of Lydian σάνδυκες) τοιούτῳ τὸν Ἡρακλέα χιτῶνι περιβαλοῦσα Ὀμφάλη ποτὲ αἰσχρῶς ἐρῶντα παρεθήλυνε. ταύτῃ καὶ Σανδὼν Ἡρακλῆς ἀνηνέχθη, ὡς Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος φιλόσοφος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ ἐρωτικῷ, καὶ Τράγκυλλος δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐπισήμων πορνῶν ἀνενηνόχασιν. ἔνθεν οἶμαι σανδύνας ἔτι καὶ νῦν πρὸς διασυρμοῦ λέγεσθαι, κ.τ.λ. Hdt. 1. 71 mentions a prominent Lydian named Σάνδανις. See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 321, 326 f.

Plutarch's statement that this *lábrys* was a sacred heirloom of the Lydian kings, introduced into Karia in the time of Gyges (716—678 B.C.) and there placed in the hand of Zeus, is to some extent confirmed by the coin-types of Lydia and Karia. At Thyateira in Lydia the double axe appears by itself on bronze coins of Seleucid and imperial date (fig. 437)[1]. But on other bronze pieces of the same town, referred to the time of Trajan or Hadrian, it is shouldered by a young man on horseback inscribed *Týrimnos* (fig. 438)[2]. This youthful rider represents the Thyatirene hero[3], whose precinct[4] and temple[5] stood before the city[6]. He was



Fig. 437.



Fig. 438.



Fig. 439.



Fig. 440.

known as 'the forefather Tyrimnos[7]' or 'the forefather god Tyrimnos[8],' and gave his name to the local festival of the Tyrimneia[9]. As a youthful athletic god he was equated with Apollon under the

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia pp. 292 f. pl. 29, 3 f., 302 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 468 nos. 1, 2, 469 no. 12, F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* Genf—Leipzig 1897 p. 148 pl. 6, 6, p. 149 nos. 7, 7*a*, p. 151 n. 2. I figure a specimen, struck under Nero, from my collection.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 294 pl. 29, 6, F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* Genf—Leipzig 1897 p. 149 f. pl. 6, 9 (=my fig. 438), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 658.

[3] F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 150 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1241 n. 5, 1249 n. 2.

[4] G. Radet 'Inscriptions de Lydie' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 478 f. no. 57, 14 ff. (*Kirk-Agatsch*) ἀγωνοθε[τή][σ]αντα καλῶς κ[αὶ κα][τα]σκευάσαντα τ[ὸ προ][π]ύλαιον τοῦ τ[εμέ][νο]υς τοῦ Τυρίμνου.

[5] G. Radet *loc. cit.* p. 459 f. no. 22, 2 ff. (Thyateira) with the corrections of P. Stouraïtes in Ἀρμονία, June 24, 1894=*Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 535 f. πρῶτον ἀγωνοθέτην τῆς πρ(ώ)|τως ἀχθείσης ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως | Σεβαστείου καὶ Τυριμνήου πα|νηγύρεως. Cp. *infra* n. 7.

[6] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3493, 1 ff. (Thyateira) ἀγωνοθετήσαν|τα τοῦ πρὸ πόλεως Τυρίμνου ἐν|δόξως καὶ ἐπιφανῶς. Cp. *infra* p. 562 n. 1.

[7] M. Clerc 'Inscriptions de Thyatire et des environs' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886 x. 420 f. no. 29, 2 f. (*Méder*) εἰς τὸ [ἱερὸν τοῦ προπάτορος] | Τυρ(ίμ)νου (the stone has TYPHNOY).

[8] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3497, 22 f. (Thyateira) τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ προ|πάτορος θεοῦ Τυρίμνου.

[9] A. Wilhelm in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 132 no. 5, 5 f.=W. R. Paton in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 388, 5 f. (Mytilene) κ(αὶ) ἐν Θεατείροις (Wilhelm has Θειατείροις) Τυ|ρίμνεια, P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 104 ff. no. 26, 5 ff. (*Sélendi*) ἀγωνοθετήσαν|[τα τῶν] μεγάλων Σεβαστῶν | [Τυρι]μνήων ἀγώνων.

joint appellation 'Apollon *Týrimnos*[1],' and consequently also with Helios, his full title then being 'the forefather god Helios *Pýthios* Apollon *Tyrimnaîos*[2]' or 'the forefather god Helios *Pýthios Tyrimnaîos* Apollon[3].' Apollon *Týrimnos* is seen on bronze coins of Thyateira grasping the double axe. Sometimes he stands erect, a naked figure, long-haired and laureate, holding the axe in one hand and a bay-branch in the other (figs. 439, 440)[4]. Sometimes, wearing a *chlamýs*, he takes his stand with axe and branch in his temple



Fig. 441.


Fig. 442.

(fig. 441)[5], or with axe and agonistic urn as lord of the Pythian games (fig. 442)[6]. Occasionally, though not often before the third century A.D., he wears the radiate crown of Helios[7] and even appears in the solar chariot (fig. 443)[8]. It is clear, then, that at Thyateira the ancestral hero Tyrimnos, who bore the sacred axe of the youthful Hittite sky-god, came to be identified with Apollon and ultimately with Helios. And here we note that a heroic figure on horseback likewise bearing the *lábrys* occurs on the bronze

[1] G. Radet *loc. cit.* p. 453 no. 14, 2 f. (*Kenès*) Ἀπόλλωνι Τυρίμνω[ι κ]αὶ τῇ πατρί|δι, p. 463 no. 29, 5 ff. (Thyateira) ἀγωνοθετ(ή)σαντα τοῦ πρὸ | πόλεως Ἀπόλλωνος Τυρί|μνου λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐνδόξω[ς].

[2] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3500, 8 ff. (Thyateira) (*i*)ερεὺς το(ῦ) | προπάτορος θεοῦ Ἡλίου Πυθί|[ο]υ Ἀπόλλωνος (T)υριμναίου, E. L. Hicks 'Inscriptions from Thyatira' in the *Class. Rev.* 1889 iii. 137 no. 14, 4 ff. ὁ ἀγωνο|θέτης τοῦ προπά|τορος θεοῦ Ἡλ|ου Πυθίου Ἀπόλ|λω|νος Τ(υ)ριμναίου. Cp. G. Radet *loc. cit.* p. 475 f. no. 49, 6 (*Méder*) Τυριμναί[ου?].

[3] P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 101 ff. no. 24, 2 ff. (*Méder*) ἡ κρατίστη καὶ φιλοσέβαστος τῆς λαμ|προτάτης καὶ διασημοτάτης καὶ ἱερᾶς | τοῦ προπάτορος θεοῦ Ἡλίου Πυθίου | Τυριμναίου Ἀπόλλωνος Θυατειρηνῶν | πόλεως βουλὴ κ.τ.λ.

[4] F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* Genf—Leipzig 1897 p. 151 f. pl. 6, 10 (=my fig. 439) Hadrian. *Id. Kleinas. Münzen* i. 186 pl. 6, 15 (=my fig. 440) Trajan, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 294 pl. 29, 5 time of Trajan or Hadrian, p. 303 pl. 31, 1 Trajan, add a *chlamýs* to the otherwise nude figure.

[5] F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* Genf—Leipzig 1897 pp. 151, 158 pl. 6, 15 (= my fig. 441) Geta.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 314 no. 119 Iulia Soaemias, F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 158 f. pl. 6, 16 (=my fig. 442) Iulia Soaemias.

[7] *Infra* p. 564 n. 4.

[8] F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* pp. 151, 159 pl. 6, 17 (=my fig. 443) Severus Alexander.

coinage of other Lydian towns—Apollonia (Tripolis) (?)[1], Blaundos (fig. 444)[2], Mastaura[3], Mostene[4], Tomaris[5]. At Mostene he is once



Fig. 444.



Fig. 443.



Fig. 445.



Fig. 446.



Fig. 447.



Fig. 448.

at least flanked by sun and moon (fig. 445)[6], and is repeatedly seen riding towards a cypress-tree, before which stands a flaming altar (fig. 446)[7], sometimes escorted on his way by Hermes *psychopompós* (?)

[1] Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 143 f. no. 425 pl. 10, 1 ('Amazone')=*id. Lydische Stadtmünzen* p. 38 pl. 2, 17 ('jugendlicher *Heros*'). B. V. Head in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* p. 363 pl. 38, 4 f. says: 'Amazon (?),' and adds in a footnote: 'The Rider on these specimens is distinctly feminine in appearance,' etc. But see F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* p. 103.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 53 pl. 5, 12 (=my fig. 444) Marcus Aurelius, cp. p. 55 no. 85 Philippus Senior and p. 57 no. 91 Trebonianus Gallus; F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* p. 51 pl. 3, 8.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 157 no. 5 f. Tiberius and Livia, F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 96 no. 3 Tiberius and Livia.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 161 pl. 17, 8 (*ib.* p. 161 no. 2 'Rider apparently female') of *s.* ii or i B.C., p. 162 no. 7 f. Claudius and Agrippina, F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 100 no. 1 time of Augustus, or earlier, p. 101 no. 4 Claudius and Agrippina, no. 5 Vespasian.

[5] F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 165 pl. 7, 6.

[6] F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 101 f. pl. 4, 19 (=my fig. 445) Vespasian.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 162 pl. 17, 10 time of Commodus (?), p. 162 no. 9 Hadrian, p. 163 pl. 17, 12 (=my fig. 446) Lucius Verus, p. 163 pl. 17, 13 Lucilla, p. 163 no. 13 Commodus, p. 164 nos. 16 and 17 pl. 17, 14 Gallienus.

(fig. 447)[1]. Again, at Mostene[2] and at Tabala (fig. 448)[3], as at Thyateira[4], he wears a rayed crown. But he is never accompanied by a name, so that we cannot say whether he represents Tyrimnos or, as is more probable, the hero of the immediate neighbourhood. In any case he is a hero on his way to becoming a god. Indeed, he is apparently identified with Apollon at Hypaipa, where he adopts the guise of Apollon *Týrimnos* (fig. 449)[5]. We have, however, reason to think that the Lydians sometimes brought their *lábrys* into connexion with a goddess. At Mostene, where the hero



Fig. 449.



Fig. 450.



Fig. 451.



Fig. 452.

stood in some relation to a sacred cypress[6], imperial coppers show a goddess (Demeter?), with *kálathos* and long *chitón*, holding two corn-ears in her right hand and a double axe in her left (fig. 450)[7]; or else they show the axe alone between a bunch of grapes and two ears of corn (fig. 451)[8]. And at Nysa a copper of Maximinus represents a goddess (Kore?), with *chitón* and *himátion*, who has a snake (?) in her right hand and leans her left arm on a double axe (fig. 452)[9]. These types suggest that the Hittite god, who at Ivrîz

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia pp. lxxvi, 164 no. 15 Gallienus, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 458 pl. 55, 24 (=my fig. 447), Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 387 no. 20 Marcus Aurelius, no. 21 Commodus.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 162 pl. 17, 10 time of Commodus (?), p. 163 pl. 17, 12 (=my fig. 446) Lucius Verus, p. 163 pl. 17, 13 (?) Lucilla, p. 163 no. 13 Commodus, p. 164 nos. 15, 16, 17 pl. 17, 14 Gallienus, F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* p. 102 no. 8, p. 103 f.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 289 pl. 28, 12 Commodus, cp. p. 291 no. 15 Severus Alexander, F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 146 pl. 6, 3 (=my fig. 448).

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 308 no. 89 (?) Septimius Severus, p. 315 no. 122 Severus Alexander, p. 318 no. 137 Maximinus, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 471 no. 20 Maximinus, F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* pp. 151, 153 no. 19, 155 pl. 6, 13, 159 pl. 6, 17 (=my fig. 443), pl. 6, 18. *Supra* p. 562.

[5] Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 173 no. 1 pl. 6, 5 (=my fig. 449) Sabina.

[6] *Supra* p. 563 n. 7 and p. 564 n. 1.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 161 pl. 17, 9 (=my fig. 450) 'Hadrian to the Antonines,' F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* p. 101 pl. 4, 18 'Aus der Zeit des Traian oder Hadrian.'

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 162 pl. 17, 11 (=my fig. 451) Sabina, F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 102 no. 7 Sabina, p. 104. *Infra* § 3 (c) i (o) *init.*

[9] F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 110 pl. 4, 21 (=my fig. 452) Maximinus, K. Regling

holds grape-bunches and corn-ears[1], had on Lydian soil come to be regarded as Dionysos[2] and had passed on his axe to Demeter and Kore.

What happened in Lydia, happened with some variation in Phrygia also. The *lábrys* alone occurs on coppers of Eriza[3] and Eumeneia[4]. On others of Abbaïtis it is surrounded by a bay-wreath



Fig. 453.



Fig. 454.



Fig. 455.

(fig. 453)[5]. At Hierapolis some specimens show its handle bound with a fillet (fig. 454)[6], or twined about with a snake[7]—a design known earlier at Eumeneia (fig. 455)[8]. Other very remarkable coins of Hierapolis represent the double axe erect on a two-stepped base with its handle encircled by the snake and surmounted by a radiate head (figs. 456—458)[9]. The axe-bearing rider is of frequent occur-

in W. v. Diest *Nysa ad Maeandrum* (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* Ergänzungsheft x) Berlin 1913 p. 86 no. 145 pl. 13, 145 Maximinus.

[1] *Supra* i. 594 f. fig. 453.

[2] A good collection of *data* for the worship of Dionysos in Lydia will be found in W. Quandt *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* Halis Saxonum 1913 pp. 175—188, 191 f. That the Lydian Dionysos had some Hittite (?) prototype may perhaps be inferred from Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μάσταυρα· πόλις Λυδίας, ἀπὸ Μᾶς. Μᾶ δὲ τῇ Ῥέᾳ εἵπετο, ἡ παρέδωκε Ζεὺς Διόνυσον τρέφειν. καὶ ἡ Μᾶ παρὰ τῆς Ἥρας ἐρωτηθεῖσα, τίνος εἴη τὸ βρέφος, Ἄρεος, ἔφη. καὶ παρὰ Καρσὶν ὁ Διόνυσος Μάσαρις ἔνθεν ἐκλήθη. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ ἡ Ῥέα Μᾶ καὶ ταῦρος αὐτῇ ἐθύετο παρὰ Λυδοῖς, ἀφ' ἧς ἡ πόλις (the etymologies of Μάσ-ταυρα and Μάσ-αρις are, of course, wholly unreliable).

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 202 no. 1 of *s.* i B.C. (?) or later, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 673.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 216 no. 40 Nero.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 2 no. 9 pl. 2, 3 and no. 10 of *s.* ii B.C. (?), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 663. I figure a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum (W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 Asiatic Greece p. 1 'wreath of oak').

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 243 no. 93 pl. 31, 1 (=my fig. 454) and no. 94 struck by Fabius Maximus in 5 B.C.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 247 no. 117 Nero.

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 212 nos. 12, 13 pl. 27, 3 (=my fig. 455), 14—19, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 673 after 133 B.C.: *obv.* head of Dionysos with band across forehead and ivy-wreath; *rev.* tripod containing *lébes* with three handles, surmounted by flat cover fringed with spikes (?); above, and on either side, three stars; attached to tripod, on left side, double axe with snake twined round handle, and on right side a bay-branch filleted. The double axe with snake round handle recurs as the countermark on coins of Eumeneia struck under Nero (*ib.* p. 217 no. 42 f.) and Domitian (*ib.* p. 218 no. 50 f., Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 230 no. 7 pl. 7, 23 with n. 2 Nero, Agrippina).

[9] L. Ross and E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1844 ii. 344 no. 50 *bis* from the Prokesch-Osten collection, *ib.* 1845 iii pl. 32, 51 (=my fig. 456), T. Panofka *Asklepios und die*

rence—at Ankyra[1], where an altar burns before him, at Dionysopolis, where he appears not only on coins[2] but in a small uninscribed relief[3], at Eumeneia (fig. 459)[4], Hierapolis[5], Stektorion[6], Synaos[7], Temenothyrai[8], Traianopolis[9]. The name or names attached to this hero we do not know for certain. But it is probable


Fig. 456.


Fig. 457.


Fig. 458.


Fig. 459.

that at Hierapolis he was called *Lairbenós*, and at Dionysopolis *Lairmenós* or the like. Both towns seem to have identified him with Apollon. Hierapolis in the second and third centuries A.D. issued coppers bearing as obverse type a radiate bust, sometimes without legend[10], more often inscribed *Lairbenós* (fig. 460)[11] or

Asklepiaden (*Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1846 Phil.-hist. Classe) Berlin 1846 pp. 340, 358 pl. 7, 13, V. C. Cavedoni in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1847 v. 125, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1808 f. ('läuft oben in das Strahlenhaupt des Helios aus'), Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 239 no. 22 ('darüber Kopf des Apollon Lairbenos') pl. 7, 30 (=my fig. 457), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. lxviii ('surmounted by head of Helios [Lairbenos]'), 245 ('surmounted by head of Helios') pl. 31, 7 (=my fig. 458) Augustus.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 67 no. 49 Otacilia.

[2] Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 219 no. 4 head of Demos, early in *s.* iii A.D., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 671.

[3] Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1889 x. 219 (at *Develar* near Dionysopolis).

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. lxii, 218 no. 50 f. Domitian, 220 pl. 27, 12 (=my fig. 459) Marcus Aurelius, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 486 pl. 56, 24 Marcus Aurelius, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 674.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. 234 pl. 30, 2 *obv.* head of Zeus *Bozios* (*infra* fig. 465), 238 no. 69 *obv.* head of Demos, unbearded, 240 nos. 77 and 78 pl. 30, 8 *obv.* bust of Boule, veiled, 241 nos. 79 pl. 30, 9 and 80 f. *obv.* bust of Gerousia, veiled, 247 nos. 114—116 Claudius and 118 Nero, 248 nos. 119 pl. 31, 9 and 120—122 Nero, 251 pl. 32, 1 Marcus Aurelius, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 215 no. 698 Augustus, *id. Kleinas. Münzen* i. 239 no. 24 Augustus, 240 no. 27 Nero.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 386 no. 17 Philippus Senior, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 291 no. 3 Philippus Senior.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. xcvii, 391 no. 21 Philippus Senior.

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. civ, 414 no. 31 Philippus Iunior, 416 pl. 48, 7 Gallienus.

[9] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. cvi, 426 no. 10 f. *obv.* bust of Demos, unbearded, 429 pl. 50, 9 Gordianus, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 302 no. 2 Gordianus, no. 3 *obv.* bust of Demos, unbearded.

[10] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 230 no. 18.

[11] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 236 ff. pl. 30, 6, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 236 f. nos. 8 pl. 7, 31 (=my fig. 460) and 9 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 676.

Archegétes (figs. 461, 462)[1], that is, Apollon *Archegétes*[2]. And as to Dionysopolis, its inhabitants, together with those of Atyochorion, Hierapolis, and Motella, used to repair for worship to the ancient religious centre of the district, the *hierón* of Mother Leto and Apollon *Lairmenós*. Here, at *Badinlar* some two miles north of



Fig. 460.



Fig. 461.

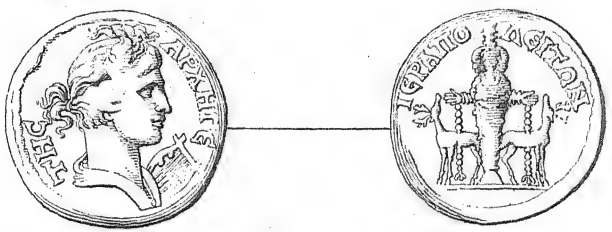


Fig. 462.

Orta-Keui, Sir W. M. Ramsay and Dr D. G. Hogarth in 1887 discovered the ruins of a small temple on a hill 700 feet above the Maiandros[3]. Numerous dedications record the god's name in a great variety of forms—*Lairmenós*[4] or Apollon *Lairmenós*[5], Apollon

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 231 pl. 29, 8 (=my fig. 461), cp. pp. 233 pl. 29, 10 (=my fig. 462) with lyre at breast, 234 no. 46, Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1042, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 676.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii. no. 3905 (Hierapolis) Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀρχηγέτη κ.τ.λ. (=W. Judeich in *Altertümer von Hierapolis* (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* Ergänzungsheft iv) Berlin 1898 p. 68 f. no. 4 *a*), no. 3906, *b* (Hierapolis) εἴλεως ὑμεῖν ὦ[ν Ἀπόλλων]—Ἀρχηγέτης (=Judeich *loc. cit.* p. 68 no. 2 εἴλεως ὑμῖν ὁ<ν> | Ἀρχηγέτης), Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 115 no. 19, 4 f. (Hierapolis) [ἐδ]οσαν δὲ οἱ Μακεδονικοὶ τοῖς σημια|φόροι(ς) τοῦ Ἀρχηγέτου Ἀπόλλωνος στεφανωτικὸν κ.τ.λ. (=Judeich *loc. cit.* p. 119 f. no. 153, 4 f.). The same title recurs at *Oturak* in Phrygia (Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1883 iv. 419 ff. no. 33 *b*=*id. The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 ii. 566 ff. nos. 467—469 B on the second side of a marble altar cited *supra* p. 312 n. 5). See further O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real. Enc.* ii. 443.

[3] D. G. Hogarth 'Apollo Lermenus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1887 viii. 376—400, Sir W. M. Ramsay 'Artemis-Leto and Apollo-Lairbenos' *ib.* 1889 x. 216—230, *id. The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170* London 1893 p. 137 f., *id. The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 130—141, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1802—1809, C. Cichorius in *Altertümer von Hierapolis* (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* Ergänzungsheft iv) Berlin 1898 p. 43.

[4] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1889 x. 217 no. 1, 7 τῷ Λαιρμηνῷ=*The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 149 no. 41.

[5] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1887 viii. 376 ff. no. 1, 1 ff. Ἀπόλλων[α] | Λαιρμηνὸν θε[ὸν] | ἐπιφανῆ

Larmenós[1], Apollon *Larbenós*[2], Apollon *Leimenós*[3], Apollon *Lyrmenós*[4], Helios Apollon *Lermenós*[5], Helios Apollon *Lyermenós*[6]. The marble *stéle* that mentions Apollon *Lyrmenós* is topped by a relief representing a double axe. We may, therefore, with a clear conscience regard some at least of the Phrygian riders as effigies of



Fig. 463.

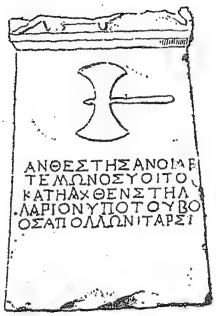


Fig. 464.

Lairbenos or Lairmenos, who was identified both with Apollon and with Helios. But here we must walk warily; for a votive *stéle* from *Koula* shows another axe-bearer on horseback named Apollon *Bozenós* (fig. 463)[7], while a second *stéle* from the same site has a

κατὰ ἐπ[ι]|ταγὴν κ.τ.λ., 8 Ἀπόλλωνι Λαιρμην[ῶι] | κ.τ.λ. (a later inscription, dated 209 A.D.) = *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 147 no. 37.

[1] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1887 viii. 389 no. 18, 2 ff. κολασ|[θεὶς ὑ]πὸ τοῦ ἐπιφ|[ανεστ]άτου θεοῦ | [Ἀπόλ]λωνος Λαρ|[μηνοῦ] = *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 152 no. 51.

[2] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1883 iv. 381 f. no. 4, 4 = *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 148 no. 39 [κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν θε]ῶν Ἀπόλλωνι Λαρβηνῷ κ.τ.λ.

[3] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1887 viii. 385 ff. no. 15, 1 ff. μέγας Ἀπόλλω Λειμηνός. | Σόφρον ἱερὸς κολε(θε)ὶς | ἐπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος Λει|μηνοῦ κ.τ.λ. = *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 151 f. no. 49, where however Sir W. M. Ramsay reads Λε[ρ]μηνός and Λε[ρ]μηνοῦ.

[4] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1889 x. 218 f. no. 2, 1 ff. [Ὀν]ήσιμος Ἀπόλλωνι [Λ]υ[ρ][μηνῶι] εὐξάμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ κολ[ασθ]έντος βοὸς διὰ τὸ ὑστ[ερη][κέν]ε κ.τ.λ. = *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 149 f. no. 42. Above the inscription is carved a *lábrys*.

[5] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1883 iv. 380 f. no. 3, 3 f. = *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 147 no. 38 Ἡλίω [Ἀπόλλωνι] | Λερμηνῶ.

[6] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1883 iv. 383 no. 5 = *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 146 no. 34 Μητρὶ Ληγοῖ καὶ Ἡλίω Ἀπόλ|λωνι Λυερμηνῶ κ.τ.λ.

[7] A. Conze in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1880 xxxviii. 37 f., Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1889 x. 226 no. 18, *id. The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 152 f. no. 52, *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 252 no. 680 fig. (=my fig. 463). The inscription runs: Ἀντωνία Ἀντωνίου Ἀπόλ|λωνι θεῶ Βοζηνῶ διὰ τὸ ἀ|ναβεβη[κέ]νε με ἐπὶ τὸν χό|ρον (for τὸ χωρίον) ἐν

double axe in relief as the symbol of Apollon *Tarseús* (fig. 464)[1]. These two appellatives, both of the local order, deserve a moment's notice. *Bozenós* implies a place **Bozís* or **Bóza*. And Sir W. M. Ramsay[2] maintains that **Bozís* is the equivalent (with European vocalization) of *Bazís*[3], the name applied to the estate of Zeus *Asbamaîos* near Tyana in Kappadokia[4]. He further[5] contends that *Bazís* is for **Baghís*, to be connected, not only with Zend *bagha*, 'god,' Old Persian *baga*, 'god,' and Sanskrit *bhaga*, 'lord,' but also —as A. Fick declared[6]—with the Phrygian Zeus *Bagaîos*[7]. Thus

ῥυπαρῶ ἐπενδύτῃ, | κολασθῖσα δὲ ἐξωμολο|γησάμην κὲ ἀνέθηκα εὐλο|γίαν ὅτι ἐγενόμην ὀλό-[κλ]||ηρος.

[1] A. Conze in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1880 xxxviii. 38, Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1889 x. 226 no. 19, *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 252 no. 681 fig. (=my fig. 464). Beneath the *lábrys* is inscribed : *ἀνθέστησαν οἱ Ἀρ|τέμωνος υἱοὶ τὸ | κατηαχθὲν* (for *κατεαχθέν*) *στηλ|λάριον ὑπὸ τοῦ βο|ὸς Ἀπόλλωνι Ταρσῖ.*

[2] Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 153 : 'comparing Attalos—Ottalos, Atreus—Otreus, Tattes—Tottes, Anas—Onnes, Kadauas—Kadouas, Vavas—Vovas, Marsyas—Morsynos (p. 145) we find that Bozis is the exact equivalent to Bazis, the name of the god's estate at Tyana, used also as a personal name [Βάζεις or Βαζεὶς as a feminine personal name at Komana in Kappadokia (Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journal of Philology* 1882 xi. 148 no. 6, 1 f. *Ἀθηναῖς Σπίτου ἡ | καὶ Βάζεις*)].'

[3] Ptol. 5. 6. 17.

[4] Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 1. 6 p. 5 Kayser *ἔστι δέ τι περὶ Τύανα ὕδωρ Ὁρκίου Διός, ὡς φασι, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ Ἀσβαμαῖον, οὗ πηγὴ ἀναδίδοται ψυχρά, παφλάζει δέ, ὥσπερ ὁ θερμαινόμενος λέβης. τοῦτο εὐόρκοις μὲν ἵλεών τε καὶ ἡδὺ ὕδωρ, ἐπιόρκοις δὲ παρὰ πόδας ἡ δίκη· ἀποσκήπτει γὰρ καὶ ἐς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ἐς χεῖρας καὶ ἐς πόδας, καὶ ὑδέροις ἁλίσκονται καὶ φθόαις, καὶ οὐδ' ἀπελθεῖν δυνατόν, ἀλλ' αὐτόθι ἔχονται καὶ ὁλοφύρονται πρὸς τῷ ὕδατι ὁμολογοῦντες ἃ ἐπιώρκησαν· οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐγχώριοί φασι παῖδα τοῦ Διὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον γεγονέναι, ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ Ἀπολλωνίου ἑαυτὸν καλεῖ* =Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 152 and, much abbreviated, in Souid. *s.v.* *Ἀσβαμαῖον*, cp. Amm. Marc. 23. 6. 19 apud Asbamaei quoque Iovis templum in Cappadocia, ubi amplissimus ille philosophus Apollonius traditur natus prope oppidum Tyana, stagno effluens fons cernitur qui magnitudine aquarum inflatus seseque resorbens numquam extra margines intumescit. D. G. Hogarth 'Modern and ancient roads in eastern Asia Minor' in the *Royal Geographical Society : Supplementary Papers* 1893 iii. 656 identifies this bubbling spring with 'the boiling pond near Ekuzli Hissar...still resorted to from far and wide by all afflicted with skin diseases.' Since the Iupiter *Asbamaeus* of Ammianus Marcellinus is the Zeus *Ὅρκιος* of Philostratos, S. Bochart *Phaleg*[3] Lugduni Batavorum—Trajecti ad Rhenum 1692 p. 535 proposed to derive *Ἀσβαμαῖος* from the Hebrew *seba*, 'oath' (*Me-seba* or *Me-hasseba*, 'aquae juramenti'). C. Lassen in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 1856 x. 377 attempted to connect it with the Zend and Old Persian *açman*, 'heaven,'—a view rightly rejected by P. Carolidis *Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen* Strassburg 1913 p. 38 f. W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[2] London 1907 p. 182, with much greater probability, took it to mean the 'seven waters,' in Syriac *shab'ā maya.*

[5] Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (*Royal Geographical Society's Supplementary Papers* vol. iv) London 1890 p. 347, *id.* and D. G. Hogarth 'Prehellenic Monuments of Cappadocia' in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes* Paris 1893 xiv. 80.

[6] A. Fick *Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas* Göttingen 1873 p. 412.

[7] Hesych. *Βαγαῖος·...ἢ Ζεὺς Φρύγιος. μέγας, πολύς, ταχύς* (the last three words are bracketed by M. Schmidt, but see *supra* p. 295 n. 2). H. L. Ahrens *De dialecto Dorica*

**Bozís* and *Bazís* would denote 'the estate of the god'; and with them might be ranked the Lydian *Bágis*, a town in the Katakekaumene[1]. Further, the epithet of Apollon *Bozenós* appears to be comparable with that of Zeus *Abozenós* in an inscription from Nakoleia[2], if not also with that of Zeus *Bozios* on copper coins of Hierapolis (fig. 465)[3]. If Apollon *Bozenós* possibly hails from Tyana, Apollon *Tarseús* certainly hails from Tarsos on the opposite side of Mount Tauros. Here the god is known to have had a sacred weapon of some sort. Dion Chrysostomos at the outset of his *First Tarsian Oration* mentions, among subjects likely to appeal to the patriotic pride of his audience, 'Apollon's trident[4].' But Plutarch, his contemporary, speaks of 'the sacred sword of Apollon at Tarsos,'



Fig. 465.

Gottingae 1843 p. 567 would restore ὦ Βαγαῖε Μαζεῦ or ὦ Βαγαῖε πᾶ Ζεῦ in Aisch. *suppl.* 892 Dindorf (*supra* p. 293 n. 4).

Fick's derivation of Βαγαῖος is supported by F. Solmsen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1895 xxxiv. 49 ('dass Βαγαῖος auf entlehnung aus dem apers. *baga* beruht'), O. Wiedemann in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1904 xxviii. 12 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 267 (who, however, abandons 'Die alte Verbindung mit *φαγεῖν*').

A. Torp 'Βαγαῖος' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1895 v. 193 f., P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 81 (*supra* i. 400 n. 1), Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 486, K. Brugmann *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*[2] Strassburg 1897 i. 168 advocate the rival connexion of Βαγαῖος with *φηγός*, Doric *φαγός*, 'oak,' Latin *fagus*, Anglo-Saxon *boc*, 'beech,' etc. If so, cp. the Celtic divinities mentioned in inscriptions of the Allobroges: *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xii no. 2383 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4620 (an altar found at Morestel) Iovi | Baginati | Corinthus | Nigidi | Aeliani | ex vot., Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no 4669 (found at Tarendel near Bellecombe) Felix Sme|ri f. Bagino | et Bagina|tiabus | [v.]s. l.m. That these too were oak-deities may be inferred from Max. Tyr. *diss.* 8. 8 Dübner Κελτοὶ *σέβουσι μὲν Δία, ἄγαλμα δὲ Διὸς Κελτικὸν ὑψηλὴ δρῦς* (see further *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 79, *Folk-lore* 1904 xv. 296, and especially *ib.* 1906 xvii. 53).

[1] Hierokles *συνέκδημος* p. 671, 1 Wesseling, p. 21 Burckhardt. See further B. V. Head in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. xxxviii ff., 30 ff. pl. 4, 5—11, pl. 41, 1.

[2] G. Radet and H. Ouvré in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 109 no. 4 (a *stéle*, the upper part of which showed a wreath) *Ἄνδρων Τειμο|θέου Βαβαειτ|ὴς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδί|ων Διὶ Ἀβοζην|ῶ εὐχήν*. On the possible sites of Babai and Abozena see G. Radet in the *Archives des Missions Scientifiques* 1894 vi. 441 f.; and on the equation of Ἀβοζηνός with Βοζηνός, P. Kretschmer *op. cit.* p. 199 n. 1, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1096 n. 1.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. lxix, 234 pl. 30, 2 (=my fig. 465) of *s.* ii A.D. ΣЄVC ΒΩΣΙΟC, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 401 no. 106 a. ΣЄVC ΒΟΣΙΟC. See also Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1580, xi. 1254, Head *Hist. Num.*[2] p. 676.

[4] Dion Chrys. *or.* 33 p. 1 f. Reiske *ἤ τινα ἔπαινον ὑπ' αὐτῶν* (L. Dindorf has *καθ' αὑτῶν*) *ἀκούσεσθαι οἰόμενοι καὶ δημόσιον ὕμνον τῆς πόλεως, περί τε Περσέως καὶ Ἡρακλέους καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τῆς τριαίνης καὶ περὶ χρησμῶν τῶν γενομένων, καὶ ὥς ἐστε Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ ἔτι βελτίους, καὶ ἀρχηγοὺς ἔχετε ἥρωας καὶ ἡμιθέους, μᾶλλον δὲ Τιτᾶνας.*

which had to be cleansed in water drawn from the river Kydnos[1]. Whether trident and sword were Hellenic substitutes for a Hittite double axe, we can hardly determine. On coins of Tarsos Sandas carries a double axe, a sword, and a bow-case into the bargain[2]. In Phrygia, however, it is clear that Apollon *Tarseús* had a double axe, and Phrygian coinage not infrequently arms Apollon with this primitive weapon. At Eumeneia he stands erect with a raven in his right hand and a double axe in his left (fig. 466)[3], while a very


Fig. 466.


Fig. 467.


Fig. 468.


Fig. 469.

similar type represents the local hero before a flaming altar with the double axe in his left hand and a *phiále* in his right (fig. 467)[4]. The latter design, *minus* the altar, occurs also at Hierapolis (fig. 468)[5]. In the course of the second and third centuries A.D. the emperor appears to have taken the place of this Apolline hero, as may be gathered from sundry Hierapolitan specimens, which show him standing with a branch (?) or corn-ears and poppy (?) in one hand, the double axe in the other (figs. 461, 469)[6]. Finally, at Laodikeia

[1] Plout. *de def. or.* 41 *περὶ δὲ τοῦ Κύδνου καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Ταρσῷ μαχαίρας, ὦ φίλε Δημήτριε, σοῦ λέγοντος ἠκούομεν, ὡς <οὔτε> ὁ Κύδνος ἄλλον ἐκκαθαίρει σίδηρον <ἢ> ἐκεῖνον οὔτε ὕδωρ ἄλλο τὴν μάχαιραν ἢ ἐκεῖνο.* I follow the text of W. R. Paton (Berolini 1893), who adopts the corrections of J. N. Madvig and A. Emperius for *ὡς ὁ κ. μᾶλλον ἐκκαθαίρει σίδηρον* (*τὸν σίδηρον* Ambr. Pal.) *ἐκεῖνον* codd.

[2] *Supra* i. 599 f. figs. 462—464. When St Paul, a citizen of Tarsos, bade his converts 'Put on the whole armour of God' (Eph. 6. 11, cp. 6. 13) and take 'the sword of the Spirit' (*ib.* 6. 17), was he thinking for a moment of the panoply worn by Sandas in his own native place?

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. lxii, 217 pl. 27, 9 Nero, 218 nos. 47—49 Domitian, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 486 no. 1 Nero, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 400 no. 104 Domitian, *id. Gr. Münzen* p. 211 f. no. 683 pl. 12, 21 Nero, *id. Kleinas. Münzen* i. 230 nos. 6 and 7 pl. 7, 23 Domitian, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 674. I figure a specimen, from my collection, struck by Nero: ΕΥΜΕΝΕΩΝ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΚΛ ΕΩΝ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣΑΣΙΑΣ.

[4] Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 229 no. 4 pl. 7, 22 (=my fig. 467) time of Alexander Severus (?).

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 245 pl. 31, 6 (=my fig. 468), Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 239 no. 23.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 231 no. 23 pl. 29, 8 (=my fig. 461), p. 235 no. 47 pl. 30, 4 (=my fig. 469), Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 237 no. 12.

The last two coins have as *obv.* type the head of Zeus *Τρώιος*, who appears—again with an Apolline *rev.*—on a coin of Hierapolis referred to the Hadrianic age (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 214 f. no. 693 pl. 12, 22, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 233 pl. 30, 1).

on the Lykos *quasi*-autonomous coppers issued by Pythes in the time of Augustus exhibit a panther (?) shouldering a filleted double axe, the whole encircled by a bay-wreath (fig. 470)[1]. The device is Dionysiac rather than Apolline[2].

On the whole, I conclude that in Phrygia, as in Lydia, the ancestor or local hero inherited the double axe of the younger Hittite sky-god, and in Graeco-Roman times commonly acquired the traits of Apollon and Helios. The evidence from these adjacent countries prepares me, then, to accept as true Plutarch's assertion that a particular Amazonian (Hittite) axe was a sacred heirloom of the Lydian kings. Nothing more probable.

But what of his further statement that Arselis transferred the Lydian *lábrys* to the Carian Zeus *Labradeûs*[3]? In Karia the simple *lábrys* occurs first on small gold pieces of the satrap Pixodaros (340—334 B.C.)[4], then as a symbol on bronze coins issued at Mylasa(?) by Eupolemos, the general of Kassandros, in 314—313 B.C.[5], and subsequently as an obverse or reverse type on coppers of Alinda[6], Euromos[7], Mylasa (fig. 471)[8], Orthosia[9], Plarasa and Aphrodisias[10], Sillyon (?)[11], as a symbol on coins of

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 287 f. pl. 34, 14, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 218 nos. 712 pl. 12, 25 (=my fig. 470) and 712 a.

[2] Imhoof-Blumer *loc. cit.* says 'Wolf oder Hund,' but thinks that the die-sinker was trying to represent a wolf as emblem of the river Lykos. Rasche *Lex. Num.* Suppl. i. 1379 f., after D. Sestini *Descriptio numorum veterum ex museis*...Lipsiae 1796 p. 467, had long since said 'lupus.' But B. V. Head in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 287 describes the creature as 'Lynx or Panther (?)' and in *Hist. num.*[2] p. 679 as 'Panther.' Cp. the pantheress with *thýrsos* on coins of Orthosia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 143 f. pl. 23, 5 f.).

[3] *Supra* p. 559 f.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 184 pl. 28, 12, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 155 f. pl. 90, 14 on gold twenty-fourths with *obv.* head of Apollon, laureate.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 128 pl. 21, 11, W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 Kings and Dynasts p. 20, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 622. See further W. Wroth 'Eupolemus' in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1891 xi. 135—139, F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Zur griechischen und römischen Münzkunde' in the *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 1908 p. 260 n.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 11 no. 10 early in *s.* ii B.C., with *obv.* young male head (Herakles?), laureate, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 607.

[7] Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 310 no. 54 with *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate.

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 129 pl. 21, 16 of *s.* ii B.C. and later, with *rev.* ΜΥΛΑ ΣΕΩΝ ornamented trident, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 312 no. 70[a], Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 622. I figure a specimen from my collection.

[9] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 624 autonomous bronze of *s.* ii—i B.C.

[10] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 25 pl. 5, 1 f. after 166 B.C., with *rev.* cuirass on trophy-stand; Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 112 no. 1 pl. 4, 11 with *obv.* bust of Eros.

[11] Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 351 no. 8 pl. 12, 9 with *obv.* bust of Zeus, remarking that the *rev.* legend CIΛ ΛVЄ may be a variant spelling of the ethnic form

Euromos[1] and Stratonikeia[2]. At Mylasa the handle of the *lábrys* is encircled by a bay-wreath (fig. 472)[3]; at Euromos the whole axe is similarly treated[4]. At Aphrodisias (fig. 473)[5] and at Herakleia Salbake it is bound with a fillet[6]. Again, at Aphrodisias it has two filleted palm-branches laid across its handle (fig. 474)[7]. That the axe thus characterised as a sacred object was in Hellenic times associated



Fig. 470.



Fig. 471.



Fig. 472.



Fig. 473.

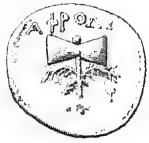


Fig. 474.

with Zeus appears, not only from a unique bronze coin of Plarasa (*s.* iii or ii B.C.), which has on the one side a head of Zeus long-haired and laureate, on the other an eagle standing on a double axe[8], but also from numerous Carian issues, which show the god grasping his traditional weapon. On silver pieces struck by the satraps Hekatomnos (395—377 B.C.)[9], Maussollos (377—353 B.C.)[10], Idrieus (351—

Σύλλιον in Kibyratis rather than that from Σίλλυος in Pamphylia: 'Das Doppelbeil ist weder als pamphylisches noch als pisidisches Münzbild bekannt.'

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 99 pl. 17, 5 of *s.* i B.C.

[2] Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 315 no. 79, *id. Kleinas. Münzen* i. 153 no. 8 n. with magistrate's name Ἀριστέας.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 129 pl. 21, 17 of imperial times, with *obv.* trotting horse. I figure an example in the Leake collection (W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* Suppl. London 1859 Asia p. 70).

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 99 pl. 17, 3 early in *s.* ii B.C., with *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 617.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 38 no. 84 of imperial times, with *obv.* humped bull lowering its head; p. 39 pl. 7, 2 (=my fig. 473) Augustus.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 116 pl. 19, 10 of imperial times, with *obv.* a *cornu copiae* containing bunches of grapes etc., between two corn-ears, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 132 no. 3, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 620.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 28 pl. 5, 10 (=my fig. 474) of *s.* i B.C., with *obv.* head of Aphrodite wearing wreath, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 420 no. 1, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 305 no. 19, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 609.

[8] Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 139 no. 412.

[9] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 180 pl. 28, 1, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 141 f. pl. 89, 15 (cp. *ib.* 141 f. pl. 89, 16) silver tetradrachms, with *rev.* ΕΚΑΤΟΜ lion standing to right; F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Zur griechischen und römischen Münzkunde' in the *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 1908 pl. 5, 17 silver tetradrachm, *rev.* Persian king standing, drawing bow. Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 629.

[10] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 181 pl. 28, 2 and 3 (=my fig. 475), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 430 pl. 54, 15, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 147 ff. pl. 90, 2—6 silver tetradrachms, with *obv.* head of Apollon facing, laureate; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc., p. 182 pl. 28, 4, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 430 no. 3 f., Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 149 f. pl. 90, 7 silver drachms, with similar types. Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 629.

344 B.C.)[1], on silver and gold by Pixodaros (340—334 B.C.)[2], and on silver by Rhoontopates (334—333 B.C.)[3] we see a Zeus, bearded and laureate, clad in *chitón* and *himátion*, who holds a double axe in his right hand, a long sceptre in his left (fig. 475). Imperial coins of Mylasa in silver (fig. 476)[4] and bronze (figs. 477, 478)[5] show Zeus facing us with a *kálathos* on his head, a double axe in his



Fig. 475.



Fig. 476.



Fig. 477.

right hand, and a spear in his left—clearly a cult-statue, for the silver piece places him on a pedestal[6], and other bronze pieces represent him erect in his temple, wearing a pectoral and *agrenón* or sacred net-work[7] and linked to the ground[8] by means of fillets (fig. 479)[9]. At Euromos bronze coins of the first century B.C. have for reverse type a very similar figure standing between the star-

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 183 pl. 28, 5, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 151 f. pl. 90, 8 silver tetradrachms, with *obv.* head of Apollon facing, laureate; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 183 pl. 28, 6, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 151 f. pl. 90, 9 silver didrachms, with similar types; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 183 pl. 28, 7, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 151 ff. pl. 90, 10 silver drachms, with similar types. Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 629.

[2] Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 155 f. pl. 90, 18 silver tetradrachm, with similar types; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 185 pl. 28, 13, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 430 no. 1, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 155 f. pl. 90, 19 f. and pl. 91, 1 silver didrachms, with similar types; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 185 pl. 28, 14, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 431 no. 2 f., Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 155 f. pl. 91, 2 silver drachms, with similar types.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 184 pl. 28, 9, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 153 ff. pl. 90, 12 and 15 gold *hemistátera*, with *obv.* head of Apollon to right, laureate; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 184 pl. 28, 10, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 155 f. pl. 90, 16 f. gold *héktai*, with similar types; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 184 pl. 28, 11, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 155 f. pl. 90, 13 gold *hemíhekta*, with similar types. Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 630.

[3] Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 157 ff. pl. 91, 4 f. silver tetradrachms, with similar types. Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 630.

[4] Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 144 no. 2 Caligula (?), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 622; W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 Asiatic Greece p. 84 (=my fig. 476) Hadrian.

[5] W. M. Leake *op. cit.* Suppl. London 1859 Asia p. 70 (=my fig. 477) Septimius Severus, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 146 no. 11 Elagabalos. Fig. 478 is from a specimen, in my collection, struck by Caracalla.

[6] Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 144 no. 2 'auf Postament.'

[7] *Supra* i. 360, ii. 167, 192.

[8] *Supra* p. 408 n. 0.

[9] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 133 pl. 22, 5 (=my fig. 479) Geta, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 425 no. 2 f.

crowned caps of the Dioskouroi (fig. 480)[1]. Early imperial coppers of the same town omit the caps[2], but sometimes give the cult-statue in more detail together with an eagle (fig. 481)[3] or a stag[4]. At Keramos a copper of Antoninus Pius shows a long-haired god, apparently nude (?), standing to the right with a double axe in his



Fig. 478.



Fig. 479.



Fig. 480.



Fig. 481.



Fig. 482.



Fig. 483.

right hand and a tall sceptre or spear in his left: behind him is a lion (fig. 482)[5]. A later variant, struck by Commodus, has the same god, clad in a short *chitón*, with the axe in his left hand, the sceptre or spear in his right, and behind him an animal of very doubtful species—possibly a lioness or panther (fig. 483)[6]. Another copper

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 99 pl. 17, 4 (=my fig. 480) ЄVPΩ M[ЄΩN] with *obv.* youthful head of Dionysos, 5 *obv.* ЄVPΩM ЄΩN and ΠΟΛЄ (magistrate's name) Stag standing to right with *lábrys* in front of it (symbol).

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 100 pl. 17, 6.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 100 pl. 17, 8 (=my fig. 481) Augustus and Livia.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 100 no. 6, of early imperial times, with *rev.* ЄYPΩMЄΩN eagle on thunderbolt.

[5] J. Friedlaender in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1875 ii. 109 f. fig. (=my fig. 482). The inscription, as B. V. Head in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 78 n.* points out, 'is almost certainly wrong.'

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 78 pl. 12, 13 (=my fig. 483): 'an animal resembling a goat recumbent with fore-foot raised'...'The animal at the feet of the god on this coin resembles a goat or stag.'

of Commodus shows him, again clothed in a short *chitón* and accompanied by a lion, confronting a Zeus of more ordinary aspect (with *himátion*, tall sceptre, and eagle): both deities lay hold of the same vertical spear (fig. 484)[1].

Now Hekatomnos, who first introduced the figure of the axe-bearing Zeus on the coinage of Karia, hailed from Mylasa, of which town he and his forebears were regarded as benefactors[2]. Hekatomnos was, in fact, king of Mylasa before he became satrap of Karia; and it is highly probable that the Zeus whose effigy he struck on the Carian tetradrachms was but an ennobled form of the Zeus



Fig. 484.



Fig. 485.

whose old cult-image appears on the mintage of Mylasa. And who was he? Fortunately Strabon[3] has preserved for us a careful account of the local cults:

'The Mylasians have two sanctuaries of Zeus, one of Zeus *Osogó*, as they call him, the other of Zeus *Labrandenós*. The former is in the city. Labranda is a village on the mountain, where the pass runs over from Alabanda to Mylasa, at some distance from the city. Here there is an ancient temple and a *xóanon* of Zeus *Strátios*, who is honoured by the neighbourhood in general and by Mylasa in particular. A paved way some sixty furlongs in length leads to the city; it is called the Sacred Road and is used for processions of the victims. The most

[1] J. Friedlaender in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1875 ii. 110 f. fig. (=my fig. 484).

[2] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2691 *c*, 6 ff. = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 377, 6 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 471, I, 6 ff. = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 759 f. no. 5753 *a*, 6 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 167, 6 ff. (in a Mylasian decree of 367—366 B.C., found at *Melasso* and now in the Louvre) *ἐπεβούλευσε Μαυσσώλλωι, ὄντι εὐεργέτηι | τῆς πόλεως τῆς Μυλασέων καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ τῶι πατρὶ | Ἑκατόμνωι καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις τοῖς τούτων, κ.τ.λ., ib.* 20 ff. (in a decree of 361—360 B.C.) *τοὺς Πελδέμω | παῖδας, παρανομήσαντας ἐς τὴν εἰκόνα | τὴν Ἑκατόμνω, ἀνδρὸς πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ποιήσαν|τος τὴμ πόλιν τὴμ Μυλασέων καὶ λόγωι καὶ ἔργωι, | ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ τὴμ πόλιν | καὶ τοὺς εὐεργέτας τῆς πόλεως· κ.τ.λ., ib.* 33 ff. (in a decree of 355—354 B.C.) *Μανίτα τοῦ | Πακτύω ἐπιβουλεύσαντος Μαυσσώλλωι τῶι Ἑκατόμνω | ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαμβραύνδου, θυσίης ἐνιαυ|σίης καὶ πανηγύριος ἐούσης, καὶ Μαυσσώλλου μὲν | σωθέντος σὺν τῶι Διί, κ.τ.λ.*

[3] Strab. 659.

distinguished citizens are priests for life. These sanctuaries, then, are specially attached to the city. But there is a third sanctuary of Zeus *Kários*, common to all the Carians, including the Lydians and the Mysians as members of the same family. It is recorded that Mylasa in former times was a mere village, the ancestral home and palace of the Carians belonging to Hekatomnos.'

From this it appears that the Mylasians were devoted on the one hand to Zeus *Osogôa*, on the other to Zeus *Strátios* or *Labrandenós*. The two deities stand face to face on a bronze coin of Mylasa struck by Caracalla and Geta (fig. 485)[1]. Zeus *Osogôa*, clad in *chitón* and *himátion*, rests with his right hand on a trident and holds an eagle in his left[2], while Zeus *Strátios* or *Labrandenós* has a *kálathos* on his head, a double axe in his right hand, and a spear in his left. Their



Fig. 486.



Fig. 488.



Fig. 487.

joint recognition is implied by the curious combination of trident with double axe found as a symbol on Alexandrine tetradrachms issued at Mylasa[3] and as a reverse type on Mylasian coppers of *s.* ii. B.C. and later (figs. 486, 487)[4]. In imperial times the compound weapon is based on a crab and surrounded by a bay-wreath (fig. 488)[5]. The fusion of Zeus *Osogôa* with Zeus *Strátios* is complete on a unique copper of Mylasa, struck by Antoninus Pius, which passed with the

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 133 no. 37. My fig. 485 is from a cast of this specimen.

[2] Zeus *Osogôa*, with trident, eagle, and crab, is seen on silver pieces issued by Hadrian at Mylasa (M. Pinder 'Über die Cistophoren und über die kaiserlichen Silbermedaillons der römischen Provinz Asia' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1855* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 627 pl. 7, 7 and 8=my figs. 489 and 490, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 132 no. 302 fig. and no. 303, J. Hirsch *Auctions-Catalog* München 1907 xviii. 105 no. 1883 pl. 26). A similar figure of Zeus *Osogôa*, with trident and eagle, in a tetrastyle temple occurs on coppers of Mylasa struck by Septimius Severus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 132 no. 31 f.).

[3] L. Müller *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand* Copenhague 1855 pl. 16 nos. 1141—1143, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 622.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 128 pl. 21, 13, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 312 no. 70, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 622. I figure a specimen in my possession (fig. 486) and another from the Leake collection (W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 Asiatic Greece p. 84).

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 131 no. 24 Augustus (handle only encircled by wreath), p. 132 pl. 22, 3 Septimius Severus. I figure a specimen, from my collection, struck by Septimius Severus.

Fox collection into the Berlin cabinet (fig. 491)[1]. The god confront-



Fig. 489.



Fig. 490.



Fig. 491.

ing us is marked as Zeus by his eagle and globe (?)[2], as *Osogôa* by his crab, as *Strátios* by his spear and shield.

A few further facts concerning both deities can be gleaned from epigraphic or literary sources[3]. Inscriptions[4], supported by a passage

[1] C. R. Fox *Engravings of unpublished or rare Greek coins* Part ii Asia and Africa London 1862 p. 18 no. 106 pl. 5, 106 (=my fig. 491).

[2] C. R. Fox *loc. cit.* says: 'a bird on a pedestal.' But T. Schreiber *Bemerkungen zur Gauverfassung Kariens, Kleinere Beiträge zur Geschichte von Dozenten der Leipziger Hochschule* Leipzig 1894 (cited by W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1229) with more probability observes: 'als Zeus charakterisiert durch Adler und Weltkugel.'

[3] These are conveniently arranged by J. Schaefer *De Iove apud Cares culto* (*Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* xx. 4) Halis Saxonum 1912 p. 347 ff. ('Iupiter Labrayndus'), p. 387 ff. ('Iupiter Osogoa') and discussed by O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1776—1778 ('Labrandeus,' 'Labrandos') and W. Drexler *ib.* ii. 1815—1818 ('Lambraundos'), iii. 1224—1230 ('Osogoa'). Other references will be given below.

[4] J. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 388 ff. prints the following in chronological sequence:

(1) G. Doublet—G. Deschamps in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890 xiv. 618 ff. no. 17 (a fragmentary decree of *c.* 200 B.C., whereby a Cretan town recognises the *ἀσυλία* of the temple at Mylasa), col. ii, 11 ff. *παρὰ δὲ | αὐτῶν* (*sc.* the Mylasians) *ἔς τε τῶ Ζανοποτε[ιδᾶνος καὶ] | τῶ Λαβραύνδω καὶ ἐς τὰ* E⁻[---] (*quid?*).

(2) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 362, 1 ff. [Λο]*ύκιος Γει*[·····] | [·]*ινος δὶς ἰε*[*ρατεύσας Διὸς*] | ['Ὀσ]*ογῶ Ζανο*[*ποτειδᾶνος*].

(3) A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 98 ff. no. 2 =Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1204 (on a fluted column from the temple-precinct, *s.* i B.C.) *Σύμμαχος | Γ. Πλωτίου | Συμμάχου υἱός, | ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ὀσο|γῶα Διὸς Ζηνο|ποσειδῶνος. | Πόλλις Ἱεροκλέους τοῦ Ἰε|ροκλέους στεφανηφορήσας | καὶ ἱερατεύσας τοῦ τε Διὸς | τοῦ Ὀσογῶ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ | Λαβραύνδου καὶ ἀγορανο|μήσας καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Μη|νιὰς Φαίδρου καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν | Ἱεροκλῆς καὶ Φαῖδρος ἀνέθη|καν τοὺς ἐξῆς κίονας ὀκτὼ | ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπαρχόντων | τῶι Διὶ τῶι Ὀσογῶι.*

(4) W. Judeich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 260 no. 13 (on a fluted column from the temple-precinct, *s.* i B.C.) *Σύμμαχος | Γαΐου Πλωτί|ου Συμμάχου | υἱός, ἱερεὺς | Διὸς Ὀσογῶ Ζη|νοποσειδῶ|νος.*

(5) A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 100 no. 3 (on a fluted column from the temple-precinct, *s.* i B.C.) *Ἐπιτυγχάνων | Δρακοντίδου | Ἑκαταῖος, ὁ καὶ | Ἑκατόμνως, ἱερε|ὺς Διὸς Ὀσογῶ|α Διὸς Ζηνοπο|σειδῶνος.*

(6) *Eid. ib.* 1881 v. 100 f. no. 4 (on a fluted column from the temple-precinct, *s.* i B.C.) *Γ. Ἰούλιος, | Κορνηλίᾳ, | Πύρσος | Αἰλιανός, | ἱερεὺς Δι|ὸς Ὀσογῶ|α Διὸς Ζη|νοποσει|δῶνος.*

(7) *Eid. ib.* 1881 v. 101 no. 5 (on a fluted column from the temple-precinct, *s.* i B.C.) *Τιβ. Κλ. Αὐρήλιος | Ἴερων, ἱερεὺς | Διὸς Ὀσογῶα | Διὸς Ζηνο|ποσειδῶνος.*

(8) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 345 (*c. s.* i B.C.) ['I]α[τ]ροκ[λέ]ου[s](s) τ[οῦ]| [K]αλλισθένου, ἰε[ρέως] | [Δ]ιὸς 'Οσογῶ, τὴν [εἰκόνα] | ['Εκατό]μνως, ἱερεὺ[s Διὸς 'Οσογῶ(?),]| [ἀνέθηκ]εν, φιλοστο[ργίας ἕνεκεν] | [τῆς εἰς ἑ]αυτόν, Δ[ιὶ 'Οσογῶι (?)].

(9) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 359 (of early imperial date) [ἱερεὺς Διὸς 'O]σογῶ[α (?) Διὸς (?) Ζη]|[νοποσειδῶν]ος θεοῦ [---] | [-----Σ]εβαστοῦ[---] | [------]ου [-----].

(10) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 334 (from a decree of Olymos and Labranda, *s.* i B.C.), 2 τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ 'Οσογῶ. Cp. W. Judeich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1889 xiv. 388.

(11) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 360 (fragment of a decree, *s.* i A.D.), 5 [το]ῦ Διὸς 'Οσογῶ οὗ καὶ τα [---] (so W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1225 for Waddington's reading Διὸς 'Οσογώου, which would imply either a nominative 'Οσογῶος (Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 580 n. 2) or an indeclinable appellative (cp. Men Κάρου, Men Τιάμου)).

(12) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 398 (from an inscription of *s.* i B.C. or A.D.), 29 f. (a decree of Mylasa is to be written up) [ἐν] | τῶι ἱ[ε]ρῶι [·····] Διὸ[s 'Οσ]ογῶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

(13) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 400 (from a decree, *s.* i A.D.), 3 [--- Διὸς 'Οσογ]ῶ Σωτῆρος καὶ Εὐεργέτου τῆς πόλεως. For Εὐεργέτης as a divine title see O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 978. It is, however, possible that we should restore [ἱερέως Διὸς 'Οσογ]ῶ, σωτῆρος καὶ εὐεργέτου τῆς πόλεως.

(14) E. Hula—E. Szanto 'Bericht über eine Reise in Karien' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1895 cxxxii. 2. 17 no. 11 (the dedication of a building, *s.* i A.D. [Σε]βαστοῖς 'Αριστωμένης Σκύμνου Μᾶτρις ὁ καὶ 'Τσσάλδωμος'[---]| [---] καὶ στεφανηφόρος καὶ ἱερεὺς Διὸς 'Οσογῶ εἰσήγαγεν [---].

(15) G. Cousin—C. Diehl in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 12 ff. no. 3 (from an inscription of *s.* i A.D.), 6 [ἱερεὺς τοῦ] Διὸς τοῦ 'Οσογῶι ὑπε[---].

(16) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 358 (προσκυνήματα of visiting judges or arbitrators—on whom see T. Thalheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 570 f.—, in the time of Domitian), *a* ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Καισεννίου Παίτου | κ.τ.λ., *b* νίκη | Διὶ | 'Οσογῶ with wreath and palm-branch, *c* ἐνεδήμησαν δὲ ο[ἵδε] | ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Μενάν[δρου τοῦ Φι]λαργύρου, (wreath) στεφανηφόρου δὲ Μ[ενίπ]που τοῦ Εἰρηναίου, κ.τ.λ., ὑπηρετούντων Παπ[ίου], Μηνᾶ, Δημο|γένου π. Διὶ παρέδρου ὑπὲρ τι[--]. Le Bas read Μηνᾶ, Δημο[νίκου, 'Ερμο]γένου [τῷ] Διί, παρέδρου 'Τπερτί[μου?].

J. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 390 f. gives as a separate series the decrees of the tribe 'Οτωρκονδέων relating to this deity:

(1) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2693 *f* = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 414 (this and the three following inscriptions, *viz.* (2), (3), (4), date from *s.* i B.C. and deal with the sale or lease of lands belonging to the temple. Cp. W. Judeich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1889 xiv. 373 ff.), 8 f. (so-and-so purchased the estates) τὰς οὔσας ἱερὰς Διὸς 'Οσογῶ, [τὰς] (so Schaefer: Waddington had supposed 'Οσογώ[ου]) σὺν τοῖς ἐνο[ῦσι δένδρεσι] κ.τ.λ.

(2) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 415 (deals with the ἔμβασις or purchaser's entrance upon the divine estates), 6 ff. εἰς τὰς γέας τὰς ἐν τῷ 'Ομβιανῷ πεδίῳ κ.τ.λ.|, εἰς τὰς οὔσας ἱερὰς Διὸς 'Οσογῶ, ἃς καὶ ἐκτηματώνηκαν τῷ Διὶ 'Οτωρκον|[δέων, σὺν τ]οῖς ἐνοῦσι δένδρεσι πᾶσι καὶ ἀμπέλοις καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐποίκια καὶ εἰς τὰ οἰκόπεδα κ.τ.λ.

(3) G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 380 ff. no. 21, col. 1, 12 f. παρὰ τῇ γῇ τῇ οὔσῃ ἱερᾶι Διὸς 'Οσο|[γῶ].

(4) A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 107 ff. A, 13 ff. [γενομέ]|νης δὲ τῆς ὠνῆς τῶν προγεγραμμένων τοῖς κτηματώναις ε[ἰς τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ (*sc.* Διὸς 'Οσογῶ) ὄνομα, μισθώσεται τὰ προγε]|γραμμένα πάντα αὐτὸς Θρασέας παρὰ τῶν ταμιῶν τῆς [φυλῆς κατὰ χρηματισμὸν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ] | κ.τ.λ.

(5) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 411 (fragmentary decree of *s.* i B.C.), 5 ἀγῶνι τῶι συντελουμένωι Δ[ιὶ] 'Οσ[ογῶι---] (so Schaefer, after Le Bas, for Δ . ΟΣ 'perincerte').

(6) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 406 (honorary inscription of *s.* i B.C.), 12

of Pausanias[1] lead us to conclude that the native name of the former Zeus was spelled *Osogôa*, an indeclinable appellation which has the variants *Osogô* (genitive) and *Osogôi* (genitive[2], dative). The meaning of the epithet is quite unknown[3]. The god's temple was situated to the west of Mylasa, at the foot of the scarped mountain, which dominates the town. Traces of the precinct are still to be seen[4]—a wall of polygonal masonry set against the mountain-side and turned towards the east, with a row of fourteen unfluted columns at right angles to it. Five fluted columns, bearing dedicatory inscriptions by priests of Zeus *Osogôa*[5], have been recovered from the immediate neighbourhood. The practice of thus dedicating temple-columns recurs at Euromos[6] and was not unfrequent in Asia Minor[7]. An allusion to it may be detected in the familiar words of the New Testament: 'He that overcometh, I will make him a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go out thence no more: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God,...and mine own new name[8].' Zeus *Osogôa* is once at least identified[9] with the Zeus *Otorkondéon* of sundry late inscriptions[10].

[– –]ιν συντελουμένων τῶι Διὶ κ.τ.λ. (Le Bas restored τῶν ἀγώνων τ]ῶν συντελουμένων τῶι Διί).

(7) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 408 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 473 (honorary decree, referred by Michel to *s.* ii B.C., by Schaefer to *s.* i A.D.), 14 f. ἀναθεῖναι δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα (*sc.* of Λιμναῖος Οὐλιάδου) ἐν τῶι ἱε[ρῶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ] Ὀσογῶ κ.τ.λ.

[1] Paus. 8. 10. 4 (*infra* p. 581), where Ὀσογῶα is A. Boeckh's correction of the manuscript reading Ὀγώα (ὀγωα Lb. ὀγόα Pa. ὀγῶα Pc. ὀγῶνα La.).

[2] *Supra* p. 579 n. o no. (15).

[3] For a string of guesses see W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1225 f., E. Assmann in *Philologus* 1908 lxvii. 188 f., and *infra* § 3 (c) iii.

[4] P. Le Bas et W. H. Waddington *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure pendant 1843 et 1844* Itinéraire pl. 63—64 = Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 47 pl. 63—64, fig. ii, A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois 'Antiquités de Mylasa' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 98.

[5] *Supra* p. 578 n. 4 nos. (3)—(7).

[6] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii nos. 2713, 2714 = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* nos. 313, 314—318.

[7] A well-known example is that of the columns dedicated by Kroisos in the sixth-century Artemision at Ephesos (Hdt. 1. 92, E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1890 iii. 2. 173 no. 518 *a—e*, D. G. Hogarth *Excavations at Ephesus* London 1908 pp. 15, 294 f.) and by others in the fourth-century temple on the same site (Aristot. *oeconom.* 2. 2. 1349 *a* 9 ff., E. L. Hicks *op. cit.* iii. 2. 173 ff. no. 519 *a—i* with the examples, ancient and mediaeval, cited by Canon Hicks *ad loc.*).

[8] Rev. 3. 12.

[9] *Supra* p. 579 n. o no. (2) *bis*.

[10] J. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 394 quotes the following decrees of the tribe Ὀτωρκονδέων:

(1) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2693 *c* = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 403 (of *s.* i B.C.), 15 f. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψή[φισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ] | [στῆσ]αι ἐν τῶι ἱ[ερῶι τοῦ Δ]ιὸς Ὀτωρκονδ[έω]ν.

(2) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 405, 14 f. ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν τῶι περιβόλωι τῶ[ι] | [τῆς] φυλ[ῆ]ς Ὀτωρκονδέων.

Hence it has been inferred that the precinct belonged to the Mylasian tribe Otorkondeis, who took Zeus *Osogôa* as their patron deity[1]. The Greeks in general regarded him as a blend of Zeus with Poseidon. Pausanias, *à propos* of the sanctuary of Poseidon *Híppios* near Mantineia, observes:

'There is an ancient legend that a wave of the sea appears in this sanctuary. The Athenians tell a similar story of the wave on the Acropolis, and the Carians who dwell in Mylasa tell a like tale of the sanctuary of the god whom in their own tongue they call Osogoa. Now the sea at Phalerum is just twenty furlongs distant from Athens; and similarly at Mylasa the port is eighty furlongs from the city. But Mantinea is farther than either of them from the sea; therefore in ascending so far the sea shows forth most manifestly the will of the god[2]

A fragment of Theophrastos' treatise *On Waters*, preserved by Athenaios[3], says:

'Not only do bitter waters change their nature, but salt water as well, and so do whole rivers, as for example that on Kithairon, beside which is the sanctuary of Zeus, < and that in Karia, beside which is the sanctuary >[4] of Poseidon. The reason is that many thunderbolts fall in the locality.'

(3) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 413 (of *s.* i B.C.) *b*, 2 f. περίβο[λ]ο[– – –] | Ὀτωρκονδέω[ν – – –].

(4) A. Fontrier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 558 f. no. 1 = *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 119 f. (of *s.* i B.C.), 16 ἀναγραψάτωσαν δὲ οἱ ταμίαι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι Ὀτ[ω]ρκονδ[έων] | κ.τ.λ.

(5) E. Hula—E. Szanto in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1895 cxxxii. 2. 13 no. 3 = G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 386 no. 34 (laudation of Σωτηρίχας Παραίτιος), 9 f. [ἐ]κ πασῶν τῶν θυσιῶν, ὧν ἡ φυλὴ συντελεῖ | [ἐν τῶ ἱερ]ῶ τοῦ Διὸς Ὀτωρκονδέων.

J. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 394 f. collects also the following inscriptions, of *s.* i B.C., relating to the purchase of sacred lands:

(1) A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 107 ff. no. 11 C, 16 f. ἀναγραψάτωσαν δὲ ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Διὸς Ὀτωρκονδέων τόν τε τῆς ὠνῆς καὶ τῆς ἐμβάσεως | καὶ τῆς μισθώσεως χρηματισμόν.

(2) G. Cousin—C. Diehl in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 21 ff. no. 8, 7 f. [ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος καὶ ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος Μαυνν]ῖται τῶι Διὶ τῶι Ὀτωρκονδέ[ων ἐκτηματώνηκαν παρὰ Θρασέου κ.τ.λ.]

(3) *Eid. ib.* 1888 xii. 25 ff. no. 9, 14 f. ἐναντίον μαρτύρων τῶν ὁμόρων ἀπὸ τῶν φυλετικῶν γεῶ[ν] Διὸς Ὀ|τωρκονδέων αὐτοῦ Θρασέου κ.τ.λ., 17 f. καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φυλετικῶ[ν γ]εῶν Διὸς | Ὀτωρκονδέων [α]ὐτο[ῦ Θ]ρασέου κ.τ.λ.

(4) E. Hula—E. Szanto in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1895 cxxxii. 2. 16 f. no. 10, 3 [– – –] Δ[ι]ὸς Ὀτωρκονδέων αὐτοῦ Θρασέου κ.τ.λ.

(5) W. Judeich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 272 ff. no. 21 *B*, 2 f. [ἀ]γορασθέντα τῶι Διὶ τῶι Ὀτωρκονδέων παρὰ Ἰάσονος τ[οῦ Διονυσίου τὰ ὄντα] | ἐν τῶ Ὀμβιανῶ πεδίωι ἐγ Κωστοβάλω κ.τ.λ.

[1] G. Cousin—C. Diehl in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 14, J. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 395 f.

[2] Paus. 8. 10. 4 trans. Sir J. G. Frazer.

[3] Theophr. *frag.* 159 Wimmer *ap.* Athen. 42 A.

[4] J. Dalechamps in 1583 restored the missing words in Latin from Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 54 et in Caria, ubi Neptuni templum est, amnis, qui fuerat ante dulcis, mutatus in salem est. The Greek text καθὰ τὸν ἐν Κιθαιρῶνι, παρ' ᾧ Ζηνός, <καὶ τὸν ἐν Καρίᾳ, παρ' ᾧ> Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν ἐστιν is due to I. Casaubon (1597). The passage thus cured has been injured again by a modern translator, C. D. Yonge, who renders ἐν Καρίᾳ, 'in Cairo'!!

And an extract from Machon the Alexandrine comedian, likewise cited by Athenaios[1], tells an anecdote which emphasises the dual aspect of the Mylasian deity:

> Once on a time the flute-player Dorion
> Came to Mylasa, but could find no lodging,
> So sat him down within a certain precinct
> That chanced to be before the city-gates,
> There saw the temple-sweeper sacrificing.
> 'I' the name,' quoth he, 'of Athena and the gods,
> Tell me, my friend, whose temple this may be.'
> 'Zenoposeidon's, sir!' the man replied.
> Then Dorion: 'And how could anybody
> Expect a room for one here, where they say
> The very gods are lodging two by two!'

The name *Zenoposeidôn*, which thus goes back to the time of Machon (*s.* iii B.C.), if not to that of Dorion (*s.* iv B.C.)[2], appears in the local inscriptions from *c.* 200 B.C. onwards[3], and is not altogether forgotten by the Byzantine scholarship of the twelfth century[4]. Concerning the ritual of the god we know little or nothing. But P. Le Bas points out that the Taurophonia, mentioned in a decree of the Otorkondeis as the occasion of a solemn traditional assembly, were perhaps celebrated on his behalf[5].

The fact that the Carians recognised a Zeus-like Poseidon or a Poseidon-like Zeus is to me at least of considerable interest. For I have long contended that the Hellenic Poseidon himself was originally but a specialised form of Zeus. In 1903[6], accepting with some modification the views of H. L. Ahrens[7] and W. Sonne[8], I took the name

[1] Machon *ap.* Athen. 337 C—D.

[2] Cp. Athen. 435 B—C.

[3] *Supra* p. 578 n. 4 no. (1) ff.

[4] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 763, 50 f. (on *Il.* 9. 457 Ζεύς τε καταχθόνιος κ.τ.λ.) ὅτι Ζεὺς καὶ ἐνταῦθα καταχθόνιος ὁ Ἅιδης, ὡς ἐάν τις εἴποι ἀὴρ ὑπόγειος. εἰ δὲ κατὰ παλαιὰν ἱστορίαν περί τινα Καρικὸν ποταμὸν Ζηνὸς Ποσειδῶνος ἦν ἱερόν, ἰδοὺ τὸ Ζεὺς ἤτοι Ζῆν κοινὸν ὄνομα Διὸς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἅιδου τῶν ἀδελφῶν.

[5] Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 404 (of *s.* i B.C.), 1 ff. [ἐπὶ] στεφ[ανηφόρου Ἱεροκλείους] τοῦ Μενίππου, μηνὸς [·····], ἐκκλησίας κυρίας [ς γενομένης ἐν Τ]|αυροφονίοις κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, τύχηι τῆι ἀγαθῆ[ι, εἰς μίσθωσιν] ἔδωκεν ἡ φυλὴ ἡ Ὀτωρ[κονδέων, κ.τ.λ.]. Lebas *ad loc.* cp. the bull-sports of Karyanda, at no great distance from Mylasa (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 499, 5 ff. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γενόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς φυλῆς|ταυραφέτης οὐ μ[όνον τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἑορτὴν με]|γαλομέρως καὶ φιλαγάθως συνετέλεσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς [ἐκ τῶν τῆς φυλῆς μέλλου]|σιν ἀφεθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλους ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἀφῆκεν τ[αύρους πλείονας·] | πρὸς δὲ τούτοις παντελῶς βουλόμενος φιλαγαθεῖν ἀφῆκεν [ταῦρον κάλλιστον εἰς] | κυνήγιον, τά τε κρέατα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρε(θ)ιζομένου ταύρου διένειμεν τ[οῖς φυλέταις, δεδομέ]νων γερῶν τῶι ἀπὸ τῆς φυλῆς ἱερεῖ· κ.τ.λ.).

[6] *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 175 f.

[7] H. L. Ahrens 'Ueber den Namen des Poseidon' in *Philologus* 1866 xxiii. 1 ff., 193 ff. = *id. Kleine Schriften* Hannover 1891 i. 390 ff.

[8] W. Sonne 'Helios Poseidon' in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1861 x. 181 ff. See also Gilbert *Gr. Götterl.* p. 168 f.: 'Der Name Poseidon ist nemlich

Poteidán, *Poseidôn*, etc. to denote 'Zeus in the Water' (*pótos*), arguing that, when rain fell, the primitive Greeks believed Zeus to be present in the rain; that, when the rain collected into streams and rivers, they still held Zeus to be in the drinking-water; and that, when the rivers ran into the sea, they looked upon the sea itself as permeated with Zeus. In 1904[1] I re-stated the same argument and sought to reinforce it by a variety of pleas, which need not here be specified. But the proposed derivation of *Poteidán*, *Poseidôn*, etc. was not free from improbabilities and was rejected by O. Gruppe in 1908[2]. Indeed, I had myself by that time begun to entertain serious doubts of it. Shortly afterwards it occurred to me that *Potei-*, *Posei-*, etc., the first elèment in the compound, might be more convincingly connected with *pósis*, 'lord,' the whole name *Potei-Dán*[3] or the like meaning 'Lord Zeus' just as the Homeric *pótnia Hére*[4] meant 'lady Hera.' My friend Dr P. Giles, to whom I submitted this notion, not only gave it his general approval, but told me that it had been partially anticipated by German experts. K. Brugmann in the second edition of his *Grundriss* (1911)[5] was in fact able to cite the opinions of two other notable philologists, O. Hoffmann and P. Kretschmer. Hoffmann in 1906[6] had derived the various forms of Poseidon's

in seinem zweiten Theile nichts anderes als die dialektische Form Dan=Zeus, während der erste Theil des Namens die Beziehung auf das feuchte Element trägt. Poseidon= Potidan ist also Zeus in Beziehung zum Nass, zum himmlischen Nass. Erst im Laufe der Zeit hat sich diese Beziehung auf die Gewässer des Himmels in diejenige auf die Gewässer der Erde und hier speziell des Meers umgestaltet,' F. Durrbach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 59 'D'après une autre interprétation, plus généralement acceptée, la première partie du nom est formée du thème *πο*, qu'on retrouve dans *ποταμός*, *πότος*, *πόσις*, et qui aurait la signification de *liquide*, *eau*; la fin du mot est un simple suffixe; ou encore elle recèle peut-être le nom de Ζεύς (Δήν, Δάν), en sorte que Poseidon, c'est le Zeus de l'élément humide. Ces tentatives d'étymologie ne sont qu'ingénieuses, et on ne saurait les prendre comme point de départ pour l'exégèse.'

[1] *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 267 ff., 277 ff.

[2] Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 600. *Id.* in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1918 xli. 296 treats '*Potīda* als vorgriechische, wenn auch vielleicht nicht kretische Benennung des im Regenzauber angerufenen Gottes.'

[3] The nom. sing. Δάν was used by the Boeotians in place of Ζεύς (*supra* p. 342 n. 0); and Boiotia was one of the oldest and most important centres of Poseidon-worship (Aristarchos *ap. et. mag.* p. 547, 16 f. *ἡ Βοιωτία ὅλη ἱερὰ Ποσειδῶνος*. See further Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 29 ff.—a thorough-going and wholly satisfactory investigation).

[4] *Supra* i. 444, 456.

[5] K. Brugmann *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*[2] Strassburg 1911 ii. 2. 135.

[6] O. Hoffmann 'Poseidon' in the *Jahres-Bericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur* 1906 lxxxiv. 4 (Orientalisch-sprachwissenschaftliche Sektion) 8—16 reviews the forms Ποτειδάϝων (Corinthian), Ποσειδάων (Homeric), Ποσοιδάν (Arcadian), Ποτῖδάν or Ποτῖδάς (Doric), Ποσῖδᾶ- in Ποσιδήιον...ἄλσος (*Il.* 2. 506) and Ποσῖδηιών (Old Attic and Ionic month), and concludes that Ποτι- (Ποσι-), Ποτει- (Πόσει-), Ποσοι- are three vocatives of an *ι*- stem *ποτι-*: *ποσι-*. He assumes two types of address—a longer

name from a vocative *Pótei Dâwon* (*Póti Dâ*), 'Lord Dawon' ('Lord Da'), and had tentatively suggested a connexion with the name of

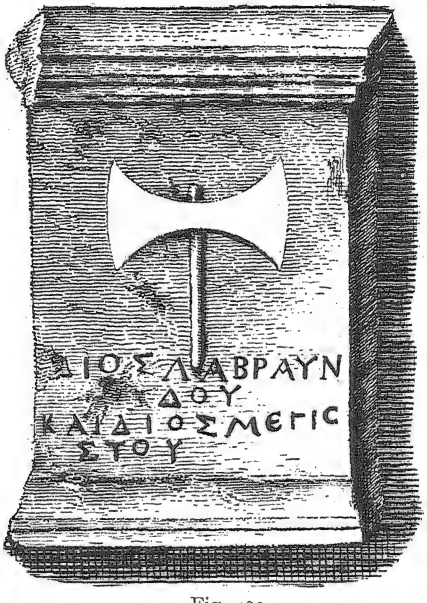


Fig. 492.

his Arcadian consort *Da mater*, 'Mother Da.' Kretschmer in 1909[1]

and more formal Πότει Δᾶϝον (Πόσει Δᾶϝον), whence the nominative Ποτει-δάϝων, or a shorter and more familiar Πότι Δᾶ, whence the nominative Ποτι-δάς—both being comparable with such expressions as πότνια Ἥρη, πότνια Ἥβη. On this showing the proper name of the god was Δάϝων, which is perhaps related to the Δᾶ of Δαμάτηρ (*ib.* p. 16: 'In derjenigen Landschaft, in welcher der Gott viele seinen alten Züge bewahrt hat, in Arkadien wurde er als Gemahl der Demeter vorgestellt: sollten πότει Δᾶϝον, πότι Δᾶ und Δᾶ μᾶτερ nur zufällig an einander anklingen?').

[1] P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1909 i. 27 f.: 'Sachlich erscheint daher die Annahme recht ansprechend, dass in dem Namen πόσις aus *πότις "Herr, Eheherr, Gatte"=skr. *pátis*, lit. *pàt(ĩ)s* und Δᾶ, der alte Name der Erdgöttin, enthalten in Δᾶμάτηρ, stecke. Also "Herr der Erde" oder "Gatte der Da." Es bestehen dabei nur zwei sprachliche Schwierigkeiten, der Diphthong -ει- statt -ι- und die Stellung der Glieder. Beide lassen sich beheben, wenn wir von einer Zusammenrückung *Πότει Δᾶς Vok. "Herr oder Gatte der Da!" ausgehen. Der alte Vokativ Sing. der *i*-Stämme endete auf -*eĭ*, musste also von *πότις *πότει=skr. *pátē* (vgl. lit. *naktẽ*, aksl. *noštĭ*) lauten, wofür später *πότῐ, mit Assibilation πόσῐ eintrat. Die ganze Benennung hat eine Analogie in der epischen Bezeichnung des Zeus als (ἐρίγδουπος) πόσις Ἥρης. Die Erhebung des Vokativs zum Nominativ aber ist bekanntlich bei Eigennamen nicht selten und hat eine berühmte Parallele in *Juppiter* =Ζεῦ πάτερ. Das dor. Ποτιδᾶς (Epicharm. 81. Sophron 131 Kaib.) kann direkt zusammengewachsenes *Πότι Δᾶς sein; davon abgeleitet das Adjektiv dor. Ποτίδαιος, ion. att. Ποσῐδήιος, Ποσῖδειος (dazu der Monatsname Ποσῐδηιών, Ποσῖδεών). Die Form Ποτειδάϝων mit den daraus entstandenen dor. Ποτειδάν, ark. Ποσοιδάν, ion. Ποσειδέων, att. Ποσειδῶν ist eine Weiterbildung nach Art von *'Αλκμάϝων 'Αλκμάν, Μαχάων, 'Αμυθάων, *Παιάων

had gone further in the same direction by supposing the original vocative to have been **Pótei Dâs*, 'Lord (Husband) of the Earth-goddess[1],' and thence forming the new nominatives *Potidâs*, *Poteidázwon*, etc. This is phonetically unimpeachable. But so also is my *Potei-Dán*, etc., 'Lord Zeus.' And on the whole it seems to me more likely that the god was named in his own right than in virtue of his relation to the goddess.

Zeus *Strátios* of Labranda bore a local appellative, which is spelled in very diverse ways. Kretschmer[2] has compiled a list of a dozen variants—*Labráyndos*[3] (fig. 492), *Lambráyndos*[4], *Labraúyndos*[5],

hom. Παιήων dor. Παιάν, Ἑρμάων Ἑρμάν. Es scheint nun, dass in der Zusammenrückung beide Vokativformen, die alte *πότει und die jüngere *πότι, neben einander gebraucht wurden.' Etc.

[1] On Δᾶ as an ancient pet-name ('*Lallnamen*') of the earth-goddess see P. Kretschmer 'Demeter' in the *Wiener Studien* 1902 xxiv. 523 ff.

[2] P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 303.

[3] Λαβράϋνδος in inscriptions from Mylasa (A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 98 ff. no. 2, 10 f. quoted *supra* p. 578 n. 4 no. (3). W. Judeich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 261 f. no. 15, 3 f. [Ἐ]κατόμνως Οὐλιάδου [ἐ]ρε[ὺ]ς Δ[ι]|[ὸς] Λαβραΰνδου Μαννίτης), from the neighbourhood of Aphrodisias (R. Chandler *Marmora Oxoniensia* Oxonii 1763 ii. 11 no. 12 pl. 5, 12 (=my fig. 492), *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2750, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 802, *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 192 fig. 16 a small altar, found in a Turkish cemetery between Aphrodisias and Hierapolis, and now at Oxford, showing a double axe in relief and beneath it in letters of *s.* i B.C. Διὸς Λαβραΰν|δου | καὶ Διὸς Μεγίσ|στου), from Stratonikeia (E. Hula—E. Szanto in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1895 cxxxii. 2. 17 f. no. 12, 1 ff. Λούκιος Βετώνιος | Ἀλέξανδρος | Σουμμαρούδης | ἀνέθηκεν τῷ συ|στήματι τῶν πρεσ|[β]υτῶν τὸν Δία τὸν | [Λ]αβράϋνδον ἐκ τῶν | ἰδίων ὑπαρχόντων a dedication of imperial date. *Eid. ib.* 1895 cxxxii. 2. 19 no. 1 a marble slab inscribed Δημήτριος καὶ Ἑρμίας Διὶ | Λαβραΰνδωι with an axe in relief below the inscription), from Halikarnassos (G. Hirschfeld *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1893 iv. 1. 79 f. no. 904 a small marble altar, found near *Budrum*, inscribed in lettering of a good period Διὸς | Λαβραΰνδου), from Herakleia at the foot of Mt Latmos (R. Chandler *Inscriptiones antiquae* Oxonii 1774 p. 18 Pars i no. 49, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2896 two stones marked with the double axe and inscribed Διὸς | Λαβραΰνδου, found in an island near *Bafi* on the lake of Herakleia (map in *Milet* iii. 1 at end)), and even from the Peiraieus, where the god had a *thíasos* (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 613, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 977, of the year 299—298 B.C., in praise of Menis, son of Mnesitheos, of Herakleia, who has done well by the worshippers and sanctuary of Zeus *Labráyndos*, 5 ff. καὶ τό τε προστῶιον καὶ | [τ]ὸ [ἀ]έτωμα τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραΰνδου ἐπε[τέ]λεσεν ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ, 13 f. καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀξίως ἱερε|ώσατο τοῦ θεοῦ· κ.τ.λ.). That the title Λαβράϋνδος was quadrisyllabic appears from Plin. *nat. hist.* 32. 16 in Labrayndi Iovis fonte etc., where the best manuscripts give *labrayndi* (*labramdi* cod. d. *labrandi* cod. T.).

[4] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2691 *e*, 4=Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 379, 4=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 471, III, 35=F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 759 f. no. 5753 *c*, 4=Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 167, 35 quoted *supra* p. 576 n. 2. For the *μ* cp. *et. mag.* p. 389, 57 (cod. D) *infra* p. 587 n. 2.

[5] W. Judeich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 259 no. 11 an altar at Mylasa inscribed Δημοσ(θ)ένης | representation of a double axe | Λαβρανύνδ[ῳ] | ἀνέ(θ)ηκεν.

Labraáyndos (?)[1], *Labraíyndos*[2], *Labráindos* (?)[3], *Labráendos*[4], *Lábrendos*[5], *Lábrandos* (?)[6], *Labrandeús*[7], *Labradeús*[8], *Labrandenós*[9]—and has drawn the obvious conclusion that Carian vocalisation was incommensurable with Greek spelling. Since the *nd*-suffix is found, not only in the names of places, but also sometimes in those of persons, Kretschmer[10] further conjectures that an axe-god Labrayndos gave his name to the sanctuary Labraynda and subsequently received from the sanctuary his appellative *Labrandeús* etc. That is, no doubt, a thinkable sequence of events. But it is simpler to suppose that *Lábranda* was called 'the place of the Double Axe' because repeatedly struck by lightning[11], the god being named from the spot, not the spot from the god.

This would square well with J. Schaefer's[12] surmise that originally the double axe alone was the object here worshipped. If so, the Carian cult must have been near akin to the Cretan. In which connexion we should observe that the Mylasians of the first century B.C.

[1] Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 348, 4 f. καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ | Λαβρααΰνδου. But A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 98 ff. no. 2, 10 f. read καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ | Λαβραΰνδου: *supra* p. 578 n. 4 no. (3).

[2] Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 338 (an inscription of *s.* i B.C., found at Olymos, recording the sale of land by a certain Polites to the trustees of the sacred domain of Apollon and Artemis), 17 καὶ ἡ ἱερὰ γῆ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος θεῶν δήμου Ὀλυμέων καὶ ἡ ἱερὰ γῆ Διὸς Λαβραιύνδου [---]. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2693 (inexact) = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 399 (decree in honour of Ouliades, found at Mylasa), 20 [---] προεστηκότος τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐλ Λαβραϊύνδω[ι] τοῦ | [---]. Cp. W. Judeich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 261 f. no. 15 (Mylasa), 4 Μαυννίτης but 8 Μαϊυννίτης.

[3] Λαβράϊνδος is inferred from the existence of Λαβραϊνδίς as a woman's name at Stratonikeia (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii. 1108 no. 2731 *b*, 2 = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 531, 2 Κλαυδίας Λαβραϊνδίδος).

[4] E. Hula—E. Szanto in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1895 cxxxii. 2. 13 no. 4 (fragment of a decree in Doric dialect found at Mylasa), 14 [Λ]αβραένδο[υ].

[5] W. Judeich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 259 no. 10 (a small altar of grey-blue marble found at Mylasa) Διὸς Λα|βρένδου in lettering of *s.* ii B.C. beneath and about the representation of a double axe.

[6] Λάβρανδος is inferred from *et. mag.* p. 389, 57 quoted *infra* p. 587 n. 2.

[7] Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 30 καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ δὲ τοῦ Λαβρανδέως Διὸς κ.τ.λ. and Ζεὺς δὲ Λαβρανδεὺς κ.τ.λ. (*infra* p. 590 n. 3). Λαβρανδεύς as an ethnic is found in Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 334 (Olymos), 2 f. Λαβραν|[δεῖς], 7 f. Λ[α]|[βρανδεῖς] and in Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λάβρανδα·...Λαβρανδηνὸς καὶ Λαβράνδιος καὶ Λαβρανδεύς. P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 84 f. no. 4 (*Sari-Tsam*), 2 Λαβραντίδης, 8 Λαβραντίδαι.

[8] Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 45 (*supra* p. 559 f.).

[9] Strab. 659 (*supra* p. 576). Λαβρανδηνός as an ethnic occurs in Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λάβρανδα (*supra* n. 7).

[10] P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 304 f.

[11] Theophr. *frag.* 159 Wimmer (*supra* p. 581).

[12] J. Schaefer *De Iove apud Cares culto* (*Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* xx. 4) Halis Saxonum 1912 p. 355 f.

are known to have had priests of Zeus *Kretagenés* and the Kouretes[1]. Reverence paid to Cretan powers is at least suggestive of Cretan affinity.

Another point deserving of consideration is the possibility that the axe-god of Mylasa was at one time named *Labráyndos*, 'He of Labranda,' without any more exact determination. The *Etymologicum Magnum*[2] tells how the Kouretes Labrandos, Panamoros, and Palaxos or Spalaxos came in consequence of an oracle to Karia and, being overtaken by night, slept on the banks of a river which they therefore called the Heudonos. As two of these Curetic names were obviously cult-titles of Zeus, Labrandos being derived from the Zeus *Labráyndos* of Labranda and Panamoros from the Zeus *Panámaros* of Panamara[3], O. Höfer in 1894 suspected that the third name likewise, Palaxos or Spalaxos, might prove to be a '*Zeus-epitheton*[4].' His suspicion was well founded; for seven years later he triumphantly quotes[5] a dedication to Zeus *Spáloxos* on a small altar found by W. Kubitschek and W. Reichel at Mastaura and published by them in 1894[6]. The altar in question is decorated with a double axe also; and this tempts Höfer to hazard the guess that *Pálaxos* may be connected with *pélekys*, 'an axe.' In view of the various disguises worn by this much-travelled word[7] there is no phonetic

[1] Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 394, 8 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 472, 8 f. (Mylasa) *ἐπειδὴ* Μοσ[χίω]ν Ἀριστείδου, *ἱερεὺς Διὸς Κρηταγενοῦς καὶ Κουρήτων κ.τ.λ.* (*supra* i. 149 n. 1). *Eid. ib.* no. 406, 1 (Mylasa) [*ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου τοῦ δεῖνος τοῦ δεῖνος, ἱερέως Διὸς Κρητα]γενοῦς καὶ Κουρήτων, κ.τ.λ.* Cp. *eosd. ib.* no. 338, 8 (Olymos) Ἑρμίαι Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Ἑρμίου, *ἱερεῖ Διὸς Κρητα[γ]ενοῦς κ[α]ὶ Κουρήτω[ν] Παρεμβωρδεῖ, κ.τ.λ.*]. Michel refers the first of these inscriptions, which is now in the Louvre (W. Frœhner *Musée impérial du Louvre. Les inscriptions grecques* Paris 1865 no. 56), to the close of *s.* ii B.C.

[2] *Et. mag.* p. 389, 55 ff. Εὔδωνος· *ποταμὸς τῆς ποτὲ μὲν Δίας τε καὶ Ἐρύμνης καὶ Λαρίσης, νῦν δὲ Τράλλεων καλουμένης τῆς Ἀσίας· ὅτι Λάβρανδος* (λαμβρᾶδος cod. D.) *καὶ Πανάμορος καὶ Πάλαξος* (Πάλεξος cod. D.), *ἢ Σπάλαξος, οἱ Κούρητες, κατὰ χρησμὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίαν ὁρμῶντες, νυκτὸς ἐπικαταλαβούσης, ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις αὐτοῦ κατεκοιμήθησαν. παρὰ τὸ εὐδῆσαι οὖν Εὔδωνον τὸν ποταμὸν ὠνόμασαν.* *Supra* i. 18 n. 4.

[3] *Supra* i. 18 ff.

[4] O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1777 f.

[5] *Id. ib.* iii. 1276.

[6] W. Kubitschek—W. Reichel in the *Anzeiger der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* Phil.-hist. Classe 1893 (Wien 1894) xxx. 93 no. 2: 'aus Mastaura ein kleiner Altar, dessen Vorderseite in Relief die Büste eines unbärtigen Kopfes mit Schleier und die Worte γ' Διὶ Σπαλώξω Ἀμμι(ο)ν εὐχήν trägt, während auf der Rückseite eine Doppelaxt erscheint.'

[7] *πέλεκυς*, Sanskrit *paraçú-h* (*párçu-h*), was a loan-word from the east, cp. Babylonian-Assyrian *pilaqqu*, Sumerian *balag*, 'axe' (H. Lewy *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* Berlin 1895 p. 178, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 358, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 761 f.). Babr. 64. 9 *καὶ τῶν πελύκων τῶν ἀεί σε τεμνόντων* (so W. G. Rutherford, in his ed. of 1883, with excision of line 8) implies a form *πέλυξ*.

R. Eisler in *Philologus* 1909 lxviii. 126 n. 27 derives Βερεκύνδαι, Βερέκυντες, Βερέκυνθος,

impossibility to bar the way. Again, if the Mylasian axe-god was known as *Labráyndos* before he became Zeus *Labráyndos*, we can appreciate Euhemeros' statement that Zeus in the course of his journey round the world was entertained by a king or chieftain called Labryandos and bade his host in memory of the visit erect a temple to Zeus *Labryándios*[1]. Finally, one altar found at Mylasa exhibits the double axe and a dedication 'to *Labraúyndos*[2]' without any mention of Zeus. Nevertheless it is certain that, long before this altar was made, *Labráyndos* had been definitely identified with Zeus: the joint designation goes back to Herodotos[3] and probably to Gyges[4].

In 1840 Sir Charles Fellows[5] saw and described the Sacred Road that runs from Mylasa to Labranda:

'In descending the mountain towards Mellassa, we followed and continually crossed and re-crossed an ancient paved road, the large stones differing from those of later days by being wrought and fitted together with the protruding natural rock: the road, in passing ravines, was also built up with solid Greek masonry. This way doubtless continued to the ancient city of Mylasa.'

He also visited the temple at Labranda[6], but failed to recognise it as that of Zeus *Labráyndos*[7]. P. Lebas fared better. On March 16,

etc. from **βέρεκυς* 'offenbar eine aufgerauhte Nebenform von *πέλεκυς* = "Doppelaxt"' (accents amended). The *b* of *balag* and the *β* of *βέλεκυς*, *βέλεκος*, *βέλεκκος*, an axe-shaped bean (P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 106 f.), might be alleged in support of this derivation. Dr Giles tells me that **βέρεκυς* for *πέλεκυς* would be possible as far east as Persia, where *r* occurs for *l*.

But when Eisler *loc. cit.* goes on to detect double axes in the Πελασγοί (= **Πελαγσκοι*), Πηλεγών son of Ἄξιος (*Il.* 21. 141), the Πηλαγόνες in general, Πλακία and ἡ Πλακιανή (accent rectified), *Peleg* (Gen. 10. 25), the Persians ('Wortspiel: "Prithu-Parçavah" "Axtführende Parther" Rig Veda 7, 83'), and the Amazonian *παλλακίδες* ('Nach ihrer Axt heissen natürlich diese Tempeldirnen'), even the Complaisant Man is unwilling *συμπαίζειν αὐτὸς λέγων...* '*πέλεκυς*'!

[1] Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 22 Historia vero Sacra testatur ipsum Iovem, postquam rerum potitus sit, in tantam venisse insolentiam ut ipse sibi fana in multis locis constituerit. nam cum terras circumiret, ut in quamque regionem venerat, reges principesve populorum hospitio sibi et amicitia copulabat et cum a quoque digrederetur, iubebat sibi fanum creari hospitis sui nomine, quasi ut posset amicitiae ac foederis memoria conservari. sic constituta sunt templa Iovi Ataburio, Iovi Labryandio (labryandio cod. R. labyandro cod. B. labriandrio codd. S.H. labriando codd. P.V.): Ataburus enim et Labryandus (labryandus cod. R. labyandrus cod. B. labriandrius cod. S. labrianderius cod. H. labriandus codd. P.V.) hospites eius atque adiutores in bello fuerunt; item Iovi Laprio, Iovi Molioni, Iovi Casio, et quae sunt in eundem modum.

[2] *Supra* p. 585 n. 5.

[3] Hdt. 5. 119 (*infra* p. 590 n. 2).

[4] Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 45 (*supra* p. 559).

[5] C. Fellows *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia* London 1841 p. 67.

[6] *Id. ib.* p. 66.

[7] Fellows was misled by R. Chandler *Ionian Antiquities* London 1769 p. 55 ff. pls. iv, 1—5 and *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece* Oxford 1825 i. 245 ff., who took the ruins of an unfinished Corinthian temple at *Ayakli* to mark the site of Labranda. Others had

1844 he reached and identified Labranda (*Kodja Yaïla*), describing his experiences in an enthusiastic letter[1] and securing admirable views and plans of the extant remains (figs. 493 and 494)[2].

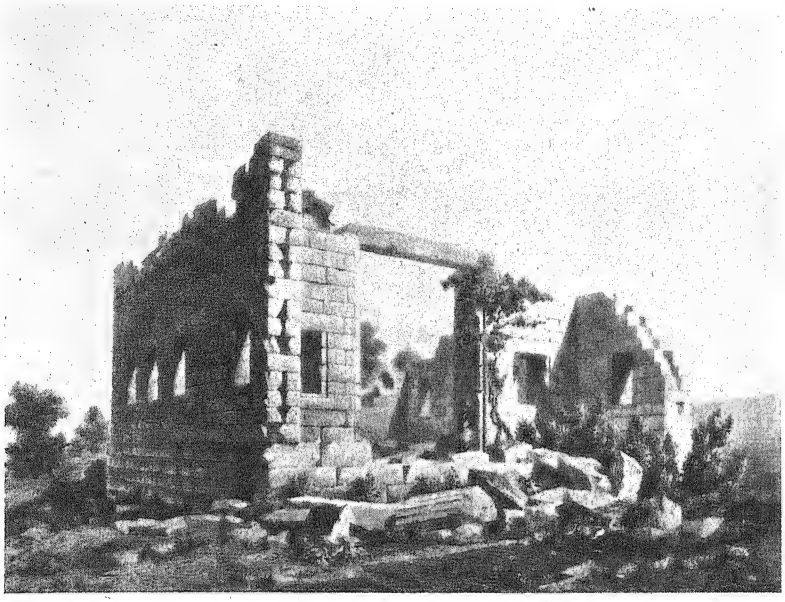


Fig. 493.

Later the spot was revisited by Lieut. R. M. Smith, when attached to Sir C. T. Newton's expedition to Asia Minor (1856—1859). Newton[3] introduces his report as follows:

'The ruins are very finely situated near the summit of the Kodja Yailih mountains, the ancient Mount Latmus, according to Kiepert. A principal ravine opens from it down to the valley of Mylasa. "The site is covered with ruins of massive Hellenic masonry, some of which appear to have been terrace walls. The most important of these ruins is that of a small distyle temple *in antis*, consist-

rightly identified them with Euromos, and W. M. Leake *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor* London 1824 p. 231 f. had proposed to see in them the temple of Zeus Εὐρωμεύς (a 'second brass' of Caracalla, said to bear an archaic effigy of Zeus in a tetrastyle temple and the legend ZЄYC ЄYPΩMЄYC ЄYPΩMЄΩN (Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] ii. 581, Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 817, 854, Suppl. ii. 915, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 617) rests upon the authority of Vaillant and is discredited by J. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 362).

[1] Reprinted from the *Revue Indépendante* 1844 xiv. 535 f. in Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 48.

[2] P. Le Bas *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* Paris 1847 Itinéraire pl. 65 (=my fig. 493), 1858 Architecture Asie Mineure ii pl. 8, 1 (=my fig. 494), Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* pp. 47 f., 149 Itin. pl. 65 and Archit. ii pl. 8, 1.

[3] C. T. Newton *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ* London 1863 ii. 2. 613 f.

ing of a *pronaos* and *cella*, with a square recess at the end. The length of the cella inside the walls is 38′ 3″ by a width of 33′ 6″. The doorway is 12′ 2″ in width. Two lintel stones still stretch across the top. The height of the doorway is about 18′. The flanking walls consist of twelve courses, each about 1½′ deep. The thickness of this wall is 6′ ½″. Beyond the doorway the side walls of the *pronaos* extend 16′ 8″. At a height of 12′ from the ground outside, and 2′ 3″ from the floor inside, the walls are pierced at regular intervals by windows 6′ 3″ by 3′ 6″ at the base, tapering slightly upwards. Round these windows is a slight sinking, as if to receive shutters. The view from them is most striking, embracing the plain of Mylasa, Paitschin, Leros, Calymnos, Cos, Budrum, and the mountains all round. Near this building drums of fluted marble columns were lying about[1]. The diameter of one was about 3′. A smaller one measured 2′ 1″."'

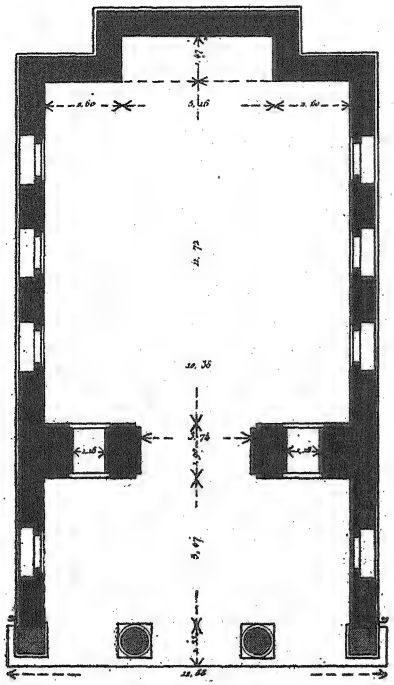


Fig. 494.

Labranda in its palmy days had other attractions besides this many-windowed fane with its large and well-built precinct. Here grew a fine grove of sacred plane-trees, to which the Carian troops fled for refuge after their disastrous defeat by the Persians under Daurises on the banks of the Marsyas (the modern *China Chai*) during the Ionian revolt[2]. Here too was a spring of clear water, in which were kept tame eels decked with earrings and chains of gold[3].

The Carians, being a warlike race, viewed their axe-bearing god

[1] *Id. ib.* p. 614 n.° says: 'Prokesch von Osten [A. Prokesch-Osten *Denkwürdigkeiten und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient* ed. E. Münch Stuttgart 1837 iii. 449] describes other ruins on this site. He saw a portico with twelve columns standing, now probably thrown down; a great number of pieces of frieze lying on the ground; a massive wall of hewn stone fitted without mortar, 134 paces long, connected with a row of chambers not less than 200 paces long; and at the end of the wall a tower. The whole area covered by the ruins he estimates as not more than 400 paces in width: he considers these remains to be of the Roman period.'

[2] Hdt. 5. 119.

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 32. 16 e manu vescuntur pisces...item in Labrayndi (*supra* p. 585 n. 3) Iovis fonte anguillae et inaures additas gerunt, Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 30 *χειροήθεις δὲ ἰχθῦς καὶ ὑπακούοντες τῇ κλήσει καὶ τροφὰς ἀσμένως δεχόμενοι πολλαχόθι καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ τρέφονται, ὥσπερ οὖν...καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ δὲ τοῦ Λαβρανδέως Διὸς ἐν κρήνῃ διειδοῦς νάματος, καὶ ἔχουσιν ὁρμίσκους χρυσοῦς καὶ ἐλλόβια, χρυσᾶ μέντοι καὶ ταῦτα.*

as *in primis* a fighter, brought his old wooden effigy up to date by means of an added sword, and saluted him as *Strátios*, the 'Lord of Hosts[1].' This title occurs in several inscriptions from Mylasa[2]. But the martial aspect of the deity worshipped by Carian mercenaries from generation to generation never really eclipsed the original conception of him as a storm-god and fertilising power. Labranda is liable to rain of exceptional severity, as Sir Charles Fellows[3] found to his cost. He reached Mylasa on March 20, 1840, 'in a violent storm,' and here he was detained by the rain falling 'in such torrents' that, when he attempted an excursion to *Ayakli*, it completely soaked his pockets, portfolios, and carefully copied inscriptions. He complains that 'the thick branches of a group of evergreen oaks did not even afford shelter from the deluging rain.' After this we are not surprised to learn from Aelian[4] that Zeus *Labrandeús* got his name from the 'heavy downpour' that he sent. Modern man is apt to grumble at a shower. But the ancients knew better, and welcomed it as proof of the sky-god's gendering force.

If the sky-god was the fertiliser, the earth-goddess was the ferti-

[1] Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 30 *τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ξίφος παρήρτηται, καὶ τιμᾶται καλούμενος Κάριός τε καὶ Στράτιος.* But Strab. 659 (*supra* p. 576 f.) expressly distinguishes the cult of Zeus *Κάριος* from that of Zeus *Λαβρανδηνός* or *Στράτιος*. No doubt Aelian has blundered; probably because, as C. Robert in J. Schaefer *De Iove apiud Cares culto* (*Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* xx. 4) Halis Saxonum 1912 p. 357 n. 1 suggests, he is mixing the contents of Hdt. 1. 171 with those of Hdt. 5. 119.

[2] Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 342 (a dedicatory inscription of *s.* i B.C., with a representation of a double axe above it) *Θεομνήστου τὴν εἰκό[να Θεόμν][η]στος Λέοντος κατὰ δὲ ὑοθεσ[ίαν Διοκλείους τοῦ] | Πολυκλείτου, ἱερεὺς Διὸς Στρατίου, [φιλοστ][οργίας ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας, [ἀνέθηκε][ν] Διὶ Στρατίωι.*

W. Judeich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 267 ff. no. 20 (a decree of *s.* i B.C.), 3 ff. *ἔδοξεν τῆ Ὑαρβεσυτῶν φυλῆ γνώμην | [ἀποφη]ναμένου Θεομνήστου τοῦ Λέοντος κατὰ δὲ | [υἱοθ]εσίαν Διοκλείους τοῦ Πολυκλείτου, ἱερέως Διὸς | [Στ]ρατείου καὶ Ἥρας, Ἀγανίτου ἄρχοντος, ὅπως κ.τ.λ.*

Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 415 (*supra* p. 579 n. 0 no. (2) *bis*), 12 ff. *ἐνεβίβασεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνάντι|[ον μ]αρτύρων τῶν ὁμόρων, Λέοντος τοῦ Θεομνήστου τοῦ Λέοντος, Λιμναίου τοῦ Θεομνήστου, | [καὶ Ε]ὐπολέμου τοῦ Θεομνήστου ἱερέως Διὸς Καρίου, καὶ Ἰάσονος καὶ Θεομνήστου υἱῶν Θεομνήσ|[του], μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν Θεομνήστου τοῦ Λέοντος κατὰ δὲ υἱοθεσίαν Διοκλείους | [τοῦ] Πολυκλείτου, ἱερέως Διὸς Στρατίου καὶ Ἥρας.*

Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 343 (a dedication of *s.* i B.C.) *Διὶ Στρατίωι.*

[3] C. Fellows *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia* London 1841 pp. 67, 69.

[4] Ael. *de nat. an.* 12. 30 *Ζεὺς δὲ Λαβρανδεὺς ὕσας λάβρῳ καὶ πολλῷ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τήνδε ἠνέγκατο.*



Fig. 495.

C. Fellows *op. cit.* p. 75 fig. (=my fig. 495) noticed four keystones decorated with a double axe in relief, which were built into various walls at Mylasa. One of them, here shown, was *in situ* over a fine arched gateway carrying an aqueduct. We may perhaps infer that the water-supply was under the special protection of the rain-god.

lised. But, apart from the late inscriptions which associate Hera with Zeus *Strátios*[1], we have no evidence of a goddess at all in Labranda. It would seem that here throughout historical times the god was all in all[2]. Yet, remembering the similarity of the Carian to the Cretan cult, we may well suspect that in the former as in the latter a goddess had once played the leading part. Indeed, it would not be unreasonable to conjecture that in Karia the cult of the Indo-Europaean sky-father had been superposed on that of an indigenous earth-mother, and that Zeus had to a certain extent absorbed into himself her maternal characteristics. In point of fact, some such hypothesis is necessary to account for two very remarkable reliefs, in which the Zeus of Labranda is represented with the breasts of a goddess. One of these (fig. 496) is 'an archaic statuette in white marble' seen by J. T. Wood[3] 'in the garden of a Turkish gentleman at Mylassa.' It is of importance, because in all probability it preserves for us the type of the cult-image at Labranda on a larger scale than the coins already mentioned (figs. 476—479, 485)[4]. We are confronted by a beardless (?) deity, with *kálathos* on head, necklaces round throat, double axe and sceptre in either hand. The body below the waist is swathed with an *agrenón*[5] and above it exhibits

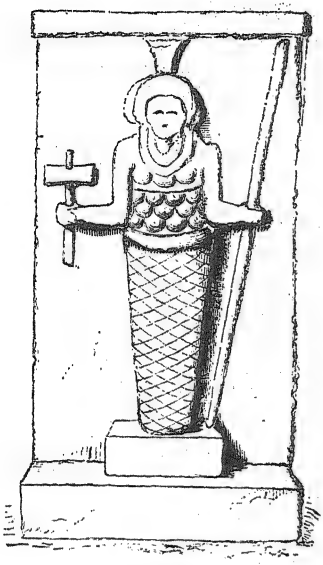


Fig. 496.

[1] *Supra* p. 591 n. 2.

[2] Cp. J. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 382: 'neque Rhea-Cybele, quam Cretenses omnibus aetatibus praeter Iovem diligenter venerabantur, in Caria nisi in septentrionali Lydiae confinio culta est.' See, however, H. Graillot *Le culte de Cybèle* Paris 1912 pp. 362 ff., 385, 409.

[3] J. T. Wood *Discoveries at Ephesus* London 1877 p. 270 fig. B (=my fig. 496).

[4] *Supra* p. 574 ff. (figs. 476—479, 485). C. Lenormant *Nouvelle galerie mythologique* (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 p. 52 f. no. 16 pl. 8, 11 and an enlarged fig. on p. 53: 'il porte une longue barbe et laisse voir deux mamelles de femme.' P. Foucart in the *Mon. Piot* 1910 xviii. 162 thinks that Lenormant's draughtsman meant to represent three breasts, not two. But Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 270 is justly sceptical of the whole design. I fail to detect any breasts on the two examples of the coin in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 133 nos. 38, 39); nor are they mentioned by G. Macdonald as present on the two specimens at Glasgow (*Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 425 nos. 2, 3); while Foucart *loc. cit.* admits that 'M. Babelon est d'avis que la pièce du Cabinet des Médailles ne permet ni de nier ni d'affirmer.'

[5] *Supra* p. 574 n. 7.

four rows of female breasts. We are, of course, inclined to regard this effeminate form as a goddess, not a god, till we come to examine its counterpart on the second relief (fig. 497)[1]. That is a sunk panel of white marble surmounted by a pediment, found at Tegea near the temple of Athena *Aléa* and acquired in 1914 by the British Museum. In the centre of the relief stands a bearded god, definitely



Fig. 497.

inscribed *Zeús*. He faces us, in *chitón* and *himátion*, holding a double axe over his right shoulder and a spear in his left hand. A small piece of marble, filling the space between the head and the edge of the panel, suggests a *kálathos*. Round his neck Zeus wears a large necklace. On his chest, and apparently outside his *chitón*, he has six

[1] P. Foucart 'Le Zeus Stratios de Labranda' in the *Mon. Piot* 1910 xviii. 145—175 with figs. 1—10, *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1913 xvii. 276, E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1548 f. with fig., A. H. Smith 'Some recently acquired reliefs in the British Museum' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 67—70 fig. 1 f. My fig. 497 is from a photograph kindly supplied to me by Mr Smith. The inscriptions are published by F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 89 and by F. H. Marshall *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1916 iv. 2. 116 no. 950.

breast-like protuberances. M. Meurer[1] and A. H. Smith[2] have attempted to explain these as some sort of pectoral ornament. But Wood's relief is really conclusive in favour of admitting them to be female breasts[3]. Zeus is flanked by two smaller figures, who look towards him with gestures of adoration. The inscriptions, *Idrieús* and *Áda*, show that they are the king and queen of Karia, who were reigning together between 351 and 344 B.C.[4] As son and daughter of Hekatomnos, brother and sister of Maussollos, they naturally adore their ancestral god Zeus *Strátios* of Labranda. We cannot, however, suppose that this trumpery relief was a votive offering made by, or on behalf of, Carian royalty. Besides, how came it to be found at Tegea? In the absence of the lower half of the stone, which doubtless gave the circumstances of the dedication, certainty is unattainable. But P. Foucart has put forward a very plausible hypothesis[5]. Skopas, who is known to have decorated the temple of Athena *Aléa* before he worked at the Mausoleum, probably took with him from Tegea to Halikarnassos some of his best workmen. One of these, on returning to his native town, consecrated to the goddess a *souvenir* of his Carian journey, as like as not executed by his own hand.

The *bizarre* type of a Zeus with matronal breasts must not be taken, with E. Gerhard[6], to imply an androgynous deity, nor merely, with P. Foucart[7], to betoken that 'c'est lui qui nourrit les êtres vivants, qui répand l'abondance.' It occurs again at *Suwasa* in Kappadokia, where H. Rott[8] discovered an arcuated rock-cut niche

[1] M. Meurer 'Die mammae der Artemis Ephesia' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1914 xxix. 200—219 with figs. 1—10.

[2] A. H. Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 68.

[3] This is recognised by both Foucart and Kuhnert *locc. citt.*

[4] U. Kahrstedt *Forschungen zur Geschichte des ausgehenden fünften und des vierten Jahrhunderts* Berlin 1910 pp. 22, 119, 149 f. and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 912 dates their joint reign of seven years (Diod. 16. 69) from the spring of 350 to the end of 344 B.C.

[5] P. Foucart in the *Mon. Piot* 1910 xviii. 147, A. H. Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 69.

[6] Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 166.

[7] P. Foucart *loc. cit.* p. 172 f., followed by W. Deonna in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 336, *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1914 xviii. 502.

[8] H. Rott *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler aus Pisidien, Pamphylien, Kappadokien und Lykien* Leipzig 1908 p. 253 f. fig. 92 (=my fig. 498): 'Dass das Christentum hier bereits eine alte Kultstätte vorfand, ist ersichtlich aus einer Götterfigur, die wir an der senkrechten Felswand hinter dem Dorf ausgehauen fanden. In einer rundbogigen Nische sitzt eine Gottheit, die den linken Arm erhoben hatte. Der Oberkörper ist unbekleidet und zeigt Reste von Brüsten, ein faltiges Gewand fällt über Schoss und Kniee hinab. Vier Stufen führten zur Statue hinauf, der Raum davor ist geebnet und die Felswände rings geglättet... Ich halte die Figur für den Zeus Stratios, dessen Kult in Kappadokien allenthalben verbreitet war.' On Zeus *Strátios* in Kappadokia etc. see *in primis* F. Cumont 'Le

(fig. 498) containing a seated effigy of Zeus *Strátios* (?). The left arm is raised. The lower limbs are wrapped in a mantle. The upper part of the body is bare and shows remains of breasts. Here too we should infer that the Hellenic father-god had usurped the position of the Anatolian mother-goddess, and that local prejudice had to be

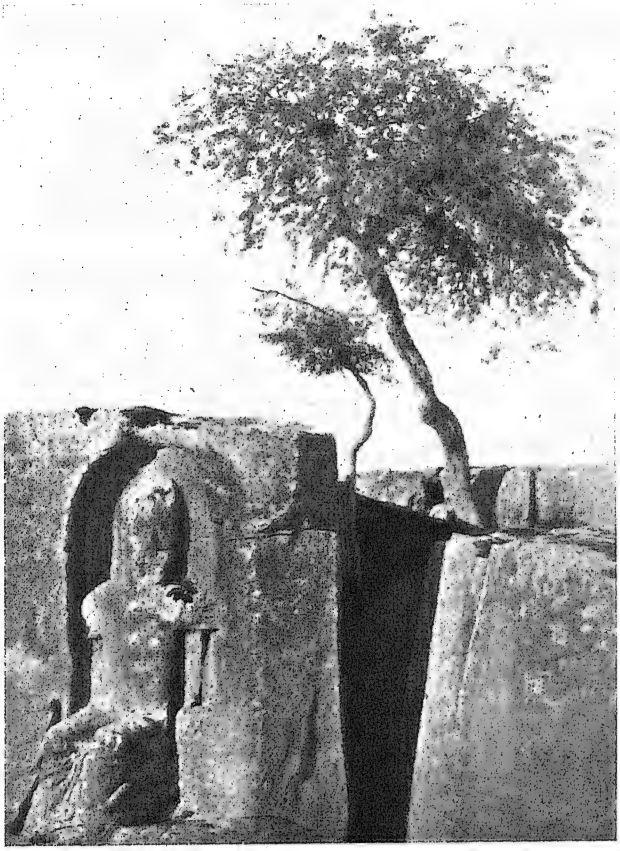


Fig. 498.

satisfied by the strange expedient of giving him 'the breasts of her consolations[1].' On occasion, no doubt, the old order triumphed over the new, and the resultant deity—despite his beard—was regarded as a goddess rather than a god. Thus at Zougo or *Zogui*, a village

Zeus Stratios de Mithridate' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1901 xliii. 47—57, F. Cumont—E. Cumont *Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la Petite Arménie* (*Studia Pontica* ii) Bruxelles 1906 pp. 171—184 ('Le temple de Zeus Stratios'), E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1545—1550.

[1] Is. 66. 11.

near *Mersivan* at the entrance of the great marshy plain known to Strabon[1] as Chiliokomon and now called *Soulou-Ova*, F. Cumont[2] in 1900 photographed a crude relief (fig. 499), which represents a

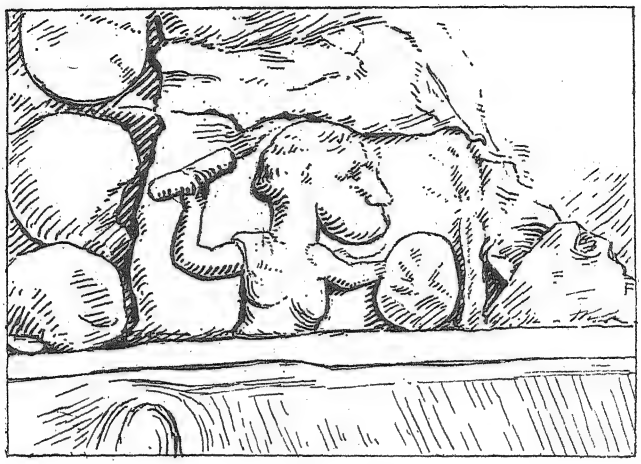


Fig. 499.

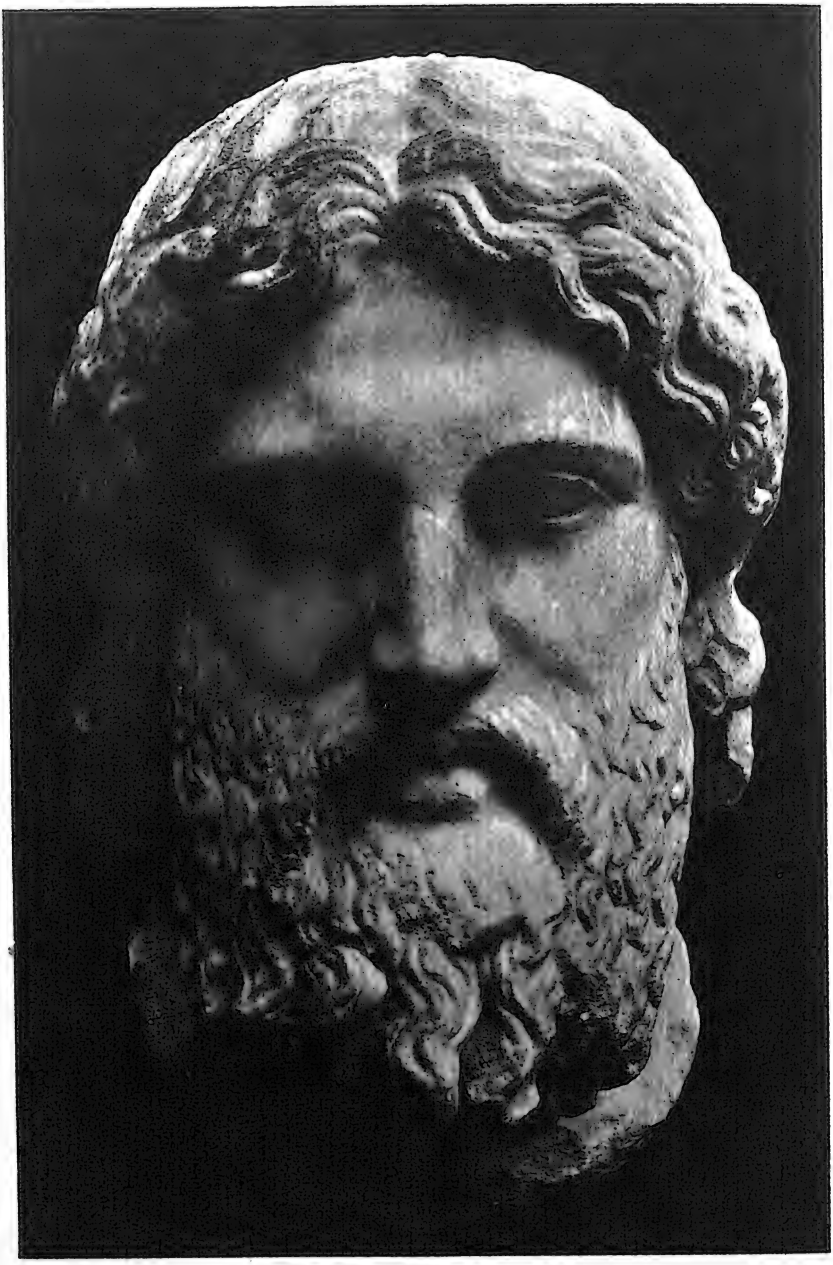
divinity, at once bearded and breasted, advancing from left to right with a thunderbolt brandished in one hand and a round shield grasped in the other. The accompanying dedication[3] describes this peculiar personage as *theá*, a 'goddess,' not *theós*, a 'god.'

[1] Strab. 561.

[2] F. Cumont—E. Cumont *op. cit.* p. 139 with fig. (=my fig. 499): 'il subsiste au village de *Zougo* un curieux morceau de sculpture. Ce bas-relief (H. env. $0^m,45$, L. $0^m,50$) est malheureusement placé derrière le tronc d'arbre creusé qui sert de lavoir communal et que nous ne pûmes faire enlever. On n'en aperçoit donc, dans notre reproduction, que la partie supérieure : le haut du corps d'un personnage à grosse tête barbue, brandissant le foudre de la main droite élevée et portant au bras gauche un bouclier rond. Le travail très grossier est manifestement l'œuvre d'un sculpteur indigène et j'inclinerais à reconnaître dans ce combattant quelque dieu anatolien ; peut-être l'ancêtre du Zeus Stratios, honoré dans ce pays à l'époque de Mithridate.'

[3] H. Grégoire 'Rapport sur un voyage d'exploration dans le Pont et en Cappadoce' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1909 xxxiii. 17: 'M. Cumont, en 1900, photographia au village de *Zougo*, à l'entrée du Χιλιόκωμον, un bas-relief de facture indigène et d'exécution très grossière, qui représentait une divinité anatolienne brandissant le foudre. Mais la moitié seulement de ce relief était visible. Nous le fîmes complètement dégager, et une inscription apparut, d'ailleurs fort effacée. Les premières lettres seulement en sont d'une lecture à peu près certaine : Ζώβη (ou Ζώγη?) θεᾷ. La ressemblance entre ce nom et le nom actuel du village (*Zougo* ou *Zogui*) est assurément frappante. La divinité représentée est féminine et cependant barbue. On peut rappeler que Zeus Stratios a été parfois vénéré sous la forme d'une idole androgyne.'

P. Foucart in the *Mon. Piot* 1910 xviii. 165 adds (after receipt of a photograph from F. Cumont): 'Quant à l'inscription, je pense, comme M. Cumont, qu'il vaut mieux considérer Ζώβη ou Ζιώβη comme un nom propre féminin, à rapprocher du nom d'homme Ζώβειος qui se rencontre dans des inscriptions d'Olbia [*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2079, 6]; les



Marble head of Zeus *Labráyndos* (?), found at Mylasa and now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

See page 597 f.

Suwasa and *Zougo* were remote villages, where barbarism lingered to the last. But Mylasa under Hekatomnos was the chief city of Karia, and must needs move with the times. Accordingly, though the old cult-image of Zeus *Labráyndos* was still enshrined at Labranda, advancing civilisation began to demand that the god be represented after a newer and nobler pattern. Hekatomnos, as we have seen[1], placed an improved type of him on the satrapal coinage. And it is likely enough that other attempts were made to raise the ancient deity above the level of semi-barbaric art. Interesting proof of this upward tendency has recently come to light in connexion with a magnificent head of Zeus, which passed from private ownership into the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (pl. xxviii). A. Furtwängler, shortly before his death, made a detailed and penetrating study of this masterpiece[2]. His observations were to the following effect. The head is carved of a fine-grained marble, slightly bluish in tone. On the top of it is a round hole (5^{cm} deep, by 1—1½^{cm} broad) and further back an oblong dowel-hole (3^{cm} deep, 2^{cm} broad, 6^{cm} long). These marks presuppose that something light, made of metal, rested on the head: let us say, a *kálathos*. Probably, too, the groove that separates the front hair from the crown of the head implies a metal wreath[3]. The head (height of worked surface 0·48^{m}) was inserted in the neck of a statue, which presumably wore a *chitón* concealing the insertion. And, if a *chíton*, doubtless a *himátion* also. Since the god is turning his head somewhat towards his right, and since the right side of his head is more carefully finished than the left, it may be inferred that he was grouped with another figure, perhaps a seated female, on the left. The nearest stylistic parallels are to be found in the sculptures from the Mausoleum[4]. And Furtwängler

lettres *θεα* sont suivies d'autres lettres qui ne présentent aucun sens. Cette figure me paraît être une répétition grossière et altérée d'une divinité indigène, armée de la foudre, à la poitrine de femme et barbue, en un mot, d'un type assez voisin de celui du Zeus de Labranda.'

[1] *Supra* p. 576.

[2] A. Furtwängler in the Text to Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pls. 572, 573. For other publications see H. Lechat *Phidias* Paris (1906) p. 175 fig. 17 ('Tête d'une statue de Zeus, inspirée du Zeus de Phidias'), H. N. Fowler—J. R. Wheeler—G. P. Stevens *A Handbook of Greek Archaeology* New York—Cincinnati—Chicago 1909 p. 231 f. fig. 173.



Fig. 500.

[3] The head of Zeus *Labráyndos* wearing laureate *kálathos* and bay-wreath with diadem occurs on a copper of Mylasa issued by Augustus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 130 pl. 22, 1 (=my fig. 500): cp. *ib.* p. 130 no. 19, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 425 no. 1, and Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 144 no. 1 silver of Augustus and Livia).

[4] Especially *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* ii. 126 no. 1054 pl. 20, 1, Collignon *Hist. de*

concludes that the artist was in all probability an Attic sculptor of the fourth century B.C., representing a non-Attic Zeus, some such deity as the Carian Zeus *Labráyndos* with *kálathos*, *chitón*, and *himátion*. 'In the new head from Asia Minor,' he says, 'I think we can catch for the first time a clearly perceptible echo of Pheidias' great creation—not, of course, in the true Pheidiac style, but in the soft flowing lines of a contemporary of Praxiteles.' This mention of Zeus *Labráyndos* was a conjecture worthy of the great critic. A *post scriptum* by P. Arndt goes far to confirm it, *viz.*, a report from the previous owner of the head that it was actually discovered at Mylasa[1].

Zeus *Labráyndos* can hardly be separated from Zeus *Labránios*, whose precinct is still to be traced near Amathous in Kypros. The site was first detected by Cesnola. In 1877 he records[2]—

'another range of hills west of these ruins [*sc.* Amathous], on the summit of one of which, very difficult of ascent, situated between the two small villages of Aghios Dimitri and Fasuli[3], I found the ruins of an elliptical structure measuring twenty-seven feet by sixteen. Its area was strewn with pieces of broken statues, upon two of which an eagle was carved. I discovered also on the bases of two life-size statues to which the feet still adhered, Greek characters roughly but deeply cut in the calcareous stone (see Appendix). I should have liked to explore this spot thoroughly, as these ruins are not improbably those of a temple dedicated to Jupiter, but I had brought neither a tent nor provisions with me,' etc.

One looks in vain for the inscriptions to Cesnola's Appendix. They are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York[4], and were published in 1883 by I. H. Hall[5], who adds important extracts from

la Sculpt. gr. ii. 334 fig. 169. The style of the Boston head is happily expressed in Furtwängler's words: 'Es ist nicht die straffe und unnahbare Hoheit der phidiasischen Epoche, nicht das ruhelose stürmische Wollen der Alexanderzeit, es ist ein freundliches, edel menschliches Wesen, das in schlichten, ruhigen und milden Formen hier sich ausspricht.'

[1] Hence P. Arndt infers that the head represents Zeus *Kários* or *Osogôa* or *Labráyndos* or *Strátios*. He cites the view of Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 124 f. that the colossal torso of a seated male figure from the Mausoleum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* ii. 124 no. 1047), identified as a divinity—perhaps Zeus—by Sir C. T. Newton (*A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ* London 1862 ii. 1. 221), was rightly regarded by K. L. von Urlichs (*Skopas' Leben und Werke* Greifswald 1863 p. 197 f.) as Zeus *Labráyndos*, the national god of Karia. But A. H. Smith *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* ii. 124 justly remarks that 'the figure would do equally well for Mausolos, or some other heroified ruler.'

[2] L. P. di Cesnola *Cyprus* London 1877 p. 285.

[3] Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* p. 19 calls the village 'Pasoulla.'

[4] J. L. Myres *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Handbook of the Cesnola collection of antiquities from Cyprus* New York 1914 p. 322 nos. 1914, 1915 and p. 550 no. 1914 Ὀλιάσας Δὶ Λαβρανίῳ εὐξά|μενος ἀπέδωκεν, no. 1915 Δημητρὶς Δὶ Λαβρανίῳ εὐξάμ|ενος ἀπέδωκεν (I. H. Hall read εὐξάμε|νος ἀπεδώκη).

[5] I. H. Hall 'A Temple of Zeus Labranios in Cyprus' in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 1885 xi Proceedings at New Haven, October 24—25, 1883 pp. clxvi—

Cesnola's note-book. As to the elliptical temple, it appears that—

'the ellipse is truncated at one end, through the middle of which end was the entrance. Near the other end, inside, against either wall and opposite each other, are the pedestals (probably) of the two statues referred to.'

These statues were votive offerings by a man named Oliasas[1] and another named Demetris and may be dated between the third and the fifth centuries A.D. Fragments of a third statue seem to belong to the cult-image, though neither head nor double axe[2] were found. Hall saw that Zeus *Labránios* is simply the Cypriote equivalent of Zeus *Labráyndos*[3], remarking that 'this part of Cyprus was settled by Carians or Lycians.'

Whether the Iupiter *Laprius* mentioned by Lactantius[4] is another form of the same deity, as M. Mayer[5] supposes, is doubtful. O. Höfer[6] would find in him a Zeus *Láphrios* comparable with Apollon *Láphrios* and Artemis *Laphría*. Others[7] have thought of the Cretan Zeus *Elaphrós*. And a corruption of Zeus *Lapérsios*[8] is a further possibility. All these and dozens of other names—Greek, Latin, Etruscan, Iberian, and Celtic—are regarded by W. Vollgraff[9] as metamorphoses of the same Protean *lábrys*.

clxx, *id. A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York* New York 1903 iii pl. 143 nos. 1, 2.

[1] Hall cp. Oliatos of Mylasa, one of the Ionian tyrants (Hdt. 5. 37).

[2] A tetrobol struck *c.* 400 B.C. at some uncertain mint in Kypros has for obverse type a panther (?) scratching his right foreleg with his right hind paw. Above him is the head of a double axe and an inscription in Cypriote characters, which has been read as ? Σα·Fω·το·σε·-- (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus p. 71 pl. 13, 12, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 825 f. pl. 136, 18). Conceivably this stands for Σαώτης, which occurs as a title of Zeus at Thespiai (Paus. 9. 26. 7 f.), and of Dionysos at Troizen (Paus. 2. 31. 5) and Lerne (Paus. 2. 37. 2), if not also at Thespiai (cp. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 603. 1 (Antipatros of Sidon)—referred by O. Benndorf to the Thespiades of Praxiteles).

Zeus *Labráyndos* (?) on a copper of Keramos is accompanied by a lioness (?) or panther (?) (*supra* p. 575 n. 6); and it is on a lioness (?) or panther (?) that the Hittite bearer of the double axe stands at Boghaz-Keui (*supra* i. 599 n. 6, 603, 605 fig. 476, ii. 552, 560).

[3] I. H. Hall in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 1885 xi p. clxviii f. So also G. Karo in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 124 f., J. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 360 f., J. L. Myres *op. cit.* p. 322.

[4] *Supra* p. 588 n. 1.

[5] M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1506 (correcting *Laprios* into *Labrios*).

[6] O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex Myth.* ii. 1850.

[7] Ae. Forcellini *ap.* De Vit *Onomasticon* iii. 736, citing Hesych. 'Ελαφρός· εὐβάστακτος, κοῦφος. ἢ Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ, where W. Dindorf *ap.* Stephanum *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iii. 687 D wrongly assumes confusion with *Fελχανός*. Cp. Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 no. 39 ἐλαφρίου (*sc.* Διός), 266 no. 26 ἐλαφρίου (*sc.* Διός). On the Cnidian month 'Ελάφριος see W. Dittenberger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2234.

[8] *Infra* Append. I.

[9] W. Vollgraff 'Λάβρυς' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1906 lxi. 149—165—one of the wildest articles ever perpetrated in the name of 'Philologie.'

(θ) The double axe and the Labyrinth.

M. Mayer[1] was the first to suggest that the word *Labýrinthos*, the 'Labyrinth,' should be brought into the same connexion and so taken to denote 'the place of the Double Axe.' A few years later a similar view was expressed independently by P. Kretschmer[2]. And this opinion, despite certain doubts and difficulties[3], has won its way to almost universal acceptance[4]. I share in the general conviction, and am here concerned merely to emphasise two aspects of the central fact.

One is this. The Cretan *Labýrinthos* is the equivalent of the Carian *Labráynda*, *Lábranda* both in point of its main formative element (*lábrys*) and in point of its suffix (*nth* = *nd*)[5]. If, therefore, we were right in thinking that *Lábranda* was called 'the place of the Double Axe' because repeatedly struck by lightning[6], we must give a like explanation of *Labýrinthos*. The place where the lightning fell in the form of the sky-god's axe would be deemed specially sacred to the sky-god. And mimetic dances in his honour provide the requisite transition from *Labýrinthos*, 'the place of the Double Axe,' to the classical Labyrinth, a dancing-ground made by Daidalos

[1] M. Mayer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii. 191 (Λαβύρινθος is for *Λαβρύνθιος, a possible adjectival form of Λάβρυς).

[2] P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 404 (Λαβύρινθος is a Cretan corruption of the Carian Λαβραυνδος or its alternative form Λαβραυυνδος).

[3] See the objections summarised by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 266. *E.g.* G. de Sanctis in the *Rivista di filologia* 1902 xxx. 100 f. observes that the double axe is represented in other structures (Phaistos) of the Cretan civilisation beside the palace at Knossos; why then should this alone have been termed 'the House of the Double Axe'? And W. H. D. Rouse in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 274 notes 'the metathesis of *υ* which is unexampled.' E. Assmann too in *Philologus* 1908 lxvii. 190 f. complains of 'Der Einschub, die Epenthese eines *υ* zwischen *β* und *ρ*.' (But have we not an analogous case in *laburnum*? The ancients may have fancied a resemblance to the Λάβρυς in its flowers. Cp. *βέλεκυς supra* p. 588 n. 0.)

[4] It has commended itself not only to archaeologists such as Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 109, H. R. Hall *The Oldest Civilization of Greece* London 1901 p. 294 n. 1, *id. The Ancient History of the Near East* London 1913 p. 53 n. 6, *id. Ægean Archæology* London 1915 p. 152, R. Dussaud *Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la mer Égée* Paris 1910 p. 209, etc., but also to professed philologists such as Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 256 and Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 548.

R. M. Burrows *The Discoveries in Crete* London 1907 p. 117 ff. (with Appendix B by R. S. Conway) prefers to connect Λαβύρινθος, Λαβράυνδα, etc. with λαύρα, a 'passage,' Λαύρειον, a 'Passage place.' On this showing Λαβύρινθος, Λαβράυνδα would signify properly a 'place of Passages.' Phonetically this appears to be possible. But?

[5] P. Kretschmer *op. cit.* p. 293 ff., R. S. Conway in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 154 ff., A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 28 (citing Steph. Byz. Σύρινθος· πόλις Κρήτης but Πύρινδος· πόλις Καρίας).

[6] *Supra* p. 586.

for Ariadne[1]. The mediaeval maze with its *ciel*[2] still retains a vestige of the original significance.

Again, the whole history of the *lábrys* in Asia Minor shows that it was essentially the weapon of a god, not a goddess. And this holds good for Crete as well as for Karia[3]. The Cretan double axe was, in my opinion, primarily the attribute of Kronos[4] and only secondarily, if at all, the attribute of Rhea. With the fall of the 'Minoan' civilization the axe passed from the old sky-god Kronos to the new sky-god Zeus[5], throughout preserving its character as the tangible token of the lightning-flash.

(*ι*) The double axe and the *labarum*.

In 312 A.D. Constantine the Great crossed the Alps to attack Maxentius and pitched his camp over against the Mulvian Bridge near Rome. Lactantius[6], a contemporary authority (*c.* 314 A.D.), is careful to add that October 27, the anniversary of the day on which Maxentius had been proclaimed emperor, was approaching and that the Quinquennalia, four-yearly contests in honour of Iupiter *Capitolinus*[7], were drawing to a close. These contests began on October 15 and were originally connected with the temple of Iupiter *Feretrius*[8], whose special attribute was the *feretrum* or cross-shaped trophy-stand[9] suggestive of the *spolia opima*. Such were the circum-

[1] *Supra* i. 481. [2] *Supra* i. 486.

[3] I agree with H. R. Hall *Ægean Archæology* London 1915 p. 152: 'Since the Double Axe, the λάβρυς, was the special emblem of the Carian Zeus at Labraunda, it would appear that this national weapon was (as would naturally be expected) the emblem of the god rather than of the goddess. The Knossian Palace was probably one of the chief seats of the worship of the god, and as such obtained its traditional name of λαβύρινθος, the Labyrinth, "the Place of the Double Axe."' Also with D. Mackenzie in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905—1906 xii. 219: 'the cult of the God of the Labrys or Double Axe, which was common to Caria with Crete, does not necessarily lead us to the assumption of derivation either way. On the hypothesis of racial affinity between the people of Caria and the prehistoric inhabitants of Crete, the cult of the divinity in question may be native to south-west Anatolia, equally with Crete, without any need for the perilous assumption that it was from Caria the divinity passed to Crete. If the assumption of derivation one way or the other were to be at all admitted, the probability in the circumstances would appear more feasible were the derivation regarded as having been the other way about.'

[4] *Supra* p. 543 ff. [5] *Supra* p. 554 ff.

[6] Lact. *de mortibus persecutorum* 44 imminebat dies quo Maxentius imperium ceperat, qui est a. d. sextum Kalendas Novembres, et quinquennalia terminabantur. commonitus est in quiete Constantinus, ut caeleste signum dei notaret in scutis atque ita proelium committeret. facit ut iussus est et transversa X littera, summo capite circumflexo, χῖ ῥῶ (so I would restore the manuscript's *xῆo*. S. Baluzius defended *circumflexo Christo*. S. Brandt and G. Laubmann, after Cuperus and others, read *Christum*) in scutis notat. quo signo armatus exercitus capit ferrum.

[7] Cp. Suet. *Dom.* 4 instituit et quinquennale certamen Capitolino Iovi etc.

[8] Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 117.

[9] *Supra* p. 109.

stances in which Constantine had his famous dream. Lactantius continues:

'Constantine while resting was warned to put the celestial sign of God as a mark upon his shields and so to give battle. He did as he was bidden and, setting the letter X aslant and bending round its topmost end, marked *chî rhô* upon the shields. Armed with this sign his soldiers advanced to the fight.'

The sign intended is almost certainly ☧[1], and it is highly probable that in this we should recognise a time-serving modification of Iupiter's trophy-cross.

Eusebios ten years later (*c.* 324 A.D.)[2] omits the dream, but states that after the victory over Maxentius Constantine had his own statue erected in the most public place at Rome with 'the trophy of the Saviour's passion' beneath his hand and 'the saving sign of the cross' on his right hand, a Latin inscription imputing his success 'to this sign of salvation, this true token of valour.'

The same author in his *Life of Constantine* (337 A.D.)[3] claims to

[1] E. Venables in Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* ii. 909 says: '"transversa X litera, summo capite circumflexo (*i.e.* with a line drawn through the middle and turned into a loop at the top, forming the letter *Rho*) Christum in scutis notat."' We thus obtain ☧, no doubt; but we cannot legitimately extract it from Lactantius' Latin,—at least I do not see how *transversa X litera* is to mean 'a line being drawn through the letter X.'

B. Schremmer *Labarum und Steinaxt* Tübingen 1911 p. 1: 'also ⋊ oder ☧.' But the first of these two is surely excluded by *summo capite*; for, if X be laid on its side as ⋊, it has, to speak strictly, no *summum caput*.

[2] Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 9 *αὐτίκα <τὸ (inserui)> τοῦ σωτηρίου τρόπαιον πάθους ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἰδίας εἰκόνος ἀνατεθῆναι προστάττει· καὶ δὴ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ σταυροῦ σημεῖον ἐπὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ κατέχοντα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ μάλιστα τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης δεδημοσιευμένῳ τόπῳ στήσαντες, αὐτὴν δὴ ταύτην ὑπογραφὴν ἐντάξαι ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐγκελεύεται φωνῇ· 'τούτῳ τῷ σωτηριώδει σημείῳ, τῷ ἀληθινῷ ἐλέγχῳ τῆς ἀνδρείας, κ.τ.λ.'* Cp. the parallel description in Euseb. *v. Const.* 1. 40.

[3] Euseb. *v. Const.* 1. 28—31 trans. E. C. Richardson (in H. Wace—P. Schaff *A select Library of Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* Oxford—New York 1890 i. 490 f.). The actual sign and the imitation of it are described in the following terms: 1. 28 *ἀμφὶ μεσημβρινὰς ἡλίου ὥρας, ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποκλινούσης, αὐτοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν ἔφη ἐν αὐτῷ οὐρανῷ ὑπερκείμενον τοῦ ἡλίου σταυροῦ τρόπαιον ἐκ φωτὸς συνιστάμενον, γραφήν τε αὐτῷ συνῆφθαι λέγουσαν· τούτῳ νίκα.... 1. 31 ἣν δὲ τοιῷδε σχήματι κατεσκευασμένον. ὑψηλὸν δόρυ χρυσῷ κατημφιεσμένον κέρας εἶχεν ἐγκάρσιον [σταυροῦ σχήματι πεποιημένον (seclusit* J. A. Heikel)], *ἄνω δὲ πρὸς ἄκρῳ τοῦ παντὸς στέφανος ἐκ λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ χρυσοῦ συμπεπλεγμένος κατεστήρικτο, καθ' οὗ τῆς σωτηρίου ἐπηγορίας τὸ σύμβολον, δύο στοιχεῖα τὸ Χριστοῦ παραδηλοῦντα ὄνομα [διὰ τῶν πρώτων ὑπεσήμαινον χαρακτήρων (seclusit* J. A. Heikel)], *χιαζομένου τοῦ ῥῶ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον· ἃ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ κράνους φέρειν εἴωθε κἀν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνοις ὁ βασιλεύς. τοῦ δὲ πλαγίου κέρως τοῦ κατὰ τὸ δόρυ πεπαρμένου ὀθόνη τις ἐκκρεμὴς ἀπηώρητο, βασιλικὸν ὕφασμα ποικιλίᾳ συνημμένων πολυτελῶν λίθων φωτὸς αὐγαῖς ἐξαστραπτόντων καλυπτόμενον σὺν πολλῷ τε καθυφασμένον χρυσῷ, ἀδιήγητόν τι χρῆμα τοῖς ὁρῶσι παρέχον τοῦ κάλλους. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ φᾶρος τοῦ κέρως ἐξημμένον σύμμετρον μήκους τε καὶ πλάτους περιγραφὴν ἀπελάμβανε· τὸ δ' ὄρθιον δόρυ, τῆς κάτω ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ πολὺ μηκυνόμενον ἄνω μετέωρον, ὑπὸ τῷ τοῦ σταυροῦ τροπαίῳ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἄκροις τοῦ διαγραφέντος ὑφάσματος τὴν τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς βασιλέως εἰκόνα χρυσῆν μέχρι στέρνων τῶν τ' αὐτοῦ παίδων ὁμοίως ἔφερεν.*

have had a detailed account of the vision from the lips of the victor himself:

'He said that about noon, when the day was already beginning to decline, he saw with his own eyes the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens, above the sun, and bearing the inscription, CONQUER BY THIS. At this sight he himself was struck with amazement, and his whole army also, which followed him on this expedition, and witnessed the miracle. He said, moreover, that he doubted within himself what the import of this apparition could be. And while he continued to ponder and reason on its meaning, night suddenly came on; then in his sleep the Christ of God appeared to him with the same sign which he had seen in the heavens, and commanded him to make a likeness of that sign which he had seen in the heavens, and to use it as a safeguard in all engagements with his enemies. At dawn of day he arose, and communicated the marvel to his friends: and then, calling together the workers in gold and precious stones, he sat in the midst of them, and described to them the figure of the sign he had seen, bidding them represent it in gold and precious stones. And this representation I myself have had an opportunity of seeing. Now it was made in the following manner. A long spear, overlaid with gold, formed the figure of the cross by means of a transverse bar laid over it. On the top of the whole was fixed a wreath of gold and precious stones; and within this, the symbol of the Saviour's name, two letters indicating the name of Christ by means of its initial characters, the letter P being intersected by X in its centre: and these letters the emperor was in the habit of wearing on his helmet at a later period. From the cross-bar of the spear was suspended a cloth, a royal piece, covered with a profuse embroidery of most brilliant precious stones; and which, being also richly interlaced with gold, presented an indescribable degree of beauty to the beholder. This banner was of a square form, and the upright staff, whose lower section was of great length, bore a golden half-length portrait of the pious emperor and his children on its upper part, beneath the trophy of the cross, and immediately above the embroidered banner. The emperor constantly made use of this sign of salvation as a safeguard against every adverse and hostile power, and commanded that others similar to it should be carried at the head of all his armies[1].'

The celestial sign described by Eusebios as 'the trophy of a cross of light' may be identical with that described by Lactantius. But the standard made in imitation of it was more elaborate and involved some new features. In particular, while retaining the old *feretrum* or trophy-cross as the support for an embroidered banner, it added at the top of all a wreath containing the monogram ☧. And this fresh symbol was from the outset accepted as an essential part of the Christian standard. C. M. Kaufmann[2], building on the labours of F. W. Madden[3], has constructed a useful chronological table of

[1] See further Euseb. *v. Const.* 2. 3, 2. 6—9, 2. 12, 4. 21, Sokr. *hist. eccl.* 1. 2 (lxvii. 37 Migne), Sozom. *hist. eccl.* 1. 3 f. (lxvii. 865, 868 Migne), Gelasios of Kyzikos 1. 4 (lxxxv. 1204 B—C Migne).

[2] C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 p. 642 f.

[3] F. W. Madden 'Christian Emblems on the Coins of Constantine I. the Great, his Family, and his Successors' in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1877 xvii. 11—56 pl. 1, 242—307 pl. 7 f., *ib.* 1878 xviii. 1—48 pl. 1 f., 169—215 pls. 8—10.

the monograms and crosses found on the coinage of Constantine etc. He maintains that already in 312(?)—317 the forms ☧ ⁑ ✳ × occur on coins struck at Siscia in Pannonia Superior, the form ✳ on others struck at Tarraco on the east coast of Spain. But J. Maurice in his great work on Constantinian numismatics has given grounds for placing these mintages a few years later. According to him, the eighth issue at Siscia, comprising coins struck from 317 to 320, decorates the helmet of the emperor with two distinct forms of the Christian monogram—☧ for *CHRistós* on the central band and ⁑ for *Iesoûs CHristós* to either side of it (fig. 501)[1], whereas the sixth issue at Tarraco, comprising coins struck between 320 and 324, has



Fig. 501.



Fig. 502.

⁑ only as a moneyer's mark in the field of the reverse (fig. 502)[2]. P. Bordeaux[3], criticising the notion that two Christian monograms were thus used simultaneously and indifferently, contends that ⁑ is a regularised form of ☧, which is merely ☧ writ small. Bordeaux may well be right. In any case the monogram ☧ underwent many variations of shape, not on coins alone, but on monuments of all sorts[4]. A few fourth-century examples, found in our own country, are listed by T. Morgan and J. Romilly Allen[5]. Thus a fine mosaic pavement in the *exedra* of a Roman villa at Frampton in Dorset associates the Christian monogram (fig. 505) with the head of Neptunus and other pagan designs[6]. Again, in another villa at Chedworth

[1] J. Maurice *Numismatique Constantinienne* Paris 1911 ii. 287 with fig., 329 ff. pl. 10, 4 (=my fig. 501) and 5.

[2] *Id. ib.* ii. 262 ff. pl. 8, 7 (=my fig. 502), 8—10 *bis*.

[3] P. Bordeaux in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 89—91.

[4] See *e.g.* W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archæology* New York 1901 p. 238 ff., H. Leclercq *Manuel d'archéologie chrétienne* Paris 1907 ii. 383 ff., *id.* in F. Cabrol *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* Paris 1907 i. 177 ff., E. Venables in Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* ii. 908 ff., A. Hauck in *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* ed. S. M. Jackson New York—London 1910 vi. 167 ff.

[5] T. Morgan *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements* London 1886 pp. 80, 211 ff., J. Romilly Allen *Early Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland* London 1887 pp. 74—77 fig. 2, 1 f. (=my figs. 503, 504) and 3 (=my fig. 505).

[6] S. Lysons *Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ* London 1813 i. 3. 1 ff. pl. 5—summarised by C. W. Bingham in *The Archaeological Journal* 1859 xvi. 186 f., *ib.* 1865 xxii. 345. See further A. H. Lyell *A bibliographical list descriptive of Romano-British architectural Remains in Great Britain* Cambridge 1912 p. 19, and, for the accompanying inscriptions, E. Hübner in the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 2.

in Gloucestershire a stone, which forms the under part of the founda-



Fig. 503.

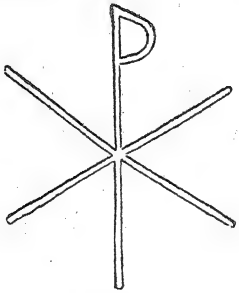


Fig. 504.



Fig. 505.

tion of steps leading into the corridor, has two similar monograms (figs. 503, 504) carved upon it[1]. Among the numerous specimens in



Figs. 506—509.

[1] J. Buckman—R. W. Hall *Notes on the Roman Villa at Chedworth, Gloucestershire* Cirencester 1872. For bibliography see A. H. Lyell *op. cit.* p. 29 f.

other countries we notice the gilded glasses from the catacombs of Rome[1]. Here St Peter and St Paul appear as supporters on either side of the monogram (figs. 506—509), which is sometimes set on the top of a pillar (figs. 508, 509)[2]. The two saints in this grouping are suggestive of 'Dioscuric' influence[3].

The standard bearing the symbol ☧ is called *labarus* by Hegemonius[4] (first half of *s.* iv), *labarum* by Ambrose[5] (388 A.D.), Prudentius[6] (402 A.D.), and later writers[7]—the word being Grecised[8] as *lábaron*[9], *láboron*[10], *lábouron*[11], *lábōron*[12]. Its derivation has been much

[1] H. Vopel *Die altchristliche Goldgläser* Freiburg 1899, O. M. Dalton 'The gilded glasses of the Catacombs' in *The Archaeological Journal* 1901 lviii. 227—253, *id. British Museum: A Guide to the early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities* s.l. 1903 pp. 59—63, *id. Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 613 f., Forrer *Reallex.* p. 295 pl. 72, A. Kisa *Das Glas im Altertume* Leipzig 1908 iii. 834—900, C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 pp. 619—624.

[2] R. Garrucci *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* Prato 1881 iii. 146 f., 151 pl. 180, 1 (=my fig. 507), 2 (=my fig. 508), 3 (=my fig. 509), 9 (=my fig. 506).

[3] Textile fabrics of *s.* vi—vii (?) at Crefeld (O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 598 fig. 377) and from the shrine of St Servatius at Maestricht (F. Fischbach *Ornament of textile fabrics* London 1883 p. 3 pl. 3, A, G. Migeon *Les arts du tissu* Paris 1909 p. 20 fig.) represent the Dioskouroi standing side by side on the top of a short fluted column or altar with a *bucranium* at its base, while from right and left winged figures pour libations and attendants bring oxen to sacrifice.

[4] Hegemonius *acta Archelai* 41. 9 f. p. 61, 8 ff. (ed. C. H. Beeson Leipzig 1906) non plane, non ita obscure et ignobiliter adveniet ille qui perfectus est, id est Iesus Christus dominus noster. sed sicut rex adveniens ad urbem suam praemittit primo protectores suos, signa, dracones, labaros, duces, principes, praefectos, et universa continuo commoventur, aliis vero metuentibus, aliis vero gaudentibus pro expectatione regis, ita et dominus meus Iesus, qui etc. So Fulgentius of Ruspe *serm.* 60 *de S. Laurentio* (lxv. 930 C Migne) super labaros fulget terreni regis triumphus martyris confessoris; etc. Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. s.v.* 'labarum' cites also 'Glossae MSS.: Labarus, lata lancea vel vexillum.'

[5] Ambros. *epist.* 40. 9 (xvi. 1105 A Migne) quid si alii timidiores, dum mortem reformidant, offerant ut de suis facultatibus reparetur synagoga; aut comes ubi hoc compererit primo constitutum, ipse de christianorum censu exaedificari iubeat? habebis, imperator, comitem praevaricatorem, et huic vexilla committes victricia, huic labarum, hoc est, Christi sacratum nomine, qui synagogam instauret, quae Christum nesciat? iube labarum synagogae inferri, videamus si non resistunt (Ambrose to Theodosios *à propos* of a certain synagogue in the east burnt at the instigation of a bishop, who has been bidden by the emperor to rebuild it).

[6] Prudent. *c. Symm.* 1. 486 ff. Christus purpureum gemmanti textus in auro | signabat labarum, clypeorum insignia Christus | scripserat, ardebat summis crux addita cristis.

[7] De Vit *Lat. Lex. s.v.* 'labarum,' Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. s.v.* 'labarum.'

[8] E. A. Sophocles *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* Boston 1870 p. 702.

[9] Germanus, bishop of Constantinople and patriarch, *epist. dogmat.* 1 (xcviii. 149 A—B Migne) ἠγείσθαι προστάξας (*sc.* ὁ Θεός) ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας τὸ ἔνδοξον ὄντως καὶ ἐπίσημον λάβαρον, τὸν ζωποιὸν λέγω σταυρόν, τὸ μέγα κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου τῆς αὐτοῦ μεγαλειότητος τρόπαιον· κ.τ.λ.

For notes 10, 11, and 12 see p. 607.

discussed. Gibbon[1] long since noted 'the efforts of the critics, who have ineffectually tortured the Latin, Greek, Spanish, Celtic, Teutonic, Illyric, Armenian, &c. in search of an etymology.' And E. Venables[2] as late as 1908 declared it to be 'most probably of Basque origin'! Meantime in 1903 E. Conybeare[3] had solved the problem: a modest foot-note in his *Roman Britain* puts the matter in a nutshell—'The Sacred Monogram known as *Labarum*. Both name and emblem were very possibly adapted from the primitive cult of the Labrys, or Double Axe, filtered through Mithraism.' The value of this acute suggestion obviously depends on the possibility of citing, not merely isolated examples of the Constantinian monogram from dates prior to that of Constantine[4], but rather a connected series of formal links between the *lábrys* and *labarum*. Accordingly in 1908 I published the following diagram (fig. 510)[5], which inserts a series of intermediate symbols taken in chronological order from the coinage of the Graeco-Scythian kings (*s.* iii—i B.C.). E. Rapp[6] had already in 1866 brought these symbols into connexion with the *labarum*, though not with the *lábrys*, and had assumed that they were solar

[10] In Euseb. *v. Const.* ind. p. 5, 4 f. Heikel λα'. *Ἔκφρασις σταυροειδοῦς σημείου, ὅπερ νῦν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι λάβαρον καλοῦσιν* codd. T.V. read λάβορον, but V[2] has *α* over the first *ο*.

A Latin form with *o* is attested by Greg. Naz. *or.* 4 (*contra Iulianum* 1). 66 (xxxv. 588 A—B Migne) *τολμᾷ δὲ ἤδη καὶ κατὰ τοῦ μεγάλου συνθήματος, ὃ μετὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ πομπεύει, καὶ ἄγει τὸν στρατὸν εἰς ὕψος αἰρόμενον, καμάτων λυτήριον ὄν τε καὶ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ βασιλεῦον, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, τῶν λοιπῶν συνθημάτων· κ.τ.λ.* And Ducange *loc. cit.* quotes *laborum* for *labarum* from sundry late sources. In cod. Theod. 6. 25 de praepositis laborum (=cod. Iustin. 12. 18) qui...praepositi laborum nostro iudicio et stipendiorum sudoribus promoventur the manuscripts' reading *laborum* has been defended by the fifth-century *carmen de Iona* (formerly ascribed to Tertullian) 40 f. palpitat antemna stridens, labor horret ab alto, | ipsa etiam infringi dubitans inflectitur arbor. But in cod. Theod. we should probably read the gen. plur. *labororum* and in *carmen de Iona* the nom. sing. *laborum*.

[11] Const. Porphyrogen. *de cerim. aulae Byzant.* 1. 1 (i. 11 Reiske) *καὶ τὰ σκεύη τῶν δρακοναρίων, λάβουρά τε καὶ καμπηδηκτόρια,* 1 append. (i. 502 Reiske) *ἱσταμένων καὶ προπορευομένων ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν τῶν σκευῶν, λαβούρων, σίγνων κ.τ.λ.*

[12] Sozom. *hist. eccl.* 1. 4 (lxvii. 868 A Migne) *ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἄνδρας ἐπιστήμονας χρυσῷ καὶ λίθοις τιμίοις εἰς σταυροῦ σύμβολον μετασκευάσαι τὸ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καλούμενον λάβωρον,* 9. 4 (lxvii. 1605 A Migne) *θάτερον δὲ τῶν σκήπτρων, ὃ λάβωρον Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι, καὶ γράμματα βασιλέως λαβὼν κ.τ.λ.*

[1] E. Gibbon *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* London 1781 ii. 194 n. 33.

[2] E. Venables in Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* ii. 909.

[3] E. Conybeare *Roman Britain* London 1903 p. 228 n. 2.

[4] See *e.g.* O. Zoeckler *The Cross of Christ* trans. M. J. Evans London 1877 p. 127 ff., J. D. Parsons *The Non-Christian Cross* London 1896 pp. 147—162 ('The Monogram of Christ'), J. B. Bury *Appendix* 19 on chap. 20 of Gibbon *op. cit.* London 1896 ii. 565 ff.

[5] In the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 192 fig. 17.

[6] E. Rapp 'Das Labarum und der Sonnencultus' in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1866 xxxix—xl. 116—145 pl. 2.

emblems adopted as an equivocal device by an emperor who wished to conciliate pagans and Christians alike. Finally in 1911 B. Schremmer[1], not realising that he had been anticipated by E. Conybeare, announced the derivation of *labarum* from *lábrys* as a discovery of his own[2]. He is, however, right in insisting[3], as against Rapp, that the Graeco-Scythian symbols are not solar signs at all, but mere

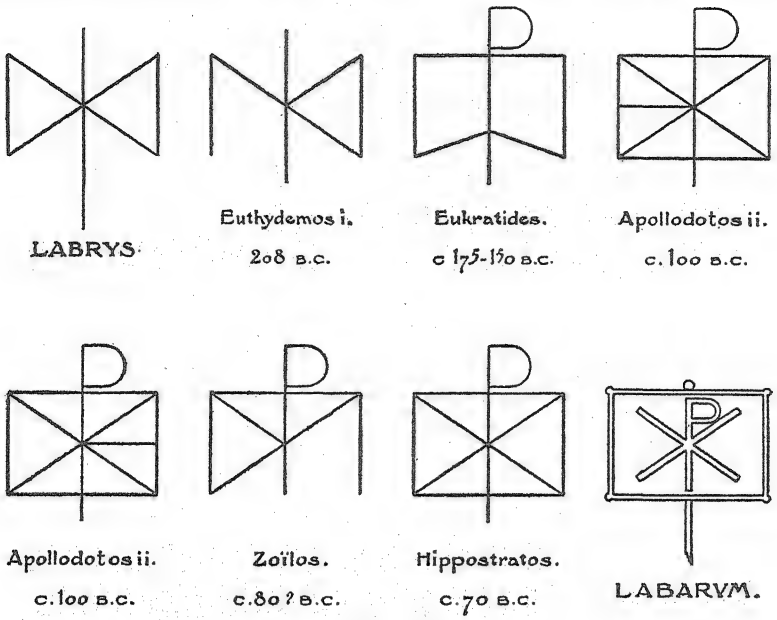


Fig. 510.

combinations of letters, which represent the name of the moneyer or a mint-mark of some sort[4]. This—as I now admit—makes it highly improbable that we should see in them the connecting links between *lábrys* and *labarum*. Again, Schremmer justly demurs[5] to a view put forward in 1884 by L. Jeep[6], *viz.* that Constantine's sign ☧ was not, originally at least, a Christian monogram, but a semi-cursive form of the astrological symbol ☿, which stands for the

[1] B. Schremmer *Labarum und Steinaxt* Tübingen 1911 pp. 1—51—a convenient little volume, to which I am indebted for several references both ancient and modern.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 15 f. [3] *Id. ib.* p. 13.

[4] See *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. lv f., E. J. Rapson *Indian Coins* (in J. G. Bühler *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde* ii. 3 B) Strassburg 1897 p. 6 f., V. A. Smith *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta* Oxford 1906 p. 7 pls. vii, x, xviii.

[5] B. Schremmer *op. cit.* p. 14.

[6] L. Jeep 'Zur Geschichte Constantin des Grossen' in *Historische und philologische Aufsätze Ernst Curtius zu seinem siebenzigsten Geburtstage ..gewidmet* Berlin 1884 pp. 81—89.

lucky star of Venus[1]. Having disposed of a solar and of a stellar hypothesis, Schremmer attacks the problem *de novo*, indeed *ab ovo*. Surveying the whole history of the double axe, he argues that in the Stone Age and the Bronze Age it was worshipped first as 'ein selbständiges Zauberwerkzeug[2]' and then as the attribute of some deity; that in Asia Minor, to judge from numismatic evidence, the sacred weapon, there called the *lábrys*, survived, usually as a divine attribute, far into the historic period (*c.* 400 B.C.—*c.* 200 A.D.); that it received a fresh lease of life from its association with Iupiter *Dolichenus*, the Roman army taking it, under its old name[3], as his attribute through Pannonia and Raetia into Germany and Gaul; that in the north like met like, when the double axe of Iupiter encountered the hammer of Donar; and that from the north Constantine brought a military *signum*, bearing the ancient name of *labarum*, to which later the monogram of Christ was attached. Very ingeniously, but also very improbably, Schremmer supposes that Constantine ascribed his victories to the possession of an actual *lábrys* and finds a distorted allusion to it in a curious passage of Nikephoros Kallistos[4]. That belated historian (*s.* xiv A.D.) tells how Constantine brought a big porphyry pillar from Rome to Constantinople[5], set upon it a bronze effigy of himself holding in his right hand a large golden apple surmounted by the cross, and buried beneath its base a variety of sacred relics including 'the axe with which Noah made the ark.' The big pillar still stands in a square at *Stamboul* marking the site

[1] This symbol, usually regarded as the mirror of Venus (A. Bouché-Leclercq *L'astrologie grecque* Paris 1899 p. xix), is explained by Jeep *loc. cit.* p. 89 as a derivative of ϕ (= $\phi\omega\sigma\phi\acute{o}\rho o\varsigma$).

[2] B. Schremmer *op. cit.* p. 21.

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 40 notes *Laburus* as the name of a god worshipped near Emona (*Laibach*) in Pannonia Superior (Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2017 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4877 = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3840 Laburo | ex vot. | sacr. | etc.), *Labaro* (?) as perhaps the name of a god in a Spanish inscription (M. Ihm in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1775 citing *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ii no. 732 (*San Vincente* near Norba in Lusitania) Labaro. n. e. n. | leg. p(ro ?). s(e ?). s(uisque?). l. m), and *Labarus* as the name of a Gallic soldier (Sil. It. 4. 232).

[4] Nikephoros Kallistos *hist. eccl.* 7. 49 (i. 519 f. Ducaeus) *ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπιλεγομένῳ ἐς δεῦρο Κωνσταντινείῳ φόρῳ καὶ τὸν πορφυροῦν μέγιστον κίονα ἀναστήσας, ὃν ἐκ Ῥώμης ἠγάγετο, ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδριάντα ἀνίστη πεποιημένον χαλκοῦ. ἐν ᾧ καὶ χρύσεον μῆλον μέγιστον τῇ δεξιᾷ κατέχων χειρὶ ἐπάνω τὸν τίμιον κατεπήγνυ σταυρὸν ἐπιγράψας ταῦτα· 'σοί, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεός, παρατίθημι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην.' ἀψῖσι δὲ στερραῖς τέσσαρσι τὴν τοῦ στίλου περικύκλῳ βάσιν ἐδράσας, ὑποκάτω τῆς τοῦ στύλου βάσεως τοὺς ιβ' κοφίνους καὶ τὰς ζ' σπυρίδας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ζ' ἄρτους, οὓς εὐλογίας καταξιώσας Χριστὸς τὰ πλήθη διέθρεψεν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Νῶε ἀξίνην, ᾗ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐτεκτήνατο, αὐτὸς ἰδίαις χερσὶν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ σφραγιστῆρι σημάνας κατέθετο· καὶ νῦν ἐς ἐμὲ τῇ πόλει ἄσυλος θησαυρὸς παραμένουσι.*

[5] Hesych. Illustr. of Miletos *πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* 41 p. 17, 13 ff. Preger (*s.* vi A.D.) *καὶ ὁ πορφυροῦς καὶ περίβλεπτος κίων, ἐφ' οὗπερ ἱδρῦσθαι Κωνσταντῖνον ὁρῶμεν δίκην ἡλίου προλάμποντα τοῖς πολίταις* = Anonymos *πάτρια* 45 p. 138, 11 ff. Preger. See further E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 987.

of Constantine's Forum[1]. But it is a charred ruin[2]. The statue on it was upset by a great south wind in 1105 A.D.[3] The porphyry drums were encircled by bands of iron before 1561 A.D.[4] The four marble steps then visible[5] were concealed, probably after the fire of 1779 A.D., by a clumsy cloak of masonry[6]. Does the base yet guard the axe of Noah as part of its 'inviolable treasure[7]'?

Schremmer looks to the Germanic north for an explanation of the *labarum*. I should look rather to the east, where Constantine had served under Galerius for the best part of a decade (296—306 A.D.). When we remember, on the one hand, the *rôle* played by the double axe in the religion of Phrygia[8], on the other, the fact that Noah in the ark appears on coins of the Phrygian Apameia Kibotos from the end of the second to the middle of the third century A.D.[9], it does not seem extravagant to conjecture that the axe of Noah was but the ancient Anatolian *lábrys*, in a novel Jewish disguise. Indeed, it is more than probable that in the near east the cult of the *lábrys*, under various modifications, lingered on throughout the early centuries of the Christian era. F. Legge[10] has recently drawn attention to the Ophite diagram of the supramundane region, which included two pairs of concentric circles, the one pair inscribed 'Father' and 'Son,' the other pair coloured yellow and blue, and between them a barrier in the form of a double axe[11]. The original

[1] J. Ebersolt *Constantinople Byzantine et les Voyageurs du Levant* Paris 1919 Index p. 271 *s.v.* 'Colonne de Constantin' (elevation on p. 69 fig. 12), *id. Sanctuaires de Byzance* Paris 1921 p. 71 ff. fig. 13.

[2] Hence it is called '*la Colonne Brûlée*.'

[3] Anonymos *πάτρια* 45 a p. 138, 13 ff. Preger with J. Ebersolt *op. cit.* p. 43.

[4] P. Gyllius *De topographia Constantinopoleos, et de illius antiquitatibus* Lugduni 1561 p. 142. Cp. E. Oberhummer *loc. cit.*: 'türkisch *Dschemberli Tasch* (d.i. "Säule mit den Reifen").'

[5] J. Ebersolt *Constantinople Byzantine et les Voyageurs du Levant* p. 79 f.

[6] *Id. ib.* p. 196.

[7] *Id. Sanctuaires de Byzance* p. 73 says of the axe: 'sa présence au palais est attestée en 1157[11] ([11]Cf. Riant, *Exuviæ*, t. II, p. 215.); mais les pèlerins slaves de la dernière époque la mentionnent toujours dans la Colonne[12] ([12]Cf. *Itin. russes*, p. 119, 203, 238).'

[8] *Supra* p. 572.

[9] For the literature of this famous type see W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 448. Good illustrations in F. W. Madden 'On some coins of Septimius Severus, Macrinus, and Philip I., struck at Apameia, in Phrygia, with the legend ΝΩΕ' in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1866 vi. 173—219 pl. 6, 1—3, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 480 pl. 56, 16, G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 170 fig. 28, G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 173 f. fig. 18.

[10] F. Legge *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* Cambridge 1915 ii. 67.

[11] Orig. *c. Cels.* 6. 38 *οὐκ ἀρκεσθεὶς δ' ὁ γεννάδας* (*sc.* ὁ Κέλσος) *τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ διαγράμματος ἐβουλήθη ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐξῆσαι τὰς καθ' ἡμῶν κατηγορίας, τῶν μηδὲν ἐχόντων κοινὸν πρὸς ἐκεῖνο, διὰ μέσου ἄλλ' ἄττα εἰπεῖν, ἐπαναλαβὼν τὰ ἐκείνων ὡσπερεὶ <ἡμ≻ετέρων* (so P. Koetschau). *φησὶ γάρ· 'θαῦμα δ' αὐτῶν οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐκεῖνο· ἐξηγοῦνται γάρ τινα μεταξὺ τῶν ὑπερουρανίων*

home of the Ophites was Phrygia[1]; and there can be little doubt that in this, the central portion of their otherworld chart, they sought to combine old Phrygian beliefs with new Christian teaching[2]. The appearance of a *lábrys* in such a context is in the highest degree significant: it attests precisely the same spirit of accommodation that we detect in the Constantinian *labarum*. Another Gnostic reminiscence of the double axe has been recognised by F. de Mély[3] in the

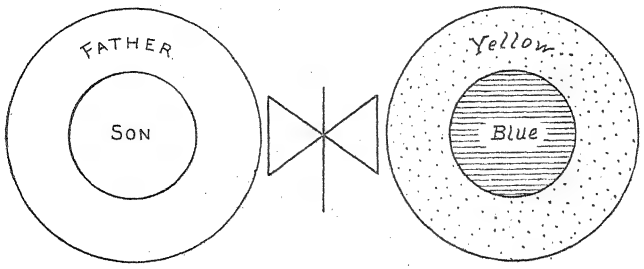


Fig. 511.

first book of the *Kyranides*. The author of that magico-medical compilation, who writes under the name of Hermes *Trismégistos* (the late Greek equivalent of the Egyptian Thoth)[4] at some date prior to *c.* 408 A.D.[5], informs us in his prologue that he has put together the book of Kyranos king of Persia[6] and another book dedicated by Harpokration of Alexandreia[7] to his own daughter.

ἀνωτέρω κύκλων ἐπιγεγραμμένα, ἄλλα τε καὶ δύο ἄττα, μεῖζόν τε καὶ μικρότερον υἱοῦ καὶ πατρός.' εὕρομεν δ' ἡμεῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ διαγράμματι τὸν μείζονα κύκλον καὶ τὸν μικρότερον, ὧν ἐπὶ τῆς διαμέτρου ἐπεγέγραπτο 'πατὴρ' καὶ 'υἱός,' καὶ μεταξὺ τοῦ μείζονος, ἐν ᾧ ὁ μικρότερος ἦν, καὶ ἄλλου συγκειμένου (so P. Koetschau, after E. Bouhéreau, for *ἄλλους συγκειμένους* cod. A.) *ἐκ δύο κύκλων, τοῦ μὲν ἐξωτέρου ξανθοῦ τοῦ δὲ ἐνδοτέρω κυανοῦ, τὸ ἐπιγεγραμμένον διάφραγμα πελεκοειδεῖ σχήματι, κ.τ.λ.*

[1] F. Legge *op. cit.* p. 28.

[2] On the Phrygian conception of the Son as a rebirth of the Father and its relation to Christianity see *supra* pp. 287 ff., 292 ff., 303 ff. The colouration of the concentric circles, yellow and blue, may have been suggested by the zones of *aithér*, the 'burning sky,' and *aér*, the 'moist sky' (*supra* i. 101 fig. 74).

[3] F. de Mély in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1904 p. 340 f.

[4] W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 792 ff.

[5] F. de Mély *Les Lapidaires de l'antiquité et du moyen âge* Paris 1902 iii. 1. lxxi notes that the *Kyranis* is quoted *c.* 408 A.D. by Olympiodoros (M. Berthelot—C. E. Ruelle *Collection des anciens Alchimistes grecs* Paris 1888 Texte grec p. 101, 13 n. and 17 (Traduction p. 110) Olympiod. 52 *ἐν τῇ Κυρανίδι...ἐν τῇ ἀρχαϊκῇ βίβλῳ*).

[6] *Quis?* F. de Mély *op. cit.* Paris 1902 iii. 1. lxxii conjectures that Kyranos may have something to do with Keï Kaous, a Persian king described by the Mobed Bahram as belonging to the dynasty of the Keïanides and living in the age of Solomon (J. Mohl in the *Journal Asiatique* Troisième Série 1841 xi. 321 ff.).

[7] C. Graux held that the Harpokration in question was the writer of the letter *Ἁρποκρατίων Καίσαρι Αὐγούστῳ* (*sc.* Julian) *χαίρειν κ.τ.λ.* (*Rev. Philol.* N.S. 1878 ii. 65 ff.), to be identified both with the Egyptian friend of Libanios (O. Seeck in Pauly—Wissowa

The extant text[1] shows that both sources contained a ritual invocation of the vine couched in poetic and to a large extent rhythmic language:

'The white vine has other orderly and most charming effects, making a man in his cups to be not only sober but merry as well. Thus far Kyranos. But from the aforesaid point, where my authorities diverged, this is how Harpokration continues: "*Blessed plant, leader of the gods, mistress of earth, sky, and air, thou that relaxest the mind by thy cluster-bearing drink, so loosening every limb, and causest sleep, no one by word, no healer by potion, nay none shall prevail against thee; but thou bringest to light all that is in the souls of mortal men, and of them that have mystic thoughts in secret thou, o Vine, having knowledge un-*

Real-Enc. vii. 2410) and with the Alexandrine rhetorician Valerius Harpokration (H. Schultz *ib.* vii. 2412 ff.). F. de Mély *op. cit.* Paris 1902 iii. 1. lxx ff. thinks that the Harpokration of the *Kyranides* may have come from Alexandreia near Babylon. *Non liquet.* See Gossen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2416 f.

[1] F. de Mély *op. cit.* Paris 1898 ii. 1. 10, 7 ff. = *Kyran.* 1. A. 28. *ἡ δὲ λευκὴ ἄμπελος ἔχει καὶ ἄλλας ἐνεργείας κοσμικὰς καὶ χαριεστάτας, ὥστε ἐν πότοις μὴ μόνον νηφάλιον εἶναί τινα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐωχίαν ἔχειν.* 29. *ἕως ἐνταῦθα μὲν ὁ Κυρανὸς οὕτως· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀνωτέρω γραφείσης τῶν ἀμφοτέρων διαφωνίας εἶχεν· ἐκεῖ* (*an leg.* διαφωνίας ἔχει? A. B. C.) *οὕτως ὁ τοῦ Ἁρποκρατίωνος λόγος.* 30. *'μάκαιρα βοτάνη, τῶν θεῶν ἡγητεῖρα, γαίης κρατοῦσα, οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἀέρος, νόον λύουσα βοτρυοφόρῳ πότῳ, ὡς ἐπιλύειν πᾶν μέλος, ποιοῦσα δὲ ὕπνον, οὐδεὶς οὐ λόγῳ, οὐ σώματι* (*an πώματι*? A. B. C.) *ἰατήρ τις, οὐδεὶς πρὸς σὲ δυνήσεται, ἀλλ' ἐλέγχεις ὅσα ἐν ψυχαῖς βροτῶν †τῶν ἐγκρύφως ἔχουσιν μυστικὰς φρένας, τὴν ἀρρήτως ἔχων†, ἄμπελε* (cod. R. has *τὴν ἀρρήτως ἔχουσαν ἄμπελον*. The old Latin version gives: redarguis quaecumque sunt in animis mortalium et quae absconditae habent mysteria mentis. The sense seems to demand something like *τῶν δ' ἐγκρύφως ἐχόντων μυστικὰς φρένας τὴν <γνῶσιν> ἀρρήτως ἔχουσα* A. B. C.), *πάντ' ἐκφανεῖς μόναις ὅσα γραφαῖς ἢ φαρμάκοις γίνεται, ἢ φασγάνῳ ἢ πελέκει ὅσα τοιαῦτα κρύβεται. ταῦτα μὲν λελέχθω ἀμπέλου μυστήρια.' ἔχει δὲ ἄλλα κοσμικά, ὡς ἐν βροτοῖς μὴ φαῦλον εἰπεῖν.* 31. *λέγει δὲ οὕτως ἐντεῦθεν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος, καθώσπερ* [*γὰρ*] *εἶχεν καὶ ἡ Κυρανίς· 'μάκαιρα ἐκ θεοῦ ἄνασσα, ἐκ θεοῦ βοτρυοφόρε μῆτερ ἀπάσης θείας φύσιος †εὐαγοῦς ἐν φυτοῖς· τῇ πρώτῃ ἑάων ἱερεῖ· εὖ...ντο Ὀλύμπιος οὖσα†* (F. de Mély comments: *'ἑάων* pour *ἐήων*, bonorum (?).—*ἱερεῖ* A (?), R. F. l. *ἴδρει*?— *...ντο*] piqûre de ver A; *εὖς το ὁλ.* R.—Rédaction de l'hymne dans C: *Μάκαιρα ἐκ θεῶν ἄνασσα, μητὴρ θεῖα εὐηρεα ἐν φ. ἡ πρώτη εὖεα, ὄλυμπον οὖσα.*—Dans v. i.: Beata a Deo donata Regina, ex Deo botrum ferens, mater sacerrima et divinior omnibus plantis, natura prima botrum affectat, botrus vinum cœleste fecit' One might suspect that we have in the text remnants of a hexameter tag, *e.g. τῇ πρώτῃ <δωτῆρες> ἑάων | ἱρεύσαντο <θεοί ποτ'> Ὀλύμπια <δώματ' ἔχ>οντες*, were it not that from section 38 *infra* we can restore *ευα, γῆς ἐν φυτοῖς ἡ πρώτη, εαωε ιεω ευηιε, Ὀλυμπία οὖσα* or the like A. B. C.). 32. *ταῦτα εἴπας εἰς ποτήριον, βάλε εἰς κεράμιον, ὅθεν πίνουσιν ἅπαντες, καὶ ἀναλύουσιν εὐφρανθέντες, μηδενὸς συζητήσαντος....* 38. *ἡ δὲ τοῦ Κυρανοῦ περὶ εὐφρασίας στήλη εἶχεν οὕτως· ὦ θειοτάτη βοτάνη βοτρυοφόρε, ἄμπελος λευκή, [ἡ] μῆτερ τῶν βοτανῶν, εὔδιε κυβαληφόρε, γῆς ἐν φυτοῖς ἡ πρώτη. λέγε εἰς ποτήριον τοὺς λόγους τούτους· ἐυηὶ εὐοινὸν* (F. de Mély cj. *εὔοινον*) *φρενῶν μου τήρησον ἀβλάβειαν εἶναι ευηιὲ Ὀλυμπία οὖσα, συντήρησόν μου νοὸς φρένας, εὔθυμος οὖσα καὶ θειοτάτη καὶ ὑγιής. υι εὖ ἀε ιαυῶ αε ιεω· ἑάωε* (*ευεῖ ευαε ιαύω ηιαῶ ἡ ἀνὲ* cod. R.). *ταῦτα εἰς ποτήριον οἴνου ἐπειπών, βάλε εἰς κεράμιον οἴνου, ὅθεν πίνουσιν ἅπαντες καὶ ἀναλύουσιν ἅπαντες εὐφρανθέντες οἱ φίλοι, μηδενὸς συζητήσαντος.* The invocation of section 30 is in cod. R. entitled *ὕμνος εἰς βρυωνίαν.* Those of sections 31 and 38 conclude with certain musical phrases, on which see C. E. Ruelle 'Le chant des sept voyelles grecques d'après Démétrius & les papyrus de Leyde' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1889 ii. 38 ff., *id.* 'Note additionnelle sur le chant des sept voyelles grecques' *ib.* 1889 ii. 393 ff., C. E. Ruelle—E. Poirée *Le chant gnostico-magique des sept voyelles* Paris 1901.

utterable wilt reveal all that is wrought by writings unique or sovereign remedies, yea all the hidden meaning of knife or double axe. Let these words be said as the mysteries of the Vine." It has also other orderly virtues, so that among mortals its name must not be taken in vain. Next, the sacred account, as given in the *Kyranis*, saith as follows: "*Blessed God-sent queen, God-sent cluster-bearing mother of every divine nature—EUA—thou that art foremost among plants of earth—EAŌE IEŌ EUĒIE—being a denizen of Olympos.*" Having said this into a cup, empty it into a jar, whence all drink and depart with good cheer, no man having come to words.'

Harpokration's allusion to 'the hidden meaning of knife or double axe' as 'the mysteries of the Vine' certainly seems to imply some *quasi*-Dionysiac survival of the *lábrys*. It is unfortunate that further details are wanting.

One other fact in connexion with the double axe should here be noted. Its pictograph passed readily into linear forms, and thence into syllabic and alphabetic characters. Sir Arthur Evans[1] has pointed out that the Aegean ⧖ or ⧗ is comparable with ⧗ the Sabaean form of the Semitic letter *zain*, whose name is held to denote 'a twofold weapon.' It follows that the double axe was the original source, from which was derived, not only the Phoenician ᛉ, but also the shape (though not the name) of the Greek Ξ or Ζ, the Latin Z, and the English Z[2]. Again, the monograms above cited from the Graeco-Scythian coinage of Bactria and India (*s.* iii—i B.C.) were clearly suggested in the first instance by the outline of a double axe[3]. Simias of Rhodes (*c.* 295 B.C.) even arranged a whole poem ex[illegible] the axe of Epeios in such a way as to resemble its two-bladed not[illegible]ect[4].

also suppose, then, that Constantine during his stay in the east had [illegible]erved the double axe, a symbol of ancient and mysterious [illegible]ctity with a marked tendency to take on the shape of definite [illegible]ers, he might well enough think of adopting it as a sign that La[illegible] ar[illegible]uld appeal at once to pagans and to Christians. For, just as the [illegible]trophy-cross, symbol of Iupiter *Feretrius*, was modified into the C[illegible]

[1] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 365 f., *id. Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 81, 86 f. fig. 41.

[2] Other forms that fall to be considered are the Iberian ⋈ ⋈ ⋈ ⋈ *mem* on coins of the Turdetani (P. Berger *Histoire de l'écriture dans l'antiquité* Paris 1891 p. 336, Sir A. J. Evans *Scripta Minoa* i. 99 fig. 44*), the Cypriote ⧗ *le* (*id. ib.* i. 71 fig. 39), the Sicyonian ⧗ *epsilon* (Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 136), the Venetic, Sabellian, Etruscan, and Faliscan sibilant ⋈ (J. Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1617 ff.), and the Latin numeral ⋈ *mille* (J. C. Egbert *Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions* London—Bombay 1896 p. 75). Of course, it must not be hastily assumed that similar characters are of similar origin.

[3] *Supra* p. 608.

[4] C. Haeberlin *Carmina Figurata Graeca* Hannoverae 1887 p. 70.

Christian monogram ☧[1], so the double axe, symbol of the Anatolian Zeus, could be easily transformed into the Christian monograms ⁂ ⁂ ⁂[2]. It was by no accident that Constantine in his *labarum* combined the token of the god supreme in the west with that of the god supreme in the east, thus linking Iupiter with Zeus under the name of One greater than either.

(κ) The double axe and other forms of Zeus in the East.

Zeus *Labráyndos* was by no means the only god that in Asia Minor armed himself with the primeval thunder-weapon. Of Zeus



Fig. 512.

Dolichaîos or Iupiter *Dolichenus* I have already spoken at length[3]. Another semi-oriental form of Zeus appears on red relief-ware of the seventh century B.C. found in Rhodes and Karia. A fragment

[1] *Supra* p. 601 f.
[2] *Supra* p. 603 f.
[3] *Supra* i. 604—633.

from Kameiros (fig. 512)[1] represents a male figure, presumably Zeus[2], grasping a pointed sword in one hand and a double axe in the other as he advances to fight a beardless Centaur, who holds before him a small tree, roots and all, behind him a branch. The type was repeated by means of a wooden cylinder rolled round the clay vessel, while yet moist: a second Centaur and parts of a second Zeus are

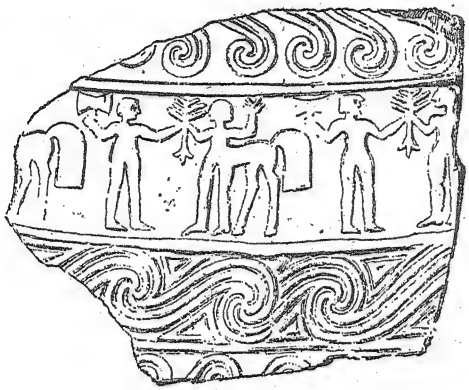


Fig. 513.

visible. Other fragments from *Datcha* on the Carian coast reverse the *motif* (fig. 513)[3], which was evidently popular for the decoration of large *pithoi* and is once at least treated in a more advanced style (fig. 514)[4]. P. V. C. Baur[5] rightly insists that this stamped pottery exhibits certain patterns characteristic of Hittite art. And we have noted Hittite traits, not only in the cult of Iupiter *Dolichenus*[6], but also in that of the Rhodian Zeus[7]. Very possibly, then, the axe-

[1] A. Salzmann *Nécropole de Camiros* Paris 1875 pl. 26 *a* (=my fig. 512).

[2] A. Salzmann *loc. cit.* regarded the subject as a combat between Centaurs and Lapiths. J. L. Stokes in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905—1906 xii. 78 speaks of 'An archaic Lapith and Centaur scheme.' B. Sauer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1046 f. fig. 3 took it to be the oldest representation of Herakles *v.* the Centaur. But P. V. C. Baur *Centaurs in Ancient Art* (The Archaic Period) Berlin 1912 p. 85 gives reasons for dissenting from Sauer's view. A. Milchhöfer *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland* Leipzig 1883 p. 75 fig. 48 with p. 116 pronounced in favour of Zeus on the ground of the double axe. E. H. Meyer *Indogermanische Mythen* Berlin 1883 i (Gandharven-Kentauren). 59, 131 reached the same conclusion; which is accepted also by P. Jacobsthal *Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst* Berlin 1906 p. 10 n. 2.

[3] F. Dümmler 'Pithosfragmente aus Datscha' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 230 f. fig. 1 (=my fig. 513), P. V. C. Baur *op. cit.* p. 85 fig. 17 (from a photograph). Baur states that the Berlin Museum has recently acquired fragments from Datcha stamped with the same design.

[4] F. Dümmler *loc. cit.* 1896 xxi. 233 ff. pl. 6 (=my fig. 514), P. V. C. Baur *op. cit.* p. 85 f. pl. 11 no. 217 (photograph).

[5] P. V. C. Baur *op. cit.* p. 85 f.

[6] *Supra* i. 604 ff., 631 f., 634.

[7] *Supra* i. 642 f.

bearer of the red relief-ware is the Hellenised form of an originally Hittite sky-god. If so, we shall best call him Zeus.

Strabon[1] in his account of Kappadokia states that next to the king in importance ranked the priest of Ma at Komana, the priest of

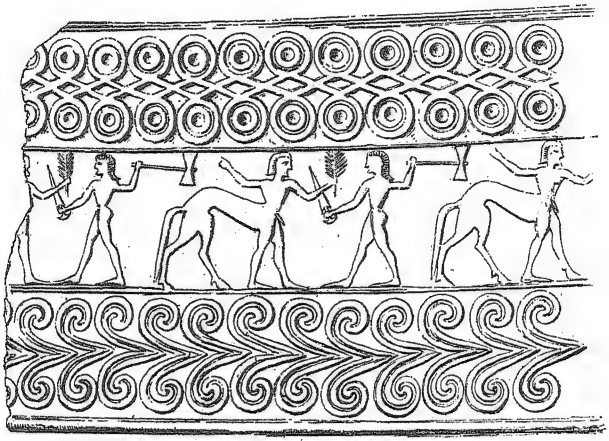


Fig. 514.

Zeus at Venasa, and the priest of Zeus *Dakienós*. The appellative of the latter Zeus is connected by P. Carolidis[2] with the Armenian word *daku*, 'an axe[3],' and taken to mean 'the Axe-bearer.'

Less probable is Carolidis' contention[4] that Zeus *Genetaîos*[5],

[1] Strab. 536 f. *ἐν δὲ τῇ Μοριμηνῇ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ ἐν Οὐηνάσοις Διός, ἱεροδούλων κατοικίαν ἔχον τρισχιλίων σχεδόν τι καὶ χώραν ἱερὰν εὔκαρπον, παρέχουσαν πρόσοδον ἐνιαύσιον ταλάντων πεντεκαίδεκα τῷ ἱερεῖ· καὶ οὗτός ἐστι διὰ βίου, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ ἐν Κομάνοις* (cp. Strab. 535), *καὶ δευτερεύει κατὰ τιμὴν μετ' ἐκεῖνον. τρίτη δ' ἐστὶν ἱερωσύνη Διὸς Δακιηνοῦ* (T. Tyrwhitt cj. *Δακιήου* or *Δακιηνοῦ* for *Δακίη οὐ*. A. Koraës accepted *Δακιηνοῦ*. P. Carolidis thinks that the title was *Δακίης* or *Δάκιος*; but see F. de Saussure 'Les noms grecs en *-ηνός* et le phrygien' in E. Chantre *Mission en Cappadoce 1893—1894* Paris 1898 pp. 185—191) *λειπομένη ταύτης, ἀξιόλογος δ' ὅμως. ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶ λάκκος ἁλμυροῦ ὕδατος, ἀξιολόγου λίμνης ἔχων περίμετρον, ὀφρύσι κλειόμενος ὑψηλαῖς τε καὶ ὀρθίαις, ὥστ' ἔχειν κατάβασιν κλιμακώδη· τὸ δ' ὕδωρ οὔτ' αὔξεσθαί φασιν, οὔτ' ἀπόρρυσιν ἔχειν οὐδαμοῦ φανεράν.* The reconstitution of the text is due to G. Kramer, who suggested that *τρίτη—φανεράν* should be transposed so as to follow *ἐν δὲ—ἐκεῖνον*. With the salt pool of Zeus *Δακιηνός* cp. the salt water of Zeus *Ὀσογῶα* (*supra* p. 581 ff.). P. Carolidis *Die sogen. Assyro-Chaldäer und Hittiten von Kleinasien* Athen 1898 p. 67 n. would identify the cult-centre of Zeus *Δακιηνός* with the modern *Ilgin*. Axes in jadeite and bronze have been found in the *tell* of *Kara-Euyuk* (E. Chantre *op. cit.* p. 78 f. figs. 56—59).

[2] P. Carolidis *Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen* Strassburg i. E. 1913 p. 55 f.

[3] Akin to our word *dagger* (Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 343 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 290).

[4] P. Carolidis *op. cit.* p. 56 Zeus *Γενήτης* (*sic*), p. 62 Zeus *Γενέτης* (*sic*) with a wrong reference to Ap. Rhod. 1. 1032 (? Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 147 *Διὸς γενέταο*).

[5] Ap. Rhod. 2. 1009 *Γενηταίου Διὸς ἄκρην*, Val. Flacc. 5. 147 inde Genetaei rupem (so A. Poliziano for *indigena et aerupem* cod. V.) Iovis.

otherwise known as Zeus *Eúxeinos*[1] or *Xénios*[2], who had a sanctuary on the Genetaean headland adjoining the Pontic river Genes[3], derived his title from *genetís*, 'an axe[4],' though that derivation would harmonise well with the neighbourhood of the Chalybes[5].

On the whole, it may be predicted with assurance that the thorough exploration of Asia Minor, which despite all drawbacks must some day be completed, will accumulate further evidence of an axe-bearing Zeus, successor and heir of a yet more ancient sky-god.

(λ) The double axe in the West.

It would seem, then, that over a wide area, from Doliche in Syria to Tarentum in Calabria, the prehistoric lightning-axe passed through the successive phases of fetish, attribute, and symbol. In western Europe analogous causes were doubtless at work; but their results are either wholly hidden from us by the darkness of barbarism or at best dimly discernible on the fringe of advancing civilisation.

Double axes of copper, with the hafting hole too small to be of use for tool or weapon, and therefore probably intended for purposes of exchange or ceremony, make their appearance in the west as far back as the Copper Age. A. Lissauer[6] holds that they were imports from Kypros and attempts to trace the routes by which they travelled through Europe. But Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie[7], arguing that double axes with effective hafting are limited to the Mediterranean area, whereas double axes with ineffective hafting belong almost exclusively to the north, denies that Kypros was the centre of distribution and classifies the northern axes under three local types of separate origin. In Bronze-Age deposits ceremonial axes

[1] Ap. Rhod. 2. 378 Ζηνὸς Εὐξείνοιο Γενηταίην ὑπὲρ ἄκρην with schol. Paris. *ad loc.* Τιβαρηνοὶ δὲ ἔθνος Σκυθικόν. οἰκοῦσι δὲ τὴν καλουμένην Γενηταίαν ἄκραν ἀπὸ Γένητος ποταμοῦ, ἐν ᾗ Διός ἐστιν Εὐξείνου ἱερόν.

[2] Schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 378 Γενηταία ἄκρα κυρίως οὕτω λεγομένη ἀπὸ Γένητος ποταμοῦ, ἔνθα Διὸς Ξενίου ἱερόν ἐστι.

[3] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γενήτης·...Σοφοκλῆς ποταμὸν Γένητα φησίν (*frag.* 1036 Jebb). See further W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1132.

[4] Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* ii. 567 B.

[5] *Supra* i. 631 f., 648.

[6] A. Lissauer 'Die Doppeläxte der Kupferzeit im westlichen Europa' in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1905 xxxvii. 519—525 with figs. and a map, *id.* 'die Doppelaxt aus Kupfer von Pyrmont' *ib.* pp. 770—772, *id.* 'eine Doppelaxt aus Kupfer von Ellierode, Kr. Northeim, Hannover' *ib.* pp. 1007—1009, R. Forrer *Antiqua* 1885 p. 106, *id.* 'Die ägyptischen, kretischen, phönikischen, etc. Gewichte und Masse der europäischen Kupfer-, Bronze- und Eisenzeit' in the *Jahr-Buch der Gesellschaft für lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 1906 pp. 1—77, *id. Reallex.* p. 188 f., A. J. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 1166 n. 8, J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 403 ff. fig. 163, 483 n. 1.

[7] Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *Tools and Weapons* London 1917 pp. 13—15 pl. 12.

of a different sort have come to light. C. F. Herbst[1] published two of single blade found at Skogstorp near Eskilstuna in Sweden and another found in the Amt wood near Veile in Denmark. All three, in lieu of solid metal, had a thin coating of bronze over a clay core; and the first two were adorned with plates of gold and studs of amber. We have, however, no proof that any of these axes had a definitely religious significance. The copper double axes very possibly served as a currency unit for the living, the bronze single axes as suitable gifts to the dead.

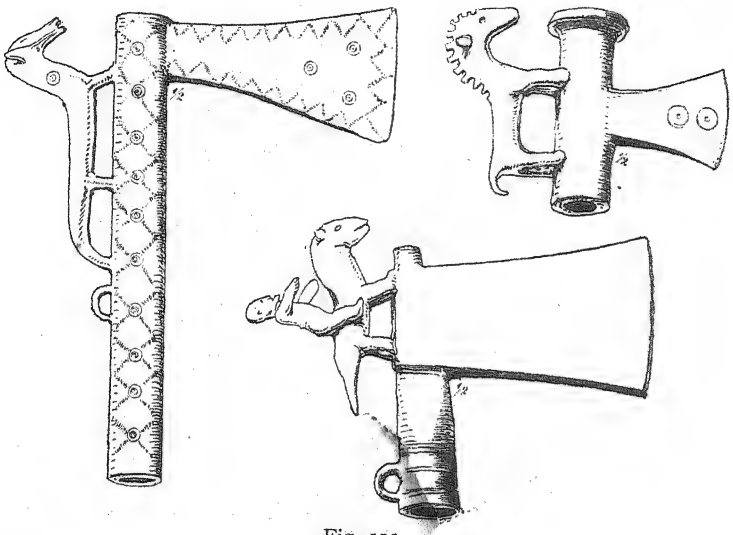


Fig. 515.

More *ad rem* is A. Blanchet's observation[2] that over and over again both in France and in Sweden axes of stone or bronze have been found carefully arranged in symmetric circles, perhaps with a view to solar cult. Besides, bronze axe-heads from the burial ground at Hallstatt are in some cases furnished with the small figure of a rider or a horse (fig. 515)[3], which J. Déchelette[4] takes to be an emblem of the sun, though it may have some other meaning.

[1] C. F. Herbst in the *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 1866 pp. 124—132 with figs., Sir J. Evans *The Ancient Bronze Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments, of Great Britain and Ireland* London 1881 p. 450, J. J. A. Worsaae *The Pre-history of the North* trans. H. F. Morland Simpson London 1886 p. 96, O. Montelius *The Civilisation of Sweden in Heathen Times* trans. F. H. Woods London 1888 p. 51 f. fig. 52.

[2] A. Blanchet in the *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1903 pp. 137—141 draws up a list of such cases, which is doubled in length by J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. 1. 483 n. 2.

[3] E. v. Sacken *Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt in Oberösterreich und dessen Alterthümer* Wien 1868 p. 41 f. pl. 8, 2—4 (=my fig. 515), Forrer *Reallex.* p. 329 pl. 82, 3—5.

[4] J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. 1. 482 fig. 205, 5.

Not till we reach the Roman period can we beyond all question connect the axe with particular deities. A plate of copper discovered near Cadenet in the district of Apt amid a heap of ashes to the west of a circular wall records the gift of an axe to Mars and an axe to Dexsiva[1] (a Celtic goddess[2]) in fulfilment of a vow[3]. Six

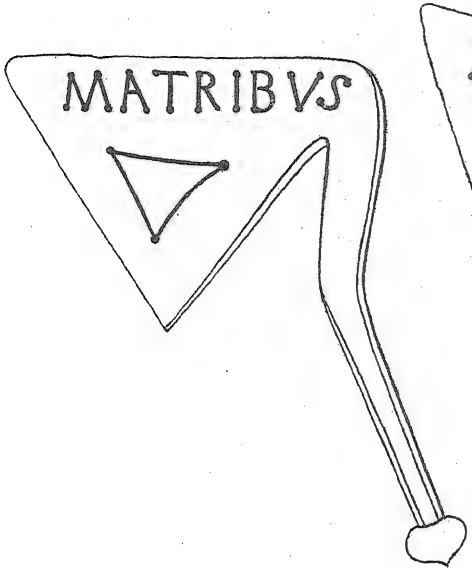


Fig. 516.



Fig. 517.

little hatchets of bronze found in the ruins of a temple at Allmendingen near Thun bear votive inscriptions 'to Iupiter,' 'to the Matres' (fig. 516), 'to the Matronae,' 'to Mercurius,' 'to Minerva' (fig. 517), and 'of Neptunus' respectively[4]. In Gallia Lugudunensis Esus the axe-god was associated with Iovis and Volcanus[5], while

[1] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xii no. 1063 (with fig.) d(onum) d(at) Quartus Mar(ti) | secu|rem. | d(onum) d(at) θ (?) Dexsive | Quartus secu|rem. v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito). T. Mommsen suggested as a possible reading: d(is) d(eabus) Quartus m(e)r(itis) | secu|rem. | d(is) d(eabus) o(mnibus) etc.

[2] M. Ihm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 295.

[3] S. C. F. Calvet cp. Fredegodus *v. S. Wilfridi Eboracensis* (died 709 A.D.) 15. 558 (cxxxiii. 992 A Migne) non igitur coeptum dissolvit Dexia votum.

[4] T. Mommsen *Inscriptiones confoederationis Helveticae Latinae* (*Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* x) Zürich 1854 p. 39 no. 211 (1) Iovi, (2) Matribus with fig. (=my fig. 516), (3) Matronis, (4) Mercurio, (5) Minervae with fig. (=my fig. 517), (6) Neptuni, M. Ihm 'Der Mütter- oder Matronenkultus und seine Denkmäler' in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1887 lxxxiii. 128 nos. 156, 157.

[5] *Supra* i. 481 n. 9, ii. 547 n. 0.

at Mogontiacum (*Mayence*) Sucaelus the mallet-god[1] was apparently equated with Iupiter *Optimus Maximus*[2]. Finally, Saxo Grammaticus[3] in his *History of the Danes*, writing *c.* 1200 A.D., states that in 1130 A.D. Magnus, son of Nicolaus (the Danish king Niels), after demolishing an ancient heathen temple on an island in or near Gothia (Gøtland in Sweden), brought back in triumph certain enormously heavy bronze hammers known as 'Iupiter-mallets' and believed to be the means by which Iupiter (Thor) made his thunder.

It will be seen that in western and northern Europe the double axe as a divine weapon gave place, from the Bronze Age onwards, to the single axe and the hammer.

(μ) The axe carried by priests and priestesses.

Among the sculptures decorating the gateway of the Hittite palace at Eyuk[4] is a relief (fig. 518)[5], which represents two pairs of male figures engaged in some ritual or ceremonial action hard to interpret. On the left a couple of men clad in short tunics confront each other. The taller man wears a conspicuous earring and grasps a long staff, which is grasped also by his shorter companion. On the right is a second couple again consisting of a taller and a shorter man. The one wears a close-fitting cap, an earring, a trailing robe with a surplice over it, and tip-tilted shoes: he holds with both hands an axe of unique design[6]—the blade being crescent-shaped

[1] S. Reinach 'Sucellus et Nantosvelta' in the *Revue celtique* 1896 xvii. 45—59 (=*id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1905 i. 217—232), R. Peter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1579 f.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 6730=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4615 (on an altar found at Mogontiacum in 1882) I. o. m. | Sucaelo et | Gen. loci pro | salute C. | Calpurni | Seppiani p. p. | leg. XXII Pr. p., | Trophimus | actor [et?] can|abari ex | voto. I do not agree with R. Peter *loc. cit.*, who comments: 'doch wohl Iuppiter O. M. und Sucaelus.'

[3] Sax. Gram. *hist. Dan.* 13 p. 421, 29 ff. Holder cuius operam valenter editam consimili probitatis genere emulatus Magnus, inter cetera tropheorum suorum insignia inusitati ponderis malleos, quos Ioviales vocabant, apud insularum quandam prisca virorum religione cultos, in patriam deportandos curavit. cupiens enim antiquitas tonitruorum causas usitata rerum similitudine comprehendere, malleos, quibus celi fragores cieri credebat, ingenti ere complexa fuerat, aptissime tante sonoritatis vim <machinarum (*ins.* S. J. Stephanius)> fabrilium specie imitandam existimans. Magnus vero, Christiane discipline studio paganam perosus, et phanum cultu et Iovem insignibus spoliare sanctitatis loco habuit. et adhuc quidem eum Sueones, perinde ac celestium spoliorum raptorem, sacrilegum autumant.

[4] *Supra* i. 636.

[5] G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie* etc. Paris 1872 i. 360, ii pl. 56, 2, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 672 f. fig. 335 (=my fig. 518), J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 266 f., E. Meyer *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* Berlin 1914 p. 84 n. 1. Length 1·66^{m}: minimum height 1·22^{m}.

[6] Its character as an axe is recognised by A. J. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 1167 n. 9 and by E. Meyer *loc. cit.* G. Perrot's original comparison with the

and perforated, the handle prolonged above it so that it could be grasped at either end. The other man, who is seemingly nude, stands at a little distance facing the axe-bearer with a gesture of respect. What these various figures signify, we cannot tell. But it is reasonable to suppose that the personage carrying the two-handled axe is a priest, who holds out the weapon of his god for the approaching worshipper to clasp, much as Ahasuerus held out to Esther the golden sceptre[1].

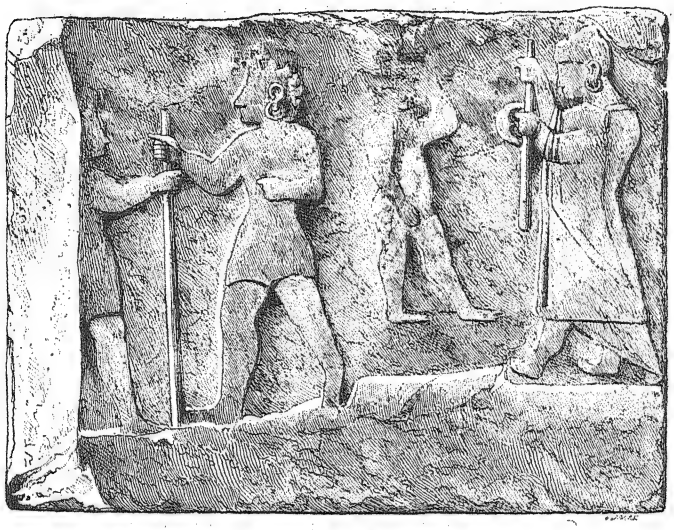


Fig. 518.

A glandular sardonyx from the Vaphio tomb (fig. 519)[2], now in the Central Museum at Athens[3], has incised upon it a beardless man in a long robe, who raises his right hand in the attitude of adoration and supports on his left shoulder an axe crescentic and holed as before. G. Perrot and C. Chipiez[4] took him to be perhaps a man sacrificing. A. Furtwängler[5] suggested that he might be meant for a priest, or for a god, possibly Zeus. And L. A. Milani[6] declares that he is an armed deity comparable with the Hittite

sceptre and ring on the rock-cut reliefs of Bavian (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* ii. 636 ff. fig. 310) and Maltai (*ib.* ii. 642 ff. fig. 313) is misleading.

[1] Esther 4. 11, 5. 2, 8. 4.

[2] Ch. Tsountas '*Ἔρευναι ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ καὶ ὁ τάφος τοῦ Βαφείου*' in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1889 p. 167 pl. 10, 26, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 847 fig. 431, 4 (=my fig. 519), 849, 977, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 2, 47, ii. 13.

[3] Staïs *Coll. Mycénienne*: *Athènes* p. 152 no. 1798.

[4] Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 977.

[5] Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* ii. 13.

[6] Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1902 ii. 8 fig. 109.

Sutekh. However, a glance at the gem from Melos[1] already discussed makes it fairly certain that this is no axe-bearing divinity, but a mere mortal; and I should be content to see in him a priest carrying a ceremonial axe. The same tomb yielded an actual spe-



Fig. 519.

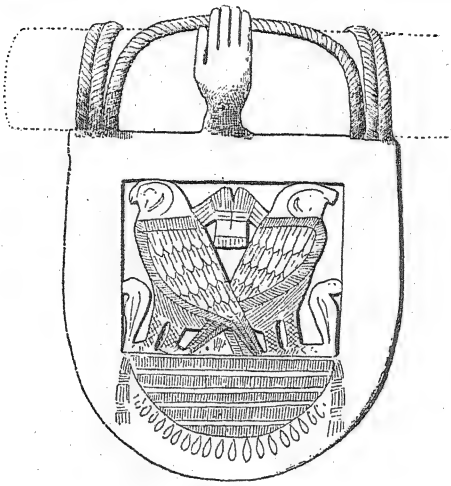


Fig. 521.



Fig. 520.

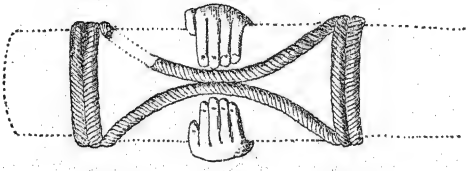


Fig. 522.

cimen in bronze of similar shape[2], and other examples could be quoted[3].

A glandular gem of finer style (fig. 520), in the Museum at Candia, is again taken by L. A. Milani[4] to portray an axe-bearing

[1] *Supra* p. 544 fig. 419.

[2] Ch. Tsountas *loc. cit.* p. 155 f. pl. 8, 1, Perrot—Chipiez *op. cit.* vi. 977 fig. 553, Staïs *op. cit.* p. 155 f. no. 1870, A. J. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 1167 fig. 6265.

[3] See Sir J. G. Wilkinson *A popular account of the Ancient Egyptians* London 1854 i. 362 f. fig. 319, 1—6, Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1902 ii. 8 f. fig. 112, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 66 f. fig. 57, A. J. Reinach *loc. cit.*, Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *Tools and Weapons* London 1917 p. 9 f. pl. 6 f. *Infra* § 3 (c) i (χ). Cp. also an interesting bronze, formerly in the Towneley Collection, which combines the shape of a perforated axe with the figure of a bull (*infra* § 3 (c) i (μ)), and a magnificent axe-head in the Museo Egizio at Florence (Milani *loc. cit.* fig. 113=my fig. 521 f.), which possibly, but not certainly, had a sacral character.

[4] Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1902 ii. 8 fig. 111 (=my fig. 520).

god such as Sutekh. More probably it shows a priestess carrying the crescent axe for some ritual purpose. If so, the nearest parallels are a lentoid steatite from Knossos (fig. 523)[1] and a clay sealing from *Kato Zakro* (fig. 524)[2], on which G. Karo[3] recognised 'Minoan'

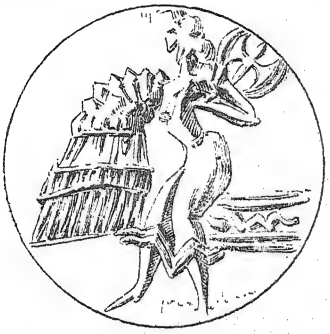


Fig. 523.

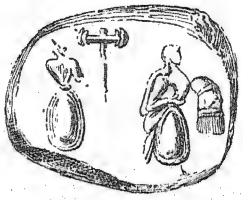


Fig. 524.

priestesses bearing the double axe and the sacred robe of their goddess. Or should we rather say 'the sacred robe of their goddess and the double axe of their god'?

Two stone moulds found near *Palaikastro* in 1899 exhibit a whole series of designs relating to the Cretan axe-cult[4]. These in-

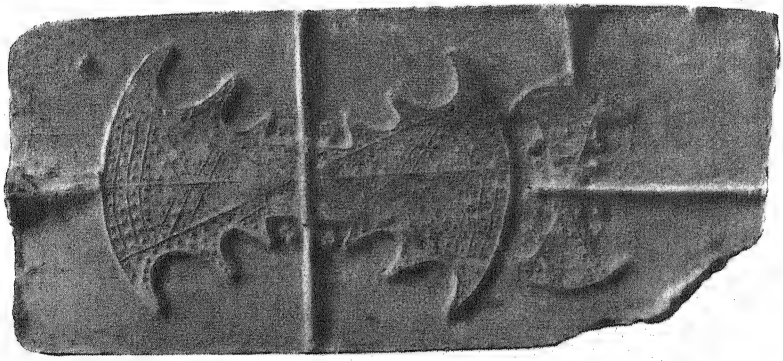


Fig. 525.

[1] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 101 f. fig. 59 (=my fig. 523, scale $\frac{2}{1}$) speaks of the figure on this intaglio, found near 'the Court of the Oil Spout' in the Cnossian palace, as apparently a female divinity. But why?

[2] D. G. Hogarth in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 78 f. fig. 5 (=my fig. 524, scale $\frac{1}{1}$) thinks that between the two draped figures of this impression is 'a *labrys* suspended in air' (cp. *supra* p. 514 ff.). G. Karo in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 148 fig. 32 gives a redrawing of the seal, in which the *lábrys* is definitely carried by the left-hand figure.

[3] G. Karo in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 147 figs. 31 and 32.

[4] S. A. Xanthoudides in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1900 p. 26 ff. pl. 3 f. (=my fig. 525 ff.), Milani

clude a couple of ornate double axes, large and small, with multiple blades (fig. 525); a pair of ritual horns (fig. 526); a large disk resembling a four-spoked wheel decorated with dots and rays (the sun?); a small disk, with central cross, two concentric rows of dots,

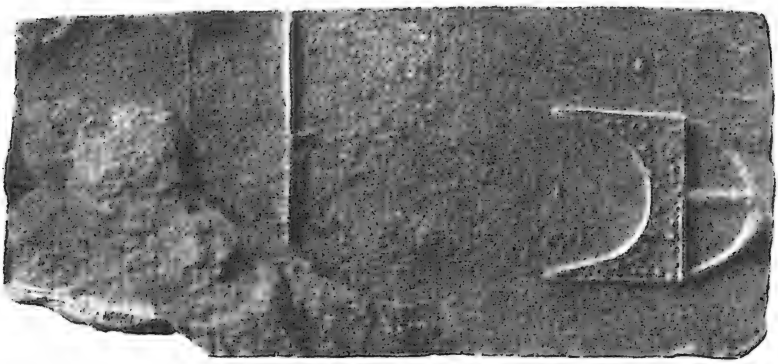


Fig. 526.

and a crescent between them (the moon and stars?), apparently carried by a little female figure[1], since a head with rayed head-dress is seen above and a wide-spread skirt (?) below; a female uplifting



Fig. 527.

flowers or poppy-stalks (?) in either hand, while another flower springs from her flat head-dress (fig. 527); and lastly a similar female raising a brace of decorated double axes (fig. 528). The two

Stud. e mat. di arch. e num. i. 176, R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 299 f., Sir A. J. Evans *ib.* 1902—1903 ix. 92 f., G. Karo in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 145 ff. figs. 27—30.

[1] G. Karo in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 147 'darüber gleichsam Schädel und Arme eines Skeletts [!], unten ein weiter Frauenrock.'

large-sized females are regarded by Sir A. J. Evans[1] and by G. Karo[2] as goddesses. We should then assume—an easy assumption—that the earth-goddess had borrowed the sky-god's axe[3]. But the same figures are described by R. C. Bosanquet[4] as women; and there is, after all, nothing to prevent us from supposing that they are a pair of priestesses displaying the emblems of the goddess and the god.

Athena, who in various ways recalls the great mother-goddess of Crete, is on occasion equipped with the double axe. Simias of Rhodes in his picture-poem the *Double Axe* makes Epeios the

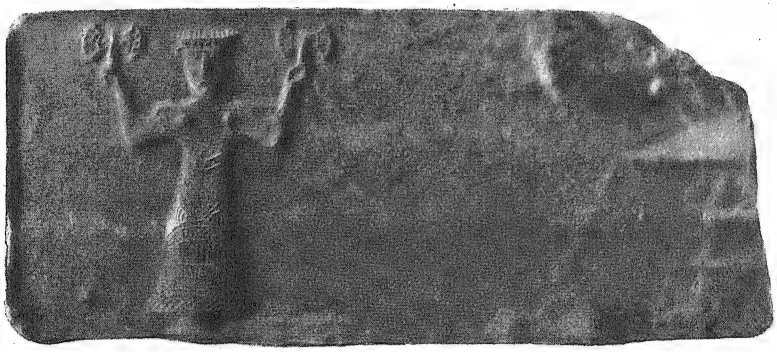


Fig. 528.

Phocian dedicate to Athena as an acceptable gift the axe with which he had made the wooden horse and thereby captured Troy[5]. The fateful tool was to be seen in her temple at Eilenia in the district of Lagaria near Metapontum[6]. Again, bronze coins of the Oxyrhynchite nome, struck by Domitian, Trajan (fig. 529), Hadrian (fig. 530), and Antoninus Pius, have for reverse type Athena bearing Nike in one hand and a double axe with straight or rounded edges in the other, while small pieces issued by Hadrian (fig. 531) show the double axe without the goddess[7]. Lastly, a 'Gnostic' amulet in the

[1] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 92 f.

[2] G. Karo in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 147.

[3] So H. Prinz in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1910 xxxv. 163 with 174. Cp. *supra* p. 564 f. figs. 450, 452.

[4] R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 300.

[5] *Anth. Pal.* 15. 22 (Simias) = C. Haeberlin *Carmina Figurata Graeca* Hannoverae 1887 p. 70 with schol. Pal. *ib.* p. 84. See further W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1911 ii. 1. 92 n. 4. Illustrations are collected by Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 607 ff. Atlas pl. 25, 3 f., A. Michaelis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880 lii. 56 ff. pl. K, P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1279 f.

[6] Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 108, Lyk. *Al.* 948 ff., Iust. 20. 2. 1.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria etc. p. 360 f. nos. 86—91, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 565 no. 18, J. de Rougé 'Monnaies des Nomes de l'Égypte' in the *Rev. Num.* Nouvelle

St Geneviève collection (fig. 532) represents Athena armed with the double axe amid a group of Egyptising deities[1].

Traces of the Cretan axe might also be sought in the complex of myths relating to Theseus. For Theseus, though he became the



Fig. 530.



Fig. 529.



Fig. 531.

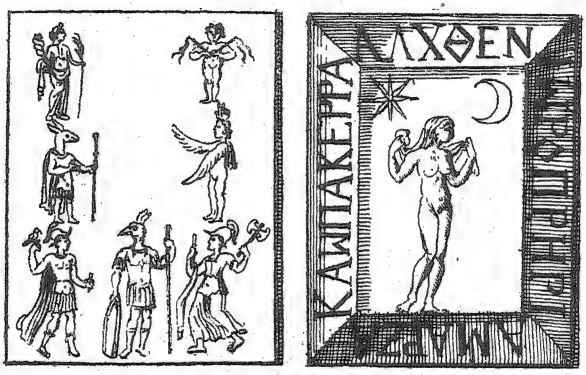


Fig. 532.

national hero of Athens, had originally—as O. Gruppe[2] has shown in detail—much to do with Crete and Cretan cult. Accordingly, we observe that in fifth-century art he constantly handles the double axe. The cycle of Thesean exploits told how *Damástes*[3] the 'Crusher,' otherwise styled *Prokroústes*[4] the 'Hammerer' or *Pro-*

série 1874 xv. 27 ff. pl. 1, 17 Trajan (=my fig. 529), 18 Hadrian (=my fig. 530), 19 Hadrian (=my fig. 531), G. Dattari *Numi Augg. Alexandrini* Cairo 1901 p. 417 f. nos. 6334 pl. 33, 6335 Domitian; 6336 pl. 34 Trajan; 6337, 6338 pl. 35, 6339 (axe only) pl. 35 Hadrian; 6340 pl. 36, 6341 Antoninus Pius. W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 442 follows J. de Rougé *loc. cit.* in identifying this Athena with the Egyptian Tefênet (on whom see G. Roeder in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 156 ff.).

[1] C. du Molinet *Cabinet de la Bibliothèque de Ste Geneviève* Paris 1692 p. 130 pl. 30, 1—2 (=my fig. 532), Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 ii. 237 pl. 53, 1, J. Matter *Histoire critique du gnosticisme* Paris 1828 iii pl. 7, 4.

[2] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 581 ff. *Supra* i. 467, 474 ff., 481 f., 492 ff.

[3] Apollod. *epit.* 1. 4, Plout. *v. Thes.* 11, Hesych. *s.v.* Δαμαστής (*sic*). See C. Robert in *Hermes* 1898 xxxiii. 149.

[4] Diod. 4. 59 *τῶν δ' ἐλαττόνων τοὺς πόδας προέκρουεν, ἀφ' οὗπερ* Προκρούστης *ὠνομάσθη.*

kóptes[1] the 'Cutter,' beat out his victims with the iron mallet[2] of his father Polypemon[3] or lopped their limbs to suit his fatal bed, till Theseus came and served him as he had served others. Attic red-figured vases from the end of the sixth century onwards depict the hero attacking his ferocious host with uplifted double axe[4]. Whence did he obtain the axe? Presumably he wrenched it from the hand of Damastes and carried it afterwards in token of his victory[5]. However that may be[6], the western pediment in the

C. Robert in U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Aus Kydathen* Berlin 1880 p. 227 pointed out that *προκρούειν* is the technical term for beating out a plate or bar of metal.

[1] Bakchyl. 17. 27 ff. Πολυπήμονός τε καρτερὰν | σφῦραν ἐξέβαλεν Προκό|πτας, ἀρείονος τυχὼν | φωτός with Sir R. C. Jebb *ad loc.* O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2687 ff., following up a hint of Wilamowitz in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1898 clx. 142, holds that the subject of the sentence is still Theseus, who is here described as *προκόπτας*, the 'striker of a lightning-blow,' in opposition to the more ponderous Polypemon (Προκρούστης), who because stronger is spoken of as *ἀρείονος...φωτός*. Ingenious, but unconvincing.

[2] Soph. *Aigeus frag.* 19 Nauck[2], 20 Jebb *ap.* Poll. 10. 160 and Hesych. *s.v. κέστρᾳ σιδηρᾷ*. Cp. Bakchyl. 17. 27 f., Apollod. *epit.* 1. 4, Hyg. *fab.* 38, and schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 977 (of Sinis).

[3] See J. Ilberg in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2683. O. Höfer *ib.* iii. 2684 ff., after G. Kirchner *Attica et Peloponnesiaca* Greifswald 1890 p. 64 n. 4 and O. Wulff *Zur Theseussage* Dorpat 1892 p. 179, thinks that Πολυπήμων was originally an appellative of Hades, who sank successively from a god to a hero, and from a hero to a brigand. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 595 says: 'er bedeutete den Todesgott, der die Menschen auf das letzte, für alle gleiche Lager streckt' (but see the folk-parallels in Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 502) and *op. cit.* p. 595 n. 3 adds: 'Der Hammer...ist Symbol des Totengottes; Charun, der etruskische Totengott, führt den Doppelhammer' (*infra* p. 641).

[4] Listed by O. Wulff *op. cit.* p. 45 ff., E. Sarnow *Die cyclischen Darstellungen aus der Theseussage in der antiken Kunst und ihre literarische Quelle* Leipzig 1894 p. 57 ff., L. Séchan in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 227 n. 3.

[5] We are nowhere actually told that Theseus took the weapon from Prokroustes, though that is perhaps implied by Plout. *v. Thes.* 11 and is commonly assumed as self-evident (Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 260, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2685, 2687). We need not think of the robber as possessing two implements, a hammer to lengthen out the short and an axe to shorten the long: an axe-hammer would have served both purposes.

[6] A late black-figured *skyphos* at Petrograd bears on both front and back a design, which has been interpreted as Theseus attacking Skiron with a double axe in the presence of Athena (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* i. 67 f. no. 116, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1866 p. 155 fig., p. 177 f., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 55, 6, O. Waser in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1011). And a red-figured *kylix* at Florence with cyclic illustrations shows the hero making for Sinis with the same tool (L. A. Milani in the *Museo Italiano di antichità classica* 1890 iii. 239 ff. pl. 3, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 529). But it would be unsafe to infer from such isolated representations that Theseus had a double axe independently of Prokroustes. His ancestral weapon was, of course, the sword of Aigeus.

There is, however, some reason to associate the double axe with the legendary kings of Athens. When Kodros devoted his life for his country, he dressed as a woodman (Lyk. *Al.* 1378 *ἄνακτος τοῦ δρυηκόπου* with Tzetz. *ad loc.*) and took in hand a double axe (Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 194 f. *ὃ γνοὺς ὁ Κόδρος καὶ στολὴν ἀψάμενος δρυτόμου, | πελέκει Λάκωνά τινα κτείνας ἀνταναιρεῖται*) or bill-hook (schol. Plat. *symp.* 208 D *γνοὺς δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Κόδρος, στείλας ἑαυτὸν εὐτελεῖ σκευῇ ὡς ξυλιστὴν καὶ δρέπανον λαβών, ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων προῆει.*

temple of Zeus at Olympia, carved before the middle of the fifth century perhaps by an Elean sculptor, figures him swinging the same trusty weapon against a brutal Centaur[1]. Finally, Theseus was said to have freed from robbers the old mountain-road that led from Athens to Delphoi[2]; and, whenever the Athenians sent a sacred embassy along that road[3], it was customary for the procession to be headed by men bearing double axes as though to clear the way[4]. In these peculiar axe-bearers I would venture to detect, not a meaningless company of pioneers[5], but the performers of an ancient 'Minoan' lustration, the true significance of which had long been forgotten[6]. It is noteworthy that a fine axe of bronze, inscribed with 'Minoan' characters, has come to light at Delphoi (fig. 533)[7],

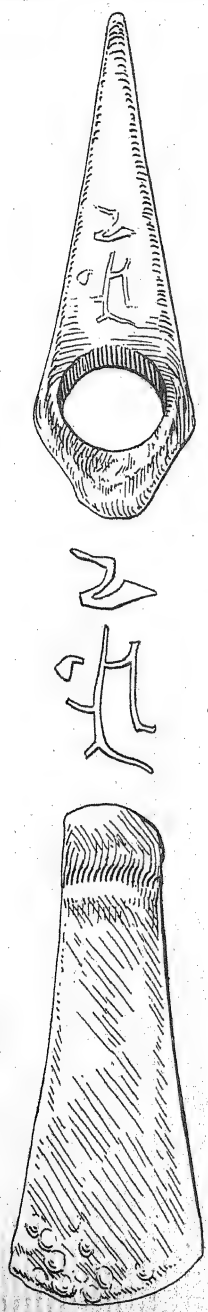


Fig. 533.

κ.τ.λ.). In the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 84 I suggested that this was an ancient ritual costume. But?

[1] G. Treu in *Olympia* iii. 76 f. pl. 18—21, 2, pls. 26, 27, 1 f., Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 317 ff. fig. 77 M and fig. 84, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 446 ff. fig. 232 A, B. The restoration of the axe is certain, thanks to Paus. 5. 10. 8 τῇ δὲ Θησεὺς ἀμυνόμενος πελέκει τοὺς Κενταύρους. So on a vase-fragment at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 664 f. no. 2403, E. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1883 xli. 348 ff. pl. 17, 1 f., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 450, 3 f.).

[2] Schol. Aisch. *Eum.* 13 (cited *infra* n. 4), schol. Aristeid. p. 324, 20 ff. Dindorf.

[3] E. Pfuhl *De Atheniensium pompis sacris* Berolini 1900 p. 104 ff. §

[4] Schol. Aisch. *Eum.* 13 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. Θησεὺς γὰρ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκάθηρε τῶν λῃστῶν καί, ὅταν πέμπωσιν εἰς Δελφοὺς θεωρίδα, προέρχονται ἔχοντες πελέκεις ὡς διημερεύσοντες (F. H. M. Blaydes *corr.* διημερώσοντες or ἐξημερώσοντες) τὴν γῆν.

[5] E. Curtius 'Zur Geschichte des Wegebaus bei den Griechen' in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* Berlin 1894 i. 33 (cp. p. 69): 'Erinnerung an die alten Werkmeister, die einst zuerst dem Gotte die Stege bereitet hatten.'

[6] A. Boëthius *Die Pythaïs: Studien zur Geschichte der Verbindungen zwischen Athen und Delphi* Uppsala 1918 p. 31 ff. thinks that the axes were originally votive, like the Tenedian axe (*infra* § 3 (c) i (o)). G. C. Richards in the *Class. Rev.* 1919 xxxiv. 113 says: 'Either this was the case, or they were relics of the ancient ritual, as observed in the case of the Buphonia' (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (α)).

[7] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 280 fig. 7, P. Perdrizet in the *Fouilles de Delphes* v. 1. 5 fig. 14 (=my fig. 533). The axe is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

not to mention many little votive double axes of the same material (fig. 534, *a*—*d*)[1]. P. Perdrizet[2], indeed, conjectures that *Lábys*, the eunuch temple-sweeper sometimes credited with the Delphic maxim 'Know thyself[3],' was the eponym of the Delphian phratry *Labyádai*[4], and that both names should be connected with the words *Labýrinthos* and *lábrys*.

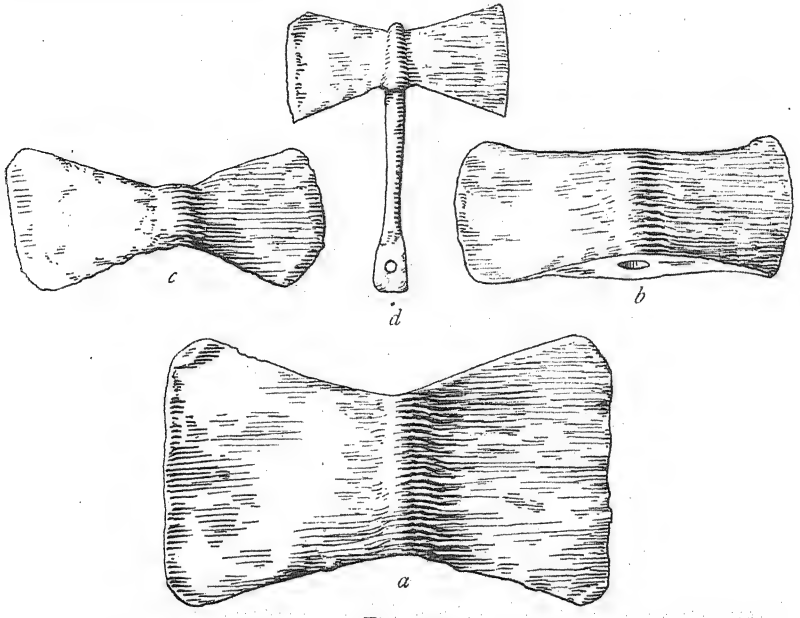


Fig. 534.

A good example of the *lábrys* surviving for ritual purposes has recently been published by Schweitzer[5]. It is a bronze medallion from Smyrna, of the first or second century A.D., now in the Ethnological Museum at Munich. On it we see (fig. 535) a man wearing a pointed *pîlos* with chin-band and a heavy cloak, who puts incense

[1] P. Perdrizet *loc. cit.* v. 2. 119 ff. figs. 438, 439, 440 (=my fig. 534, *a*: length 0·095^{m}), 441 (=my fig. 534, *b*: length 0·07^{m}), 442, 443 (=my fig. 534, *c*: length 0·065^{m}), 444 (=my fig. 534, *d*: length of axe-head 0·05^{m}), 445.

[2] P. Perdrizet *loc. cit.* v. 1. 4.

[3] Schol. Plat. *Phileb.* 48 C.

[4] The Λαβυάδαι are mentioned in Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 319, 2 (a rock-cut inscription at Delphoi) τὸν Λαδυάδαν (*sic*) and in J. Baunack in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* ii. 718 ff. no. 2561=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 995=Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*^{2} no. 438 *a* 3, 7, 10, 19, *b* 64, 83 f., 101, 107, *d* 186, 207 f., 208 f., 214 (an inscription found at Delphoi, giving regulations for the phratry Labyadai and dating from the close of *s.* v B.C.).

[5] Schweitzer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1919 xxxiv Arch. Anz. pp. 38—49 fig. 1 (=my fig. 535). Diameter of medallion 6·6^{cm}.

on a *thymiatérion* with his right hand and shoulders a double axe with his left. A cord from his girdle is perhaps attached to the dog that is seen behind him, while a second dog beyond the incense-burner barks at the smoke. In the field is a bay-branch, and a large star or sun shines in the sky. Interpretation is difficult. The *pîlos*, the dogs, and the brazier make one think of Hephaistos, whose temple on Mount Aitne had an ever-burning fire and a precinct full of sacred dogs[1]: the god himself appears to have been a Grecised



Fig. 535.

form of the Syrian Hadran[2]. Schweitzer justly remarks that the priest of the medallion resembles his deity, but seeks to relate the latter to the Roman Robigus, the Greek Apollon *Erethímios*, and the Phoenician Rešef or Rešup (fig. 536)[3],—a connexion hardly proven, though by no means impossible.

In Italy too the axe retained its sanctity well into classical times. The Iron Age notwithstanding, priests continued to sacrifice with a bronze axe called *acieris*[4] or, as some would have it, *seces-*

[1] Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 3.

[2] K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 405.

[3] As shown on a razor from Carthage (A. L. Delattre in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1900 p. 501 fig. (from which my fig. 536 is drawn) = Schweitzer *loc. cit.* fig. 2) and an Egyptian seal-cylinder at Berlin (H. Prinz *Altorientalische Symbolik* Berlin 1915 p. 130 pl. 12, 2).

[4] Fest. p. 10, 1 Müller, p. 9, 9 Lindsay acieris securis aerea, qua in sacrificiis utebantur sacerdotes. Cp. Plaut. *fab. incert. frag.* 58 Goetz—Schoell *ap.* Philoxen. in the *Corpus*

pita[1]. The pontifical axe that appears on *denarii* struck by

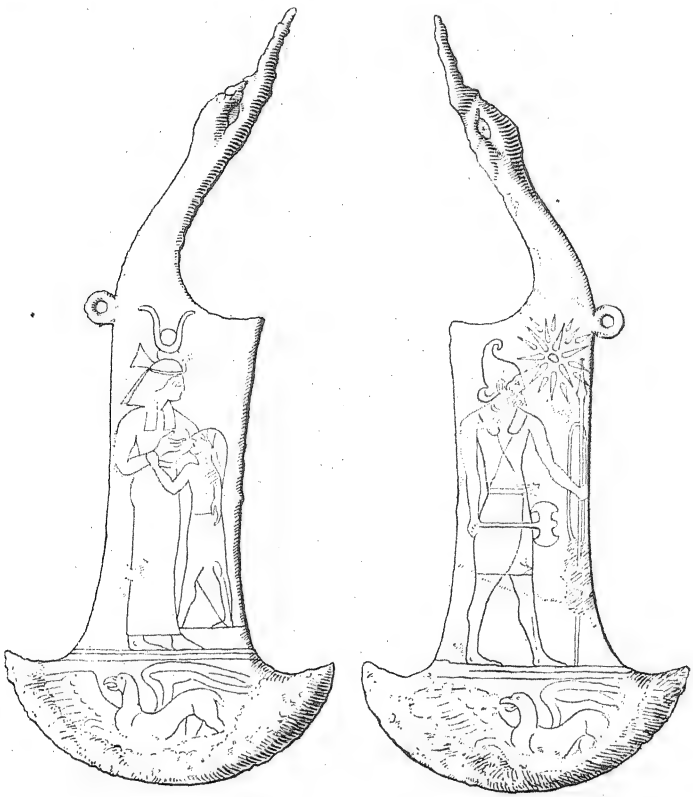


Fig. 536.

glossariorum Latinorum Lipsiae 1888 ii (ed. G. Goetz—G. Gundermann). 13 no. 9 acceres (*sic*) ἀξίν<η> ἱεροφάντου ὡς Πλαῦτος and other glosses cited in the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* i. 399, 69 ff. Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 8 says: 'nach Bücheler Rh. Mus. XLVI (1891), 233 ff. zu *acies* "Schneide, Schärfe," *aciārium* "vulgärer Name des Stahls" (s. *ācer*). Bildung unklar.'

[1] Paul. ex Fest. p. 336, 9 Müller, p. 453, 16 f. Lindsay secespitam alii securim, alii dolabram aeneam, alii cultellum esse putant. But see Fest. p. 348 *a* 4 ff. Müller, p. 472, 19 ff. Lindsay <s>ecespitam esse Antisti<us Labeo (*frag.* 21 Funaioli) ait cultrum> ferreum, oblongum, mani<brio eburneo rotund>o, solido, vincto ad ca<pulum argento auroque,> fixum clavis aeneis, ae<re Cyprio, quo flami>nes, flaminicae, virgi<nes pontificesque ad sa>crificia utuntur=interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 262. This more detailed account is borne out by Suet. *Tib.* 25 nam et inter pontifices sacrificanti simul pro secespita plumbeum cultrum subiciendum curavit. Walde *op. cit.*[2] p. 692: 'jedenfalls zu *seco*..., obgleich die Bildung (oder Zusammensetzung?) unklar ist (s. *caespes*).'

Fest. p. 318 *b* 16 ff. Müller, p. 422, 32 ff. Lindsay scena ab aliis, a quibusdam sacena appellatur dolabra pontificalis, Paul. ex Fest. p. 319, 8 Müller, p. 423, 13 Lindsay scena sive sacena dolabra pontificalis. Walde *op. cit.*[2] p. 668: 'aus **sacesna*, zu *saxum*..., *secāre*, *scēna*.' De Vit *Lat. Lex. s.vv.* 'sacena,' 'sescenaris' explains Liv. 41. 15 *bovis sescenaris* as 'an ox struck by the pontifical axe.'

P. Sulpicius Galba[1] *c.* 69 B.C. (fig. 537) is surmounted by a lion's head. *Denarii* issued by Iulius Caesar[2] in Gaul *c.* 50—49 B.C. (fig. 538), small bronze pieces with similar types circulated in 49 (?) B.C., after his departure, by A. Hirtius[3], *aurei* and *denarii* struck by Caesar[4] himself at Rome in 49 B.C. (fig. 539), *denarii* and *quinarii* of 43 B.C.



Fig. 537.


Fig. 538.



Fig. 539.


Fig. 540.


Fig. 541.

bearing the names of M. Antonius and M. Lepidus[5] (figs. 540, 541), exhibit the same sacrificial axe topped by a wolf's head with open jaws. These animal heads must not be regarded as merely decorative: rather they give graphic expression to the death-dealing force conceived as resident in the axe itself[6]. Two specimens of

[1] Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 402 f. pl. Sulpicia, 2, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 473 nos. 6 fig., 7, M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde der römischen Republik* Wien 1897 p. 276 pl. 13, 17, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 433 no. 3516 pl. 44, 18, no. 3517 pl. 44, 19, no. 3518, G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 p. 104.

[2] Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 209 pl. Iulia 4, 7, B, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 10 no. 9 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 390 f. no. 27 pl. 103, 5, nos. 28—30, G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 pp. 100 f., 104 pl. 11, 58.

[3] Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 543 no. 3 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 525 n. 4, ii. 390 n. 1.

[4] Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 208 pl. Iulia 4, 4, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 17 no. 25 fig., no. 26, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 505 f. nos. 3953, 3954, pl. 49, 12, 3955, 3956, 3957 pl. 49, 13. *Supra* p. 110 n. 8.

[5] Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 11 f. pl. Aemilia 2, 6, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 130 f. nos. 27 fig., 28, 29 fig., 30, 31 fig., 32 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 392 ff. no. 31 pl. 103, 6, no. 32 pl. 103, 7, no. 33 pl. 103, 8, nos. 34, 35.

[6] Cp. *e.g.* a Persian axe-head of bronze, found at Ekbatana (*Hamadan*) and now in the British Museum, which ends in a stylised lion (W. Greenwell in *Archaeologia* 1902 lviii. 9 fig. 11, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 66 fig. 56); an Armenian axe-head of bronze from Van, which has a lion with two hounds in a like position (W. Greenwell in *Archaeologia* 1902 lviii. 9 fig. 10, Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *Tools and Weapons* London 1917 p. 13 pl. 11, 140); Scythian model axe-heads of bronze, from Jarmolintsy and from the district of Romny, terminating in animal heads (E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pp. 72, 178 fig. 73). See also the axe-heads from Hallstatt (*supra* p. 618 fig. 515).

the symbolic or model axe-head in bronze have come down to us. One in the British Museum has a perforated crescentic blade backed by a bull, the whole measuring some three inches in length (fig. 542)[1]. The other, once in the Forman collection, is very similar in design and size, but has a solid blade (fig. 543)[2]. The bull presumably, though not quite certainly, here stands for the victim sacrificed.

In this connexion a word may be added concerning the axes carried by Roman lictors. It seems probable that they were ori-



Fig. 542.

ginally no ordinary instruments of execution, but sacred weapons borne before the king as human representative of the sky-god. The lictor's axe-blade, at least in late republican times, was given a semi-equine form. *Denarii* of A. Postumius Albinus struck *c.* 82 B.C. show a togate figure erect between an eagle-standard and a lictor's axe, the blade of the latter being combined with the fore-

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 357 no. 2959 (wrongly described), *supra* p. 622 n. 3. Fig. 542 is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming.

[2] Sir C. H. Smith *The Forman Collection: Catalogue of the Egyptian, Greek & Roman Antiquities* London 1899 p. 29 no. 160 fig. (=my fig. 543): '**Sacrificial axe** (?). The blade, which has an almost lunate edge, appears never to have been sharpened. The thicker part above the blade is modelled in the form of a bull, whose hollow body is intended for receiving the heft. At the point where the heft is inserted is a slight prolongation with two grooves, intended for the attachment of the binding; between these grooves a hole is pierced, probably for a rivet, and two further holes are left, one on each side of the blade. Along the back of the animal a club is moulded in relief, the handle towards its tail; and below the bull's belly on each side is a sacrificial knife (?) in relief.... The form of knife here shown seems to be represented on Pergamene coins of Maximinus.... Height 0·08 in.; width 0·095 in.; greatest thickness, 0·025 in. [For 'in.' read 'm.' A.B.C.] On a label inside is written, "Pr. Vans, 1865."' The axe was acquired by Mr W. T. Ready.

part of a tiny galloping horse (fig. 544)[1]. *Denarii* of C. Norbanus issued at about the same date have a similar axe placed between a

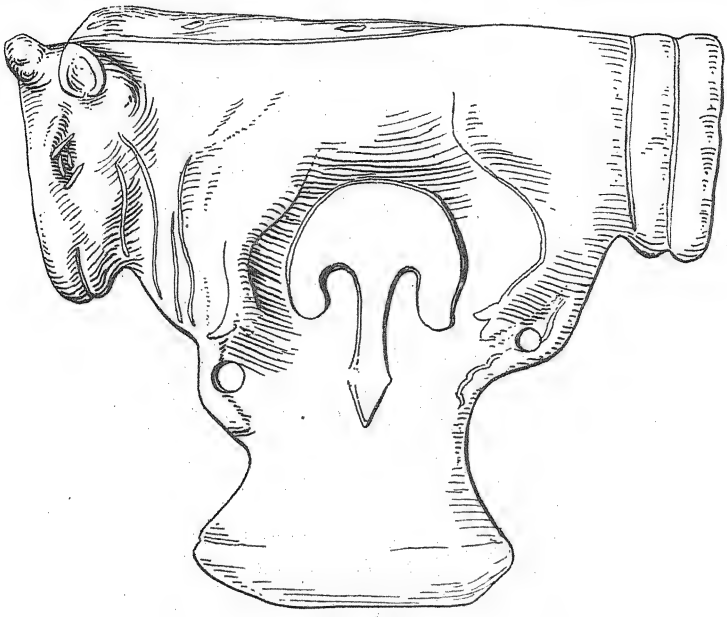


Fig. 543.

corn-ear and a *caduceus* (fig. 545) or between a ship's prow on one side of it and a corn-ear with a *caduceus* on the other (fig. 546)[2]. *Asses* of P. Canidius Crassus, the legate of M. Antonius, struck



Fig. 544.



Fig. 545.



Fig. 546.

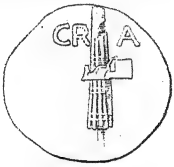


Fig. 547.

perhaps in Egypt after 31 B.C. for Caesarion, exhibit the horse on a somewhat larger scale (fig. 547)[3]. The little steed—a detail duly

[1] Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 359 pl. Postumia 2, 8, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 381 f. no. 8 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 352 nos. 2839, 2840 pl. 40, 16, 2841—2843.

[2] Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 296 f. pl. Norbana, 2, A, B; 3, C, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 259 no. 1 fig.; no. 2 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 347 ff. nos. 2770—2772, 2773 pl. 40, 12, 2774—2801, 2802 pl. 40, 13, 2803—2823, 2825, 2826; 2827 pl. 40, 14, 2828—2835.

[3] Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 243 pl. Licinia 3, B, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 309 no. 1 fig. (horse omitted), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 532 no. 231 (with

noted by old Rasche[1], though ignored by recent numismatists[2]—may be compared with the horse on the bronze axe-heads from Hallstatt[3]. Further, the rods bound round the lictor's axe by means of a red leather strap[4] recall the bundle of divining rods used *e.g.* by the Scythians[5] and the Germans[6], and were perhaps in the far past employed for purposes of divination[7]. Be that as it may, rods thus brought into contact with a sacred axe[8] and thereby charged with its virtues would doubtless be deemed of especial value in expelling evil from a malefactor[9].

That the axe-bearers of the Byzantine court[10] had any such religious history behind them, we have no reason to think[11].

(*v*) The decoration of the double axe.

Sacred and symbolic axes are sometimes characterised as such by their material or ornamentation. Thus the thin triangular axe-heads of jadeite, nephrite, and chloromelanite, which date from mesolithic or neolithic times and are widely distributed in southern and western Europe[12], have been regarded by W. Osborne as ceremonial or princely weapons[13]. And the magnificent axe-hammers of blue[14] or green stone[15] found in the *débris* of the second city at

H. A. Grueber's n. 1) pl. 116, 19. See now V. Gardthausen in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1916 pp. 153—162 (G. Macdonald in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1918—1919* p. 19).

[1] Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 1732, viii. 332.

[2] *E.g.* by E. Babelon and H. A. Grueber.

[3] *Supra* p. 618 fig. 515. A Syro-Phoenician axe-head of bronze in the Berlin museum is shaped like a half ellipse with two large holes in the blade: on it are two small lions in the round facing each other over their prey (L. Messerschmidt in the *Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen* 1909 xxx. 97 ff. fig. 62, *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1909 xiii. 367 fig. 3).

[4] Lyd. *de magistrat.* 1. 32 p. 33, 10 ff. Wünsch.

[5] Hdt. 4. 67. [6] Tac. *Germ.* 10.

[7] See A. W. Buckland *Anthropological Studies* London 1891 p. 140 ff. ('Divination—by the rod and by the arrow') and especially O. Schrader *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples* trans. F. B. Jevons London 1890 p. 279 f., *id. Reallex.* pp. 506 f., 737 f.

[8] *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 362 n. 3, *infra* § 3 (c) i (σ).

[9] See *e.g.* Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Scapegoat p. 264 f. ('Beating people with instruments which possess and impart special virtues').

[10] Anna Komnena *Alex.* 14. 3 (ii. 269 Schopen), Io. Kinnamos *hist.* 1. 3 (p. 8 Meineke), 3. 4 (p. 97), 4. 21 (p. 187), Niketas Choniates *Isaac. Angelus et Alex. fil.* 4 (p. 745 Bekker), Georgios Pachymeres *de Andron. Palaeol.* 1. 27 (ii. 77 Bekker). The πελεκυφόροι mentioned by these authors are, of course, to be distinguished from the mere ἀξινηφόροι of Georgios Pachymeres *de Mich. Palaeol.* 6. 29 (i. 504 Bekker).

[11] See Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. s.v.* 'Βάραγγοι.'

[12] For bibliography see J. Schlemm *Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1908 pp. 150—152 figs. a, b.

[13] W. Osborne *Das Beil und seine typischen Formen in vorhistorischer Zeit* Dresden 1887 p. 27 pl. 5, 3.

[14] W. Dörpfeld *Troja und Ilion* Athens 1902 i. 375 fig. 326.

[15] *Id. ib.* i. 374 fig. 323, cp. i. 375 figs. 324 and 325.

Troy have been recognised by S. Reinach as cult-objects[1]: it might even be held that they were made of *lapis lazuli*, jadeite, etc. just because the colours of these stones were deemed suitable to the belongings of a sky-god.

Again, a perforated axe of amber, nearly five inches long, from

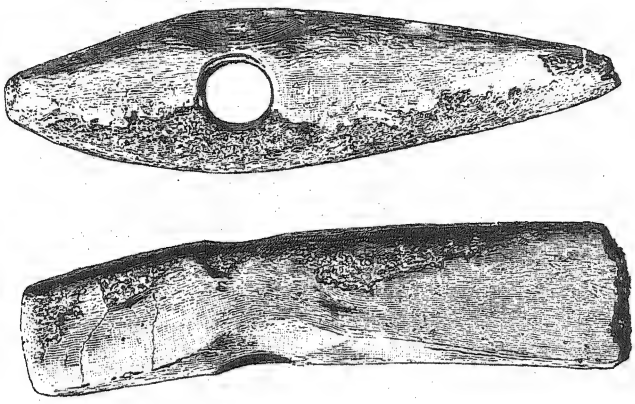


Fig. 548.



Fig. 549.

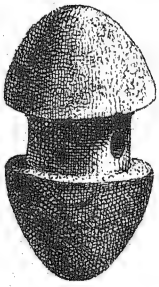


Fig. 550.

Bohuslän (fig. 548) is described by O. Montelius as a symbolic or votive weapon[2]. The same might be said of a smaller specimen discovered by A. Pasqui in a grave of the Early Iron Age at Bisenzio[3]. Amber beads in the form of double axes and hammers (figs. 549, 550) have frequently come to light in the long barrows of

[1] S. Reinach in *L'Anthropologie* 1902 xiii. 24, cp. *Folk-Lore* 1903 xiv. 283 n. 1.

[2] O. Montelius *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens* Leipzig 1906 p. 56 fig. 91 (=my fig. 548: scale $\frac{2}{3}$), Forrer *Reallex.* p. 88, cp. B. Schnittger in Hoops *Reallex.* p. 260.

[3] A. Pasqui in the *Not. Scavi* 1886 p. 292 ('una piccola ascia di ambra, forata nell' occhio, lunga mm. 25 e larga al taglio mm. 20'), L. Pigorini in the *Bullettino di paletnologia italiana* 1890 xvi. 75, M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1898 p. 471 f., *id. ib.*[2] Wien 1915 p. 514.

Denmark and southern Sweden[1]: M. Hoernes[2] and B. Schnittger[3] take them to be symbols of the sky-god or thunder-god; and, remembering that jewelry in general often originates in magic[4], and that amber in particular seems to have been associated with the sun-god[5], we may readily grant that the beads in question had some such religious significance.

In the sanctuary at *Nirou Khani* near Knossos S. Xanthoudides discovered four enormous double axes of bronze, with flat blades rivetted to their sockets[6]. These were of course ritual in character. But miniature axes in gold, electrum, or gilt bronze would likewise be appropriate to the flashing god of heaven. The yellow double axes of the *sarcophagus* from *Hagia Triada* were supposed by R. Paribeni to represent originals in gold or gilded metal[7]. Bulls'-heads with double axes of thin gold were found by the score at Mykenai[8]. And small double axes made of bronze plated with gold came from a treasure-chamber in the palace at Knossos (fig. 551)[9]. The trinkets recovered by D. G. Hogarth from the statue-base of the oldest (*c.* 710—*c.* 660 B.C.) Artemision at Ephesos include a

[1] C. Neergaard 'Ravsmykkerne i Stenalderen' in the *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 1888 p. 291 ff. figs. 14 and 15 (=my figs. 549 and 550: scale ½), O. Montelius *The Civilisation of Sweden in heathen times* trans. F. H. Woods London 1888 p. 23 with fig. 24 (from Vester-Götland), *id. Musée des antiquités nationales de Stockholm: Catalogue sommaire* Stockholm 1899 p. 4 pl. 1, 4 (from Instön), P. B. Du Chaillu *The Viking Age* London 1889 i. 80 f. fig. 17 (from Stege in the island of Möen), S. Müller *Nordische Altertumskunde* trans. O. L. Jiriczek Strassburg 1897 i. 152 with figs. 74 and 75 after C. Neergaard *loc. cit.*, J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1908 i. 625, B. Schnittger in Hoops *Reallex.* p. 260.

[2] M. Hoernes *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen* Wien und Leipzig 1909 ii. 345 ('Sie sind wohl Symbole einer (Himmels-)Gottheit und liefern ausserdem einen Beleg für die oft vorkommende Sitte, kleine Abbilder grosser Gebrauchsgegenstände als (talismanische?) Schmuckform zu tragen').

[3] B. Schnittger in Hoops *Reallex.* p. 399 pl. 33, 1 f. ('Die religiöse Bedeutung dieser Perlen als Symbole des Donnergotts ist auffällig').

[4] See *e.g.* Schrader *Reallex.* p. 729. Sir W. Ridgeway goes so far as to say 'that jewellery and every other kind of ornament arose not from æsthetic but from magical considerations' (in *Man* 1919 no. 84: cp. *id.* 'The Origin of Jewellery' in the *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science 1903* (*Southport*) London 1904 p. 815 f., *id.* 'The Origin of the Turkish Crescent' in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 1908 xxxviii. 241 ff. pls. 19—25, *id.* in Sir J. E. Sandys *A Companion to Latin Studies*[2] Cambridge 1913 p. 581, *id.* in L. Whibley *A Companion to Greek Studies*[3] Cambridge 1916 p. 366).

[5] *Supra* p. 498.

[6] S. Xanthoudides in the Κρητικὴ Ἐφημερίς Aug. 5, 1919, Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 436 f. fig. 313 (a specimen 1·20^{m} in diameter). The associated pottery was of the 'Late Minoan i' period.

[7] R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 29 and 43 (cited *supra* p. 518 n. 1).

[8] *Supra* p. 538 fig. 409.

[9] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 101 fig. 58 (=my fig. 551: slightly enlarged).

diminutive double axe of electrum (fig. 552)[1], dark electrum pin-heads showing a ball on a plinth composed of four double axes[2], earrings of electrum[3], and a bead of gold[4] embellished with double axes. Further, in view of the fact that the word *lábrys* is Lydian[5], it is interesting to note that a hoard of jewelry found in 1878 near

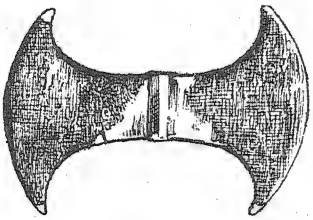


Fig. 551.



Fig. 552.

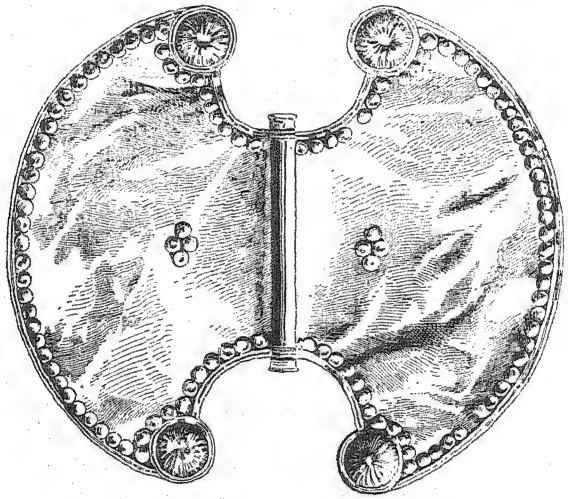


Fig. 553.

Tralleis (*Aïdin*) in Lydia[6] and referable to the seventh century B.C.[7] contains numerous double axes made of thin gold plate. They are decorated with rosettes, circles, and dots (fig. 553). One piece, shaped like a single axe with a semicircular perforated blade[8], has

[1] D. G. Hogarth *Excavations at Ephesus* London 1908 p. 103 pl. 5, 34 (=my fig. 552).
[2] *Id. ib.* p. 101 pl. 6, 15 and 29, pl. 10, 47.
[3] *Id. ib.* p. 103 f. pl. 6, 58 f., pl. 10, 38 and 46.
[4] *Id. ib.* p. 114 pl. 7, 37.
[5] *Supra* p. 560.
[6] A. Dumont in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 129 f. pls. 4—5 (inadequate), W. Frœhner *Collection H. Hoffmann* Paris 1886 pl. 20 (better), Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* v. 294 ff. figs. 203 (=my fig. 554), 204, 206 (=my fig. 553).
[7] See A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1767, F. H. Marshall in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. xxiv.
[8] Cp. *supra* p. 620 ff.

roundels ornamented with the heads of rams and bulls, two heads

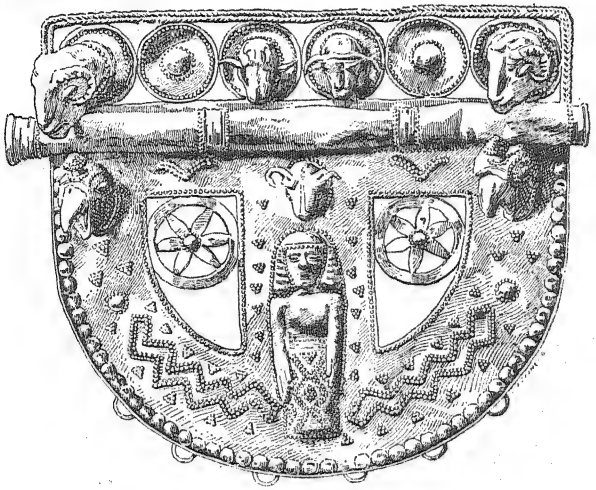


Fig. 554.

of griffins, two starry disks, and an archaic female figure flanked by lines of zig-zags (fig. 554). Lastly, a gold hair-pin from the necropolis of Koban takes the form of an axe with recurved blade, the socket of which is adorned with a little group representing a stag attacked by two hounds (fig. 555)[1].

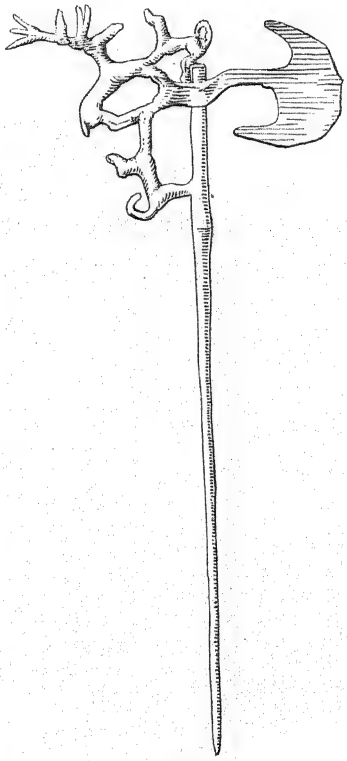


Fig. 555.

Sir Arthur Evans draws attention to the fact that the double axe in 'Minoan' art is frequently adorned with diagonals and zig-zags (fig. 556)[2]. He contends that

[1] N. Kondakof—J. Tolstoï—S. Reinach *Antiquités de la Russie méridionale* Paris 1891 p. 459 fig. 402 (=my fig. 555: on a reduced scale).

[2] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900—1901 vii. 53 fig. 15 (=my fig. 556, cp. M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*[2] Wien 1915 p. 515 fig. 2: (*a*) Double axe on vase-fragment; (*b*) Bronze votive double axe from Dictaean Cave; (*c*) Bronze votive double axe from Dictaean Cave, with right wing restored; (*d*) Double axe on cornelian from *Kabouzi*, enlarged). For other examples see D. Mackenzie in the

these markings 'had a special religious association[1]'; and I have elsewhere[2] hazarded the suggestion that they symbolised the

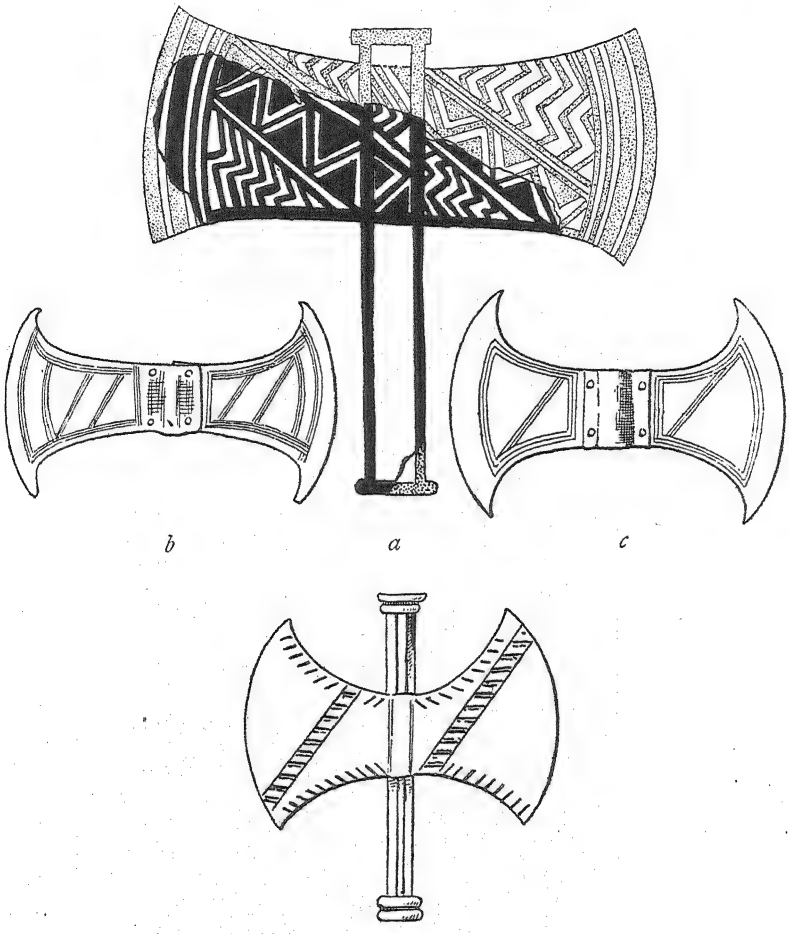


Fig. 556.

lightning[3]. A parallel might be sought in the crossed lines and

Journ. Hell. Stud. 1903 xxiii. 204 fig. 15 (double axes on vase-fragments from Knossos), *supra* pp. 518, 521 (double axes on *sarcophagus* from *Hagia Triada*), *supra* p. 526 f. fig. 394 (double axes on vase from Pseira), *supra* p. 538 fig. 407 (double axe on agate from Knossos), *supra* p. 623 fig. 525 (double axe on stone mould from *Palaikastro*). Cp. an ivory double axe from the sanctuary of Artemis *Orthia* at Sparta (R. M. Dawkins in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 100 f. fig. 31, *f.*=my fig. 558).

[1] Sir A. J. Evans *loc. cit.* p. 52.

[2] *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 406.

[3] On the zigzag representation of lightning among the Greeks and Romans see T. H. Martin *La foudre l'électricité et le magnétisme chez les anciens* Paris 1866 pp. 396 ff., 411 f.

chevrons that appear on Charon's hammer in a tomb-painting at Vulci (fig. 557)[1]; for, if we may assume that he was originally a god of the Underworld[2], his hammer could betoken chthonian thunders, and the zigzags upon it chthonian lightnings. It was perhaps these 'nether thunderbolts[3]' that earned for him the very *sobriquet* of *Cháron*, 'He of the Flashing Eyes[4].' Further reflexion has,



Fig. 557.

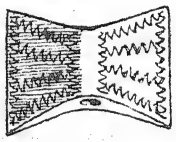


Fig. 558.

[1] H. Brunn 'Pitture etrusche' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1859 xxxi. 356 f., *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 31, 1 (of which my fig. 557 is an excerpt), E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1100 fig. 1359. Further bibliography in W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 323, who notes that the paintings are not earlier than 300 B.C.

[2] Monographs etc.: J. A. Ambrosch *De Charonte Etrusco* Vratislaviae 1837 (reviewed by E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1837 ix. 253—274), G. Krueger *Charon und Thanatos* Berlin 1866, N. G. Polites Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων Athens 1874 ii. 237—301 ('Χάρος'), D. C. Hesseling *Charos. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss des neugriechischen Volksglaubens* Leiden—Leipzig 1897, S. Rocco *Il mito di Caronte nell' arte e nella letteratura* Torino 1897, O. Waser 'Charon' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1898 i. 152—182, *id. Charon, Charun, Charos* Berlin 1898 (with important reviews by D. Bassi in the *Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica* 1899 xxvii. 473—475 and by U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff in *Hermes* 1899 xxxiv. 227—230), A. Furtwängler 'Charon' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1905 viii. 191—202 with two figs., J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 pp. 98—117 ('Charon'). A fresh treatment of the theme is in preparation by my friend and former pupil Miss M. E. H. Lloyd. A survey of recent hypotheses is given by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 438—441, who concludes: 'Man wird sich beim Lesen dieser Materialsammlung der...Konsequenz schwerlich entziehen können, die v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, Herm. 1898, 227 ff. ausspricht, dass *Ch.* ursprünglich wie der neugriechische Charos und der etruskische Charun nicht der Totenfährmann, sondern der Totengott selbst war,' etc.

Personally I incline to think that Charon was, to begin with, an Anatolian god of the Underworld (J. C. Lawson *op. cit.* p. 116 makes him a Pelasgian god of death) much like Hephaistos, that he has left traces of his early cult in the various Χαρώνεια or Χαρώνια of the Maiandros-valley (O. Waser *Charon, Charun, Charos* p. 61 ff., *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2183, L. Bürchner and W. Ruge *ib.* iii. 2183 f.), and that he was brought by the Etruscans from Lydia to Italy. When and where he acquired the traits of the grim ferryman is a problem as yet unsolved. In any case he stands for the lower, as Zeus for the upper, world: cp. Aisop. *prov.* 5 (E. L. von Leutsch—F. W. Schneidewin *Paroemiographi Graeci* Gottingae 1851 ii. 228) ἢ Ζεὺς ἢ Χάρων· ἢ εὐδαίμονος βίος ἢ τέλος.

[3] A. Caecina *ap.* Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 2. 49. 3 and Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 138 f., cp. Manil. 2. 892 (*fulmina* codd. R. Bentley cj. *culmina*). See further T. H. Martin *La foudre l'électricité et le magnétisme chez les anciens* Paris 1866 p. 178 and C. O. Thulin *Die etruskische Disciplin* i. *Die Blitzlehre* Göteborg 1906 pp. 34, 49.

[4] U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff *Homerische Untersuchungen* Berlin 1884 p. 225

however, led me to abandon any such view of the patterned axe or hammer, as involving a piece of—I do not say impossible, but at worst improbable and at best unproved, symbolism. I incline rather to take a hint from my friend Dr A. C. Haddon, who points out that patterns of the sort are often to be derived from the lashing used to hold an early axe-head in position[1]. The double axe, when a sacred weapon, would tend to be decorated; and its decoration need not have a more recondite meaning.

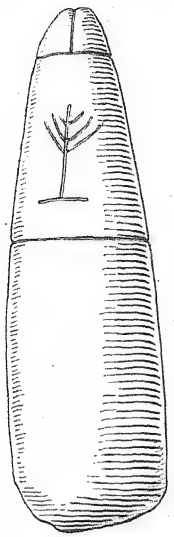


Fig. 559.

A neolithic celt of greenstone published by C. Blinkenberg[2] has incised upon it an arborescent design (fig. 559) resembling the *Donnerbesen*[3] or 'thunder-besom' marked on the walls of old-fashioned houses in Holstein, Vierlande, etc. as a protection against lightning[4]. Now *Donnerbesen* is the name popularly given in Germany and Switzerland to the mistletoe[5] or to any bushy

n. 23, O. Waser *Charon, Charun, Charos* p. 15 f., *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2177 ('Χάρων...ist eine Art Kurzform zu χαρ-οπό-ς, mit (wild) funkelndem Blick'). On lightning as a flash from the eye of a deity see *supra* p. 501 ff. B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 224 f. justly compares the fiery eyes of Charon as described by Verg. *Aen.* 6. 300 *stant lumina flamma* (in *culex* 216 f. *flagrantia taedis* | *lumina* is the reading of the better codd. B. C. H.) with the lightning glance repeatedly attributed to him in modern Greek folk-song (*e.g.* A. Passow *Popularia carmina Græciæ recentioris* Lipsiae 1860 no. 428. 4 *σὰν ἀστραπὴ 'ν' τὸ βλέμμα του*, no. 430. 10 and no. 516. 20 *τῆς ἀστραπῆς τὰ μάτια*: see also N. G. Polites *op. cit.* ii. 254 f., J. C. Lawson *op. cit.* p. 100).

[1] A. C. Haddon *Evolution in Art* London 1895 p. 85 f. pl. 1, 1—3.

[2] C. Blinkenberg *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* Cambridge 1911 p. 98 fig. 34 (=my fig. 559) a celt (0·2^{m} long) of unknown *provenance*, formerly in the Kyhn collection, now owned by A. Petersen of Lyngby in Denmark.

[3] C. Petersen *Der Donnerbesen* (xxi. Bericht der Königl. Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgischen Gesellschaft für Sammlung und Erhaltung vaterländischer Alterthümer) Kiel 1862 (extr. from the *Jahrbuch für die Landeskunde der Herzogthümer Schleswig* u.s.w. 1862 v. 225 ff.).

On the folk-lore of brooms in general see F. Kunze 'Der Birkenbesen ein Symbol des Donar' in the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* 1900 xiii. 81—97, 125—162 (the author deals with the *Donnerbesen* on p. 145 f., but fails to establish any special connexion between the birch and the thunder-god), E. Samter *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* Leipzig—Berlin 1911 pp. 32 ff., 155, 170, 199 f., W. L. Hildburgh 'Some Magical Applications of Brooms in Japan' in *Folk-Lore* 1919 xxx. 169—207.

[4] Fräulein J. Mestorf in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1889 xxi. (184) with figs. 1—3 (Holstein), Virchow *ib.* 1890 xxii. (77) figs. 1 and 2 (pattern in brick-work of a Saxon smithy, Holstein), *id. ib.* 1890 xxii. (554) (Vierlande, on houses dated 1618 and 1626 A.D.).

[5] C. L. Rochholz *Schweizersagen aus dem Aargau* Aarau 1856 ii. 202 cited by A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*[2] Gütersloh 1886 p. 204, R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 p. 440, W. Schwartz *Indogermanischer Volksglaube* Berlin 1885 p. 102, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 86, 121, 260, S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 ii. 77, cp. 92.

growth on the boughs of trees[1], such parasitic plants being deemed the product of a lightning-flash[2]. Sir James Frazer[3] (herein following A. Kuhn[4]) points out that the Druids too regarded oak-mistletoe as fallen from heaven[5], and suggests that, in their view, the plant left on the oak by the lightning was nothing less than lightning itself, or at least a visible emanation of celestial fire. If so, a broom of mistletoe or the like would be the best possible lightning-rod; and even its effigy in the brick-work of the doorway would save the house from the most destructive storm. Since neolithic celts were in a later age held to be thunderbolts[6], they might well be adorned with such a symbol as this[7]. Precise parallels from the classical area are wanting[8]; for, though the double axe is intimately associated with sacred trees[9], no specimen as yet discovered bears a definitely arboreal device[10].

Passing from flora to fauna, we have next to notice a double axe of bronze discovered by the Italians at Phaistos (fig. 560)[11]. This masterpiece of the founder's art, which, according to A. Mosso[12],

[1] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 183, cp. 1883 iii. 1191, 1888 iv. 1346, H. Friend *Flowers and Flower Lore* London 1883 i. 5, 73, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 121.

[2] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 183.

[3] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful ii. 301.

[4] A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*[2] Gütersloh 1886 p. 204.

[5] Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 249.

[6] *Supra* p. 389 ff.

[7] E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 211 quotes the German imprecations: '*Zum Hammer, zum Donnerkeil und zum Duenerbessem!*' Cp. F. Woeste in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* 1855 ii. 86.

A neolithic celt, found at Loudun (Vienne) in central France, had incised upon it, perhaps in Roman times, a sign resembling a key (W. Deonna 'Clef et hache' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1919 xxi. 219–222 argues that the celt was a thunder-stone and the key a lightning-sign, the whole forming 'une amulette funéraire, où la clef doit ouvrir au mort les portes de l'au-delà'). Mr M. C. Burkitt, to whom I applied for further examples, tells me that there is in the Museum at Carnac 'an engraving of a fish (poor) on a flat celt,' and refers me to L. Giraux 'Hache polie avec gravures sur les deux faces' in the *Bulletin de la société préhistorique française* Séance du 23 Nov. 1911 (cruciform signs, etc.).

[8] Note, however, the combination of axe, pestle, and broom in the rites of Intercidona, Pilumnus, and Deverra (Varr. *antiquit. rer. div.* 14 *frag.* 61 Agahd *ap.* Aug. *de civ. Dei* 6. 9), on which see E. Samter *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* Leipzig—Berlin 1911 pp. 29 ff., 51 ff., G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 1608.

[9] *Supra* p. 516 ff., *infra* § 3 (c) i (ρ—υ).

[10] Sir J. Evans *The Ancient Bronze Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments, of Great Britain and Ireland* London 1881 p. 102 fig. 98 shows a winged celt from Trillick, Tyrone, on the sides of which a kind of fern-leaf pattern has been punched (cp. p. 61 fig. 26 a flanged celt from Dams, Fifeshire), and p. 123 fig. 136 a socketed celt from Winwick, Lancashire, with an apparent tree-pattern.

[11] A. Mosso *The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilisation* London 1910 pp. 318—320 fig. 180 (=my fig. 560).

[12] *Id. ib.* p. 319.

must have been cast *à cire perdue*[1], bears as central decoration a



Fig. 560.

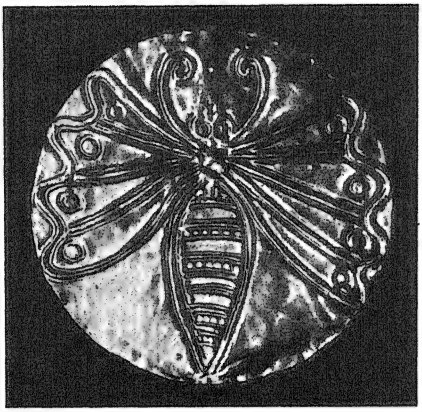


Fig. 561.

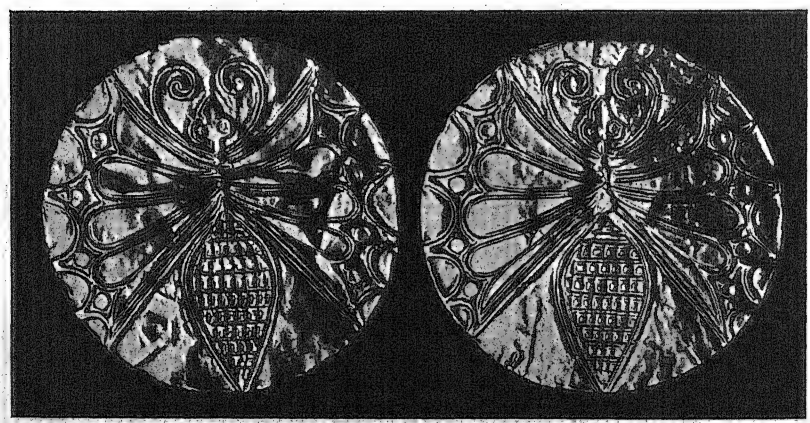


Fig. 562.

[1] *Supra* i. 723 f., 725 n. 5. Dr L. R. Farnell writes to me (July 31, 1919): 'You

superb moth of the stylised sort, with spiral *antennae*, a ringed body, and two scalloped wings showing circular eyes. It resembles the moths on the golden disks (figs. 561, 562)[1] and *plaques*[2] from the third shaft-grave at Mykenai[3] and, like them, betokens the presence of a soul[4]. Incidentally, its round open eyes on head and

take the Talos-story as proof that the Minoan artist knew hollow bronze casting—but the myth about the nail and the vein would be consistent with solid casting: there is as yet no archaeologic evidence that the Minoans knew the hollow process.'

[1] H. Schliemann *Mycenæ* London 1878 p. 165 ff. fig. 243, p. 196 ff. fig. 301 f., C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 204 ff. fig. 193, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 968 with fig. 543. My figs. 561, 562 are from electrotypes of three of the disks.

[2] H. Schliemann *op. cit.* p. 176 fig. 256, Perrot—Chipiez *op. cit.* vi. 968 with fig. 544.

[3] Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 705 f. figs. 528, 529 shows that these 'Late Minoan i' representations were preceded by 'Middle Minoan iii' seal-types (Zakro, Knossos), in which eyed butterfly-wings formed one element in a complex of fantastic decoration.

[4] On the soul as a butterfly or moth see O. Jahn *Archäologische Beiträge* Berlin 1847 p. 138 ff., L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1877 pp. 66—79, 94—139, O. Waser in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3234—3237, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo pp. 29 n. 1, 41, 51 f., O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 436—442, *supra* i. 532 n. 12.

According to O. Keller *loc. cit.*, the death's-head moth (*Acherontia atropos*), so common in southern Europe, flitting about the garden-tombs of a summer's evening, with its weird mask, its uncanny squeak, and its fondness for honey, was early held to be an embodiment of the soul and as such is represented on the gold-work from Mykenai. In the Alexandrine age the moth was displaced by the butterfly—a gayer and more frolicsome insect associated with Aphrodite and Eros, Dionysos and Priapos. Hence ψυχή came to be used of the butterfly, especially of the 'cabbage white' (*Pieris brassicae* or the like), first in Aristotle (H. Bonitz *Index Aristotelicus* Berolini 1870 p. 866 a *s.v.* ψυχή), while conversely *papilio* is sometimes found in the sense of 'soul' (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* ii no. 2146=F. Bücheler *Carmina Latina epigraphica* Lipsiae 1897 ii. 850 f. no. 1851 (from Obulco in Hispania Baetica) heredibus mando etiam cinere ut m[era vina ferant,] volitet meus ebrius papilio, etc., cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 26011=F. Bücheler *op. cit.* ii. 489 no. 1063 (from Rome) papilio volita(n)s | texto religatus | aranist: illi prae|da rep(e)ns, huic | data mors subit|ast). Ultimately the brief life and the senselessness of the butterfly, which gets its wings singed in the nearest flame, led Christians to regard it as the very type of a careless and worldly soul. From sombre moth (all that!) to frivolous butterfly (only that!)—an instructive chapter in semantics.

A banded sardonyx at Copenhagen (L. Müller *Description des intailles et camées antiques du Musée Thorwaldsen* Copenhague 1847 p. 164 no. 1510, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1877 p. 90, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 24, 59 (=my fig. 563), ii. 122) shows a butterfly approaching an ithyphallic herm, while a peacock is seated on the edge of the fountain-basin: fine work of the Roman period. Other gems combine a large *phallós* with a butterfly and a snail: so on an agate belonging to a private collection in the Netherlands (L. J. F. Janssen *Nederlandsch-Romeinsche Daktyliotheek* Leyden 1844 pl. 3, 58, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1871 p. 282: the stone is inscribed Κύθων) and on a cornelian in the Hermitage (L. Stephani *ib.* 1877 p. 89). But the closest parallel is furnished by an early Attic black-figured *amphora* at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 222 no. 1684: on the right, a bearded man dancing; on the left, a bearded man playing the double flute—'sein

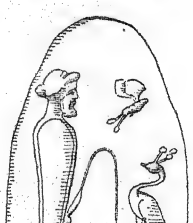


Fig. 563.

wing would serve as a powerful prophylactic. Thus the axe on which the creature appears was not only animate, instinct with divine life, but also sacrosanct, protected against the approach of evil. Mosso surmises that it was 'a weapon for ceremonial use.'

Small votive double axes of bronze, marked with concentric circles, are not uncommonly found in the Greek area. Two came

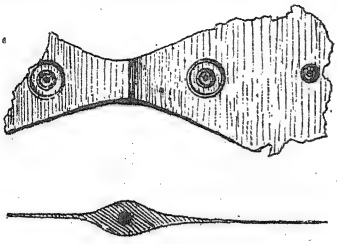


Fig. 564.

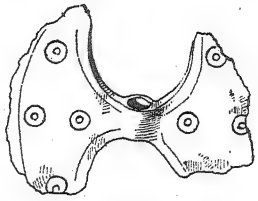


Fig. 565.

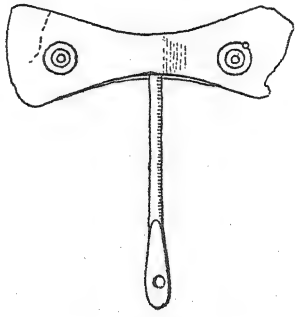


Fig. 567.



Fig. 566.

to light in the *Altis* at Olympia, one to the south-west of the temple of Zeus (fig. 564)[1], the other at its north-western angle (fig. 565)[2]. Another, from Athens, much like the first of these, is in the Museum at Copenhagen[3]. Two more turned up in the precinct of Artemis at Lousoi in Arkadia (figs. 566, 567)[4]. Another was associated

Phallus ist horizontal erigiert und vier r. Samentropfen fallen nieder in der Richtung auf einen Schmetterling..., der in der Luft fliegt und im Verhältnis viel zu gross gemalt ist'). Was the soul-butterfly popularly connected with the seminal fluid (*κραμβίδες* and *κάμπαι* spring from the dew that falls on cabbages (Aristophanes of Byzantion *hist. an. epit.* 1. 36 p. 8, 10 ff. Lambros *ἐκ δὲ τῆς δρόσου τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ φύλλα τῆς κράμβης πιπτούσης αἱ λεγόμεναι κραμβίδες καὶ κάμπαι*), while manure breeds *vermiculi* under a waxing moon (Fulgent. *myth.* 2. 9))? Or should we assume a play on *φαλλός* and *φάλλη* (Hesych. *s.v. φάλλη· ἡ πετομένη ψυχή*)?

[1] A. Furtwängler in *Olympia* iv. 71 no. 524 pl. 26 (=my fig. 564) with remains of the haft in its hole.

[2] *Id. ib.* iv. 71 no. 527 pl. 26 (=my fig. 565), W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 p. 388 fig. 51.

[3] *Id. ib.* iv. 71: Copenhagen bronzes no. 1647.

[4] W. Reichel and A. Wilhelm 'Das Heiligthum der Artemis zu Lusoi' in the *Jahresh.*

with geometric ware in the sanctuary of Artemis *Orthia* at Sparta (fig. 568)[1]. And yet another, made of bone, was acquired at Athens and is now in the interesting collection of Aegean antiquities lent by R. M. Dawkins to the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (fig. 569)[2].

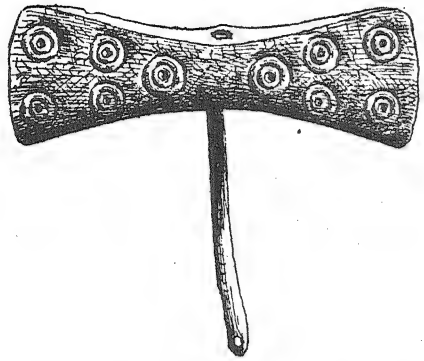


Fig. 568.

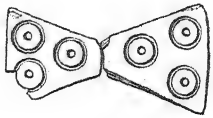


Fig. 569.

The resemblance of these little axes to butterflies is probably accidental. But the circles with which they are covered belong to a system of decoration widely prevalent in the Hallstatt period[3] and are almost certainly prophylactic in character[4]. J. Déchelette took them to be solar disks[5], and others have assumed that they are 'eyes[6].' In any case the axe as a sacred object was protected by their presence upon it.

Diminutive axes of bronze passed during the Early Iron Age

d. oest. arch. Inst. 1901 iv. 49 figs. 67 (=my fig. 567) and 68 (=my fig. 566): 'Gefunden an der Schuttstätte östlich des Buleuterion' (map *ib.* p. 16 fig. 6).

[1] J. P. Droop in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 117 fig. 6, *e* (=my fig. 568).

[2] Scale ½.

[3] Numerous examples will be found in the plates of E. v. Sacken *Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt in Oberösterreich und dessen Alterthümer* Wien 1868.

[4] An analogy is afforded by the *swastika* found as a decorative device on axes, double or single. Thus A. Héron de Villefosse and E. Michon, among other acquisitions of the Louvre in 1899, mention: '109. Petite hachette votive à double tranchant, ornée sur ses deux faces de croix gammées légèrement gravées au pointillé et au trait; belle patine vert clair. Grèce' (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1900 xv Arch. Anz. p. 157). And a single-bladed axe from Piedmont is similarly marked (O. Montelius *La civilisation primitive en Italie depuis l'introduction des métaux* Stockholm 1895 i. 183 pl. 33, 15, J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 481 f. fig. 205, 2).

[5] J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. 1. 457 ff. fig. 190.

[6] Cp. J. Déchelette *op. cit.* Paris 1913 ii. 2. 870 f. fig. 364, 1—4 and G. Eisen 'The characteristics of Eye Beads from the earliest times to the present' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 1—27 with 19 figs. in text and a col. pl. (see also some of the beads figured by the same author in his article on 'Button Beads—with special reference to those of the Etruscan and Roman periods' *ib.* 1916 xx. 299—307 with two col. pls.).

into mere pendants (fig. 570)[1], and in the passage developed further features of magical potency. For instance, projecting lugs became, under the influence of a favourite Hallstatt *motif*[2], a pair of swan-

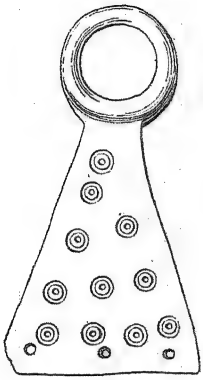


Fig. 570.

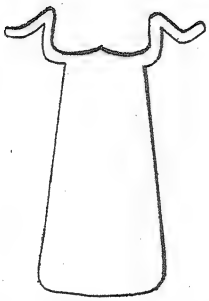


Fig. 571.

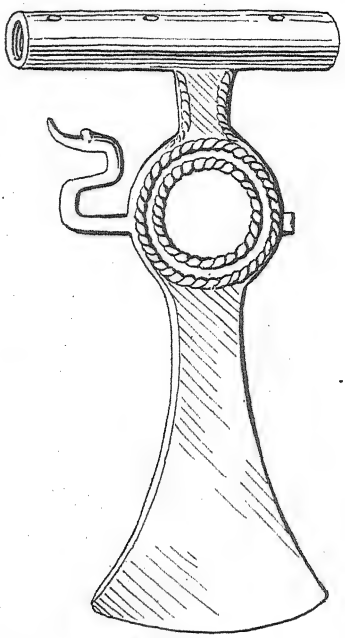


Fig. 572.

heads or duck-heads—witness one of the twenty-three little votive axes from Dodona (fig. 571)[3] or a more elaborate specimen at

[1] M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1898 p. 440 ff. pl. 10, 19 (=my fig. 570) from Austria.

I add, for comparison's sake, figs. 573, 574, which represent two axe-pendants of bronze, from Benin, now in the collection of Mr C. H. C. Visick. Scale ½.

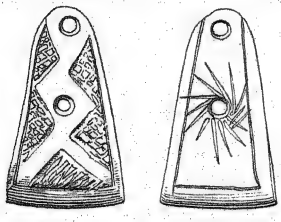


Fig. 573.

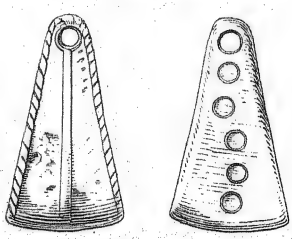


Fig. 574.

[2] M. Hoernes *op. cit.*[1] pp. 488—498 ('Vogelfiguren'), 519 f., *id. op. cit.*[2] Wien 1915 p. 524 f., J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. 1. 419—426 ('La barque solaire et les cygnes hyperboréens en Scandinavie'), 426—444 ('Les cygnes et les symboles solaires en Italie, dans l'Europe centrale et la Gaule').

[3] C. Carapanos *Dodone et ses ruines* Paris 1878 pp. 100, 235 f. pl. 54, 6 (=my fig. 571).

Vienna (fig. 572)[1]. But projecting lugs were also suggestive of



Fig. 575.

human arms, and it needed no great effort of imagination to transform the axe into a *quasi*-anthropomorphic pendant (fig. 575)[2], complicated at will by the addition of rings, chains, etc. I figure an advanced type from a grave at Tribano near Padua (fig. 576)[3] and two other examples from Italy that show an accumulation of apotropaeic elements (fig. 577)[4].



Fig. 576.

The prophylactic value of such pendants was doubtless high. It became higher still, when the sacred axe without losing all semblance of its essential shape was modified into a gong; for, as I have elsewhere insisted[5], great is the virtue of beaten bronze. Pythagoras, for instance, declared that the sound of bronze being beaten was the voice of some deity shut up within it[6]. Tombs of the Early Iron Age in the vicinity of Bologna have yielded a number of such gongs together with their

[1] M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1898 pp. 443, 472 pl. 10, 9 (=my fig. 572) 'Antikensammlung des Allerh. Kaiserhauses zu Wien, Saal XII, Schrank VI, Nr. 315,' *id. op. cit.*[2] p. 519 fig. 5, J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. 1. 481 f. fig. 205, 3.

[2] M. Hoernes *op. cit.*[1] p. 441 f. fig. 136 (=my fig. 575): *a* from Obervintl in the Puster Thal, Tyrol; *b* from the neighbourhood of Bologna; *c*, *d*, *e* from Prozor near Otočac, Croatia. See also L. Siret *Questions de chronologie et d'ethnographie ibériques* Paris 1913 i. 365 ff. fig. 136 ff.

[3] M. Hoernes *op. cit.*[1] p. 442 pl. 10, 26 (=my fig. 576).

[4] H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 53 no. 344 (from Italy) and p. 57 no. 383 (from Ruvo) describes the first as a 'Human Figure, rudely represented by a plate of bronze' and the second as a 'Plate in the form of an axe-head': he adds that the thing suspended on either side of the latter is 'a man or ape crouching and holding up some object between chin and knees.' My fig. 577 is from a photograph taken by Mr W. H. Hayles.

[5] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 5—28, *supra* i. 592 n.

[6] Aristot. *frag.* 191 Rose *ap.* Porph. *v. Pyth.* 41, cp. Ail. *var. hist.* 4. 17.

hammers[1]: the specimen illustrated was found at Villanova and is

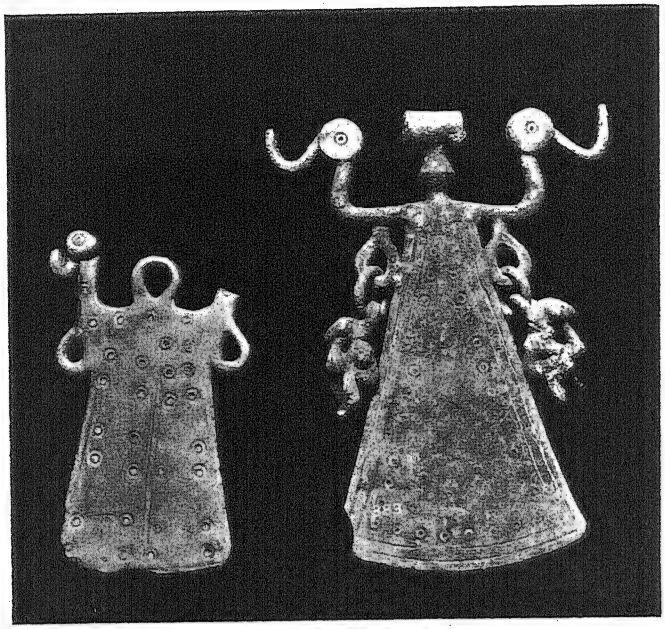


Fig. 577.

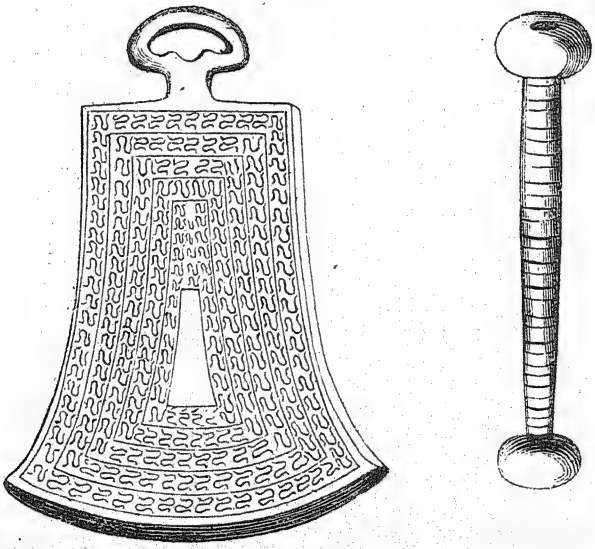


Fig. 578.

[1] G. Gozzadini 'Les fouilles archéologiques et les stèles funéraires du Bolonais' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1886 ii. 130. See further the bibliography *ib.* p. 129 n. 2.

in the collection formed by Count Gozzadini (fig. 578)[1]. The gong as a rule is solid-cast, though one example is made of two thin

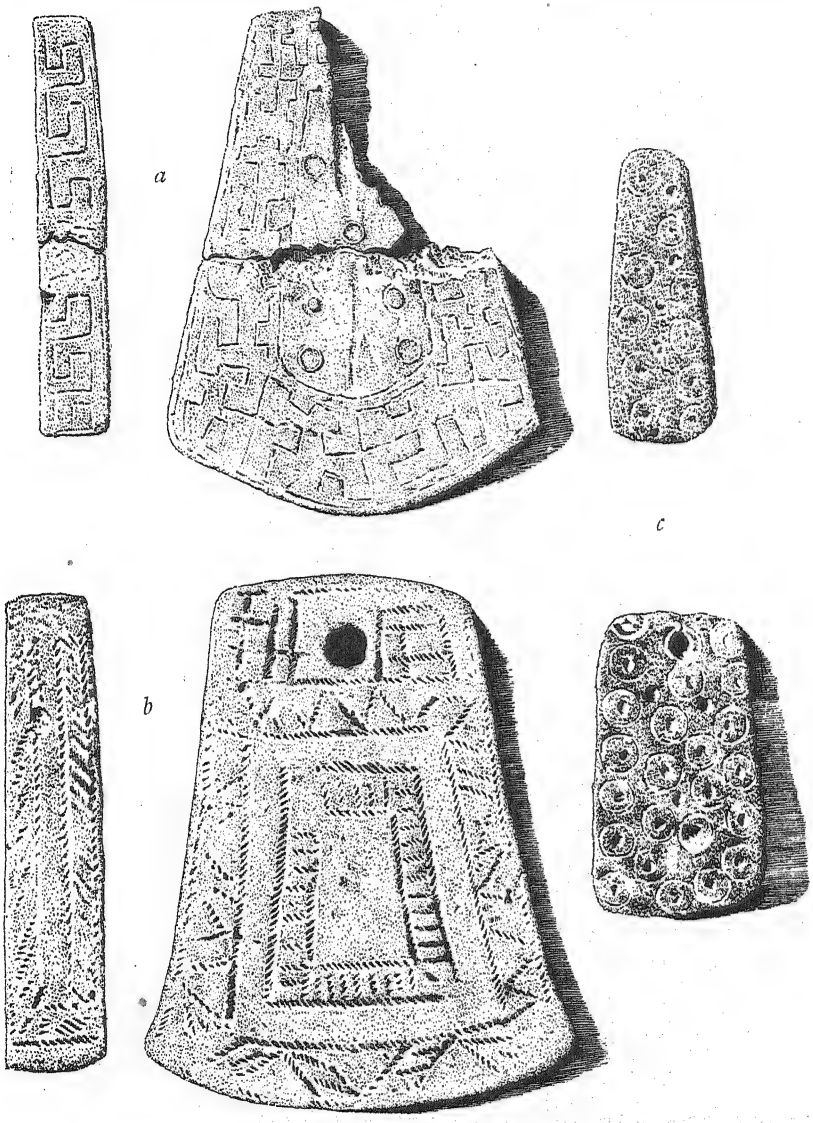


Fig. 579.

plates of bronze soldered at the edges so as to enclose an empty

[1] *Matériaux pour l'histoire primitive et naturelle de l'homme* 1874 ix. 289 figs. 105 and 106, G. Cotteau *Le Préhistorique en Europe* Paris 1889 p. 79, L. Pigorini in the *Bullettino di paletnologia italiana* 1890 xvi. 62 fig. (=my fig. 578: scale ½).

space two millimeters in depth[1] and might be regarded as a cross between a gong and a bell. The hammer is regularly a hollow-cast cylinder with spheroidal ends.

L. Pigorini[2] has pointed out that contemporary copies of these axe-gongs were made in terra cotta, and has published examples from the De Lucca estate at Bologna (fig. 579, *c*), from Monteveglio in the same neighbourhood (fig. 579, *b*), and from Solino near Imola (fig. 579, *a*). The Solino gong is decorated on both sides with circles, formerly filled with bronze studs, some of which are still to be seen fixed in the clay[3].

(ξ) The duplication of the double axe.

The 'Minoan' axe in religious surroundings exhibits a marked tendency towards duplication. To begin with, the sacred weapon

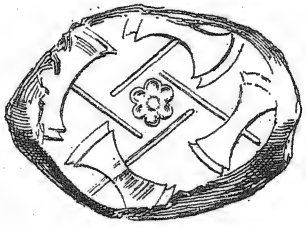


Fig. 580.

is normally not the single but the double axe. Then, the craftsman or the artist has a way of making either wing of the implement twofold—witness the small steatite axe from Knossos (fig. 405)[4], or the gold *bucrania* (fig. 409 *c*, *d*)[5] and the gold ring from Mykenai (fig. 18)[6], the clay sealing from *Kato Zakro* (fig. 524)[7], the painted *sarcophagus* from *Hagia Triada* (pl. xxvii, *a*)[8]. Or he may duplicate the whole axe, so that we see as objects of veneration a pair of double axes with twofold blades: the same *sarcophagus* provides an illustration (pl. xxvii, *b*)[9]. Or again he may duplicate this pair of double axes with twofold blades, as on a clay sealing found near the 'Room of the Archives' in the Cnossian palace (fig. 580)[10].

[1] G. Gozzadini *Intorno ad alcuni sepolcri scavati nell' arsenale militare di Bologna* Bologna 1875 p. 6 f. with fig. 15, L. Pigorini *loc. cit.* p. 65 f.

[2] L. Pigorini 'Di un oggetto di bronzo italico della prima età del ferro e di alcune sue imitazioni in terra cotta' in the *Bullettino di paletnologia italiana* pp. 62—76 pl. 3, 1 (=my fig. 579, *a*), 2 (=my fig. 579, *b*), 3 (=my fig. 579, *c*). Scale ⅞.

[3] W. Helbig in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1882 p. 83 n. 2, L. Pigorini *loc. cit.* p. 68 f.

[4] *Supra* p. 535. [5] *Supra* p. 537. [6] *Supra* p. 514 ff.

[7] *Supra* p. 623. [8] *Supra* p. 518. [9] *Supra* p. 520.

[10] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 103 fig. 61 (=my fig. 580: scale ⅓).

What are we to think of this *penchant* for binary forms? L. A. Milani[1] in a somewhat tangled passage of theogonic speculation declares that the duplicated blades of the double axe on the gold ring symbolise two pairs of gods, on the one hand the celestial Kronos and Zeus, on the other the solar Zeus and Apollon, either pair being conceived as Father and Son—an explanation which might have claimed support from the Ophites and their supra-mundane diagram (fig. 511)[2]. Sir Arthur Evans[3], without indulging in such subtleties, risks a similar conjecture *à propos* of the same ring: 'The curious reduplication of the axe blades suggests indeed



Fig. 581.

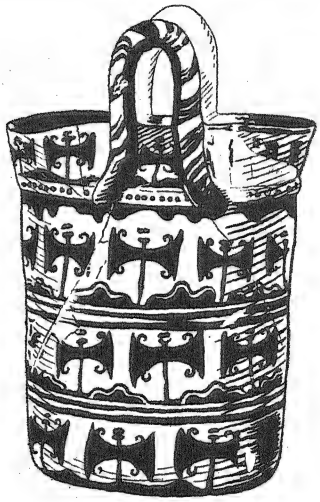


Fig. 582.

that it stands as an image of the conjunction of the divine pair—a solar and a lunar divinity.'

Personally I should contend that the double axe hafted in a leafy stem, as at *Hagia Triada* (pl. xxvii, *b*)[4] and Knossos (fig. 396)[5], betokened the union of the Sky-father with the Earth-mother, and that an ordinary double axe on its wooden handle came to be received as a symbol of like significance[6]. Nor would I deny that a pair of double axes, held up by a priestess (fig. 528)[7] or erected in a shrine (fig. 404)[8], were reverenced as the signs of god and goddess respectively. But I demur to regarding the duplicated

[1] Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1899—1901 i. 197 f., Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 287.

[2] *Supra* p. 610 f.

[3] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 108.

[4] *Supra* p. 520 f.

[5] *Supra* p. 527 f.

[6] *Infra* § 3 (c) i (π).

[7] *Supra* p. 624.

[8] *Supra* p. 535 ff.

blades as any evidence of the divine duality. In art, as in language[1], reduplication implies emphasis. The feeling that transformed the lightning-fork[2] into a thunderbolt, and thereby doubled the ability of the thunder-god to strike, augmented the cutting edges of the *lábrys* with the same result. Accentuated further, it produced not merely double but multiple blades, as in the case of the mould from *Palaikastro* (fig. 525)[3]. Finally, double axes with twofold blades and flower-like sepals, such as occur sporadically among the *bucrania* of Mykenai (fig. 409, *d*)[4], are found at Pseira, a small island in the Gulf of Mirabello, repeated as a pattern to cover the surface of ceramic vessels (figs. 581, 582)[5]. The vessels and their contents were thus protected by the whole armoury of heaven.

(*o*) The double axes of Tenedos.

The 'Minoan' conception of a bisexual axe is, as Sir Arthur Evans[6] has pointed out, confirmed by the coin-types of Tenedos. The obverse of these coins from the sixth century B.C. onwards—whether their style be archaic (fig. 583)[7], late archaic (fig. 584)[8], fine (figs. 585, 586)[9], or decadent (figs. 587, 588)[10]—shows a Janiform head consisting of a male and a female profile combined: the reverse has a double axe with a short handle. Sir Arthur Evans makes the

[1] K. Brugmann *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*[2] Strassburg 1906 ii. 1. 46 f., 56 ff., *id. Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* Strassburg 1904 pp. 286 f., 300 f., K. Brugmann—A. Thumb *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 pp. 206 f., 302 ff., R. Kühner—F. Holzweissig *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*[2] Hannover 1912 i. 729 ff., 947.

[2] *Infra* § 3 (c) iv (β).

[3] *Supra* p. 623 f.

[4] *Supra* p. 537.

[5] R. B. Seager *Excavations on the Island of Pseira* (University of Pennsylvania. The University Museum: Anthropological Publications iii. 1) Philadelphia 1910 p. 31 fig. 12, G. Karo—G. Maraghiannis *Antiquités Crétoises* Deuxième série Candie 1911 p. ix pl. 21, 4 (=my fig. 582) and 6 (=my fig. 581), a small basket-shaped vase and the lid of a large vase, both of 'Late Minoan i.'

[6] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 108.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 91 pl. 17, 2 (=my fig. 583), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 367 f. pl. 16, 2, Anson *Num. Gr.* ii. 6 no. 50 pl. 1, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 5 pl. 2, 19, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 550.

[8] I figure an unpublished specimen from my collection.

[9] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 92 f. pl. 17, 6—10, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 303 f. pl. 49, 16, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1305 ff. pl. 166, 22—33, Anson *Num. Gr.* ii. 6 f. nos. 48, 53—58, 61 f. pl. 1, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 38 pl. 18, 20 f., *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 550. Figs. 585 and 586 are from specimens in my collection.

[10] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 94 pl. 17, 12, 13 (=my fig. 588), 14, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 304 no. 4, Anson *Num. Gr.* ii. 7 nos. 64—66 pl. 2, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 91 pl. 49, 13, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 551 fig. My fig. 587 is from Brüder Egger *Auktions-Katalog xlvi* Griechische Münzen (Sammlung des Herrn Theodor Prowe, Moskau, u.a.) Wien 1914 p. 34 no. 699 pl. 12—an early example of the decadent class with some exceptional features (pattern on *stephánē*, handle of axe).

attractive suggestion that the former is the 'anthropomorphic equivalent' of the latter.

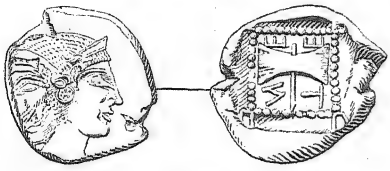


Fig. 583.

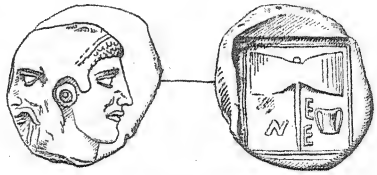


Fig. 584.

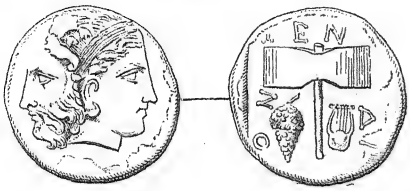


Fig. 585.



Fig. 586.

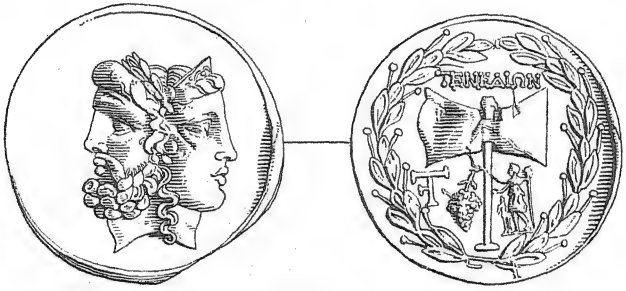


Fig. 587.

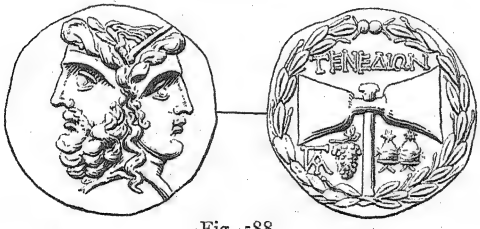


Fig. 588.

That the double axe at Tenedos was indeed a sacred symbol, or even the recipient of an actual cult[1], appears from the representation of it on certain remarkable specimens published by

[1] My friend and colleague Sir W. Ridgeway in his book *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards* Cambridge 1892 pp. 49 f., 318 ff. argues that the axe on coins of Tenedos was 'not religious,' but represented rather 'the local unit of an earlier epoch.' He shows from *Il.* 23. 850 f., 882 f. (cp. schol. *Il.* 23. 851, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1878, 57 ff., Hesych. *s.vv.* ἡμιπέλεκκον, πέλεκυς, and π*ε*[λέκε*ας*] in a Cypriote inscription from Idalion printed by W. Deecke in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 27 ff.

F. Imhoof-Blumer. One of these, a *didrachmon* extant in the collections of Berlin (fig. 589)[1] and Glasgow (fig. 590)[2], exhibits the double axe standing on the uppermost of three steps between a pair of pillars or pillar-like supports. We are reminded at once of the way in which 'Minoan' art depicted a double axe standing on

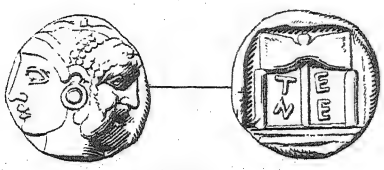


Fig. 589.

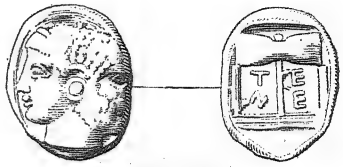


Fig. 590.

a stepped base between two pillars[3]; and we may fairly infer that in Tenedos, as in Crete, the double axe was itself an object of worship. The other coin, a *tetrádrachmon* of which specimens exist at Berlin (fig. 591)[4] and in the collections formed by Canon W.

no. 60, 15 and 26 = O. Hoffmann *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 68 ff. no. 135, 15 and 26 = F. Solmsen *Inscriptiones Graecae ad inlustrandas dialectos selectae*[2] Lipsiae 1905 p. 5 ff. no. 3, 15 and 26) that double axes formed part of the earliest Greek system of currency, and holds that the πελέκεις dedicated at Delphoi by Periklytos the Tenedian (Paus. 10. 14. 1) were probably offered to the god as being the 'especial product of Tenedos.' In *The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1901 i. 444 Sir W. Ridgeway makes the further suggestion that the Tenedian axes at Delphoi 'were not real, but only miniature axes like those from the Dictaean cave.'

Sir W. Ridgeway's views on the whole subject have been criticised with admirable fairness and acumen by G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 23 ff. For my part, I am quite prepared to believe that double axes were in early times and in some places (*e.g.* Kypros) a recognised unit of exchange. But that, as Sir William himself allows (*The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards* p. 319 n. 2), is by no means inconsistent with the belief that they were sacred objects also. On the one hand, J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1906 ix. 161—181 pl. 2 ff. has published a series of bronze castings in the shape of double axes (?) from Salamis in Kypros, *Serra Ilixi* in Sardinia, Phaistos in Crete, Mykenai in Argolis, and Kyme in Euboia. These are marked with various characters (in one case with a double axe), and conform to definite weight standards. Presumably, therefore, they are a medium of exchange. But it is far from certain that these castings are double axes: Sir A. J. Evans in *Corolla Numismatica* Oxford 1906 p. 355 ff. treats them as mere ingots. More to the point are the copper double axes found in northern Europe (*supra* p. 617), if not also some of the bronze axes found in Gaul (J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 254). On the other hand, the evidence for the cult of the double axe in Crete and Asia Minor is overwhelming. The implement had at once a commercial and a religious significance.

[1] F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1897 xx. 274 f. pl. 10, 9, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 369 f. pl. 16, 6 (=my fig. 589), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 550.

[2] *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 304 pl. 49, 15 (=my fig. 590), G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 25 pl. 1, 11, Anson *Num. Gr.* ii. 6 no. 49 pl. 1, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 550.

[3] *Supra* p. 524 f.

[4] F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1897 xx. 274 pl. 10, 8 (reverse only), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 367 f. pl. 16, 4 (=my fig. 591), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 550.

Greenwell (fig. 592)[1] and Sir H. Weber (fig. 593)[2], portrays an *amphora* placed beside the double axe, the left handle of the former being attached by means of a fillet to the shaft of the latter[3]. Again, we are reminded of the way in which on the *sarcophagus* from *Hagia Triada* a large two-handled jar placed between a pair of tree-axes was being filled with a red liquid by the officiating priestess

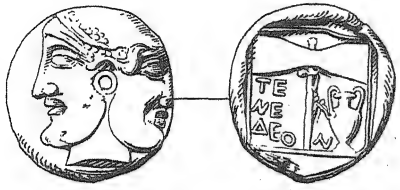


Fig. 591.

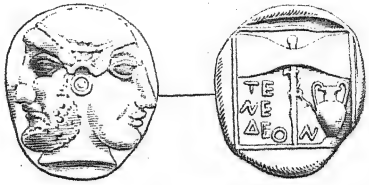


Fig. 592.

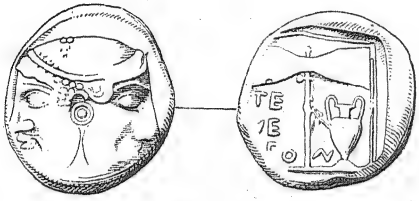


Fig. 593.

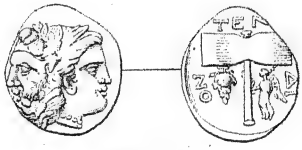


Fig. 594.

(pl. xxvii, *b*)[4]. Perhaps both in Crete and in Tenedos the bisexual axe, symbolising the union of the god with the goddess, was believed to bring fertility to field and vineyard[5].

Attention may here be called to a *drachmé* of fine style, represented in the cabinets of London (fig. 594)[6] and Paris[7], which gives the goddess of the obverse a necklace and connects the axe

[1] W. Greenwell in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1893 xiii. 89 pl. 7, 15 (=my fig. 592), Anson *Num. Gr.* ii. 7 no. 60 pl. 1, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 367 f. no. 624.

[2] W. Greenwell in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1893 xiii. 89, F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1897 xx. 274, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 367 f. no. 624. Fig. 593 is from a cast of the Weber specimen, for which I am indebted to the kind offices of Mr C. T. Seltman.

[3] Mr G. F. Hill suggested to me that the alleged 'fillet' might be due to a mere crack in the die. But Mr C. T. Seltman justly observes that the occurrence of three specimens all showing a crack in precisely the same condition is most improbable.

[4] *Supra* p. 520.

[5] Cp. the coin of Mostene showing a double axe between a bunch of grapes and two ears of corn (*supra* p. 564 n. 8).

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 92 pl. 17, 8. I first noticed the details of the reverse, when examining the original. Fig. 594 is from a cast kindly supplied by Mr G. F. Hill, who is inclined to regard the 'fillet' as a line of fortuitous dots.

[7] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1307 f. pl. 166, 23. This coin appears to be from the same dies as the specimen in the British Museum.

of the reverse with a couple of adjuncts—on one side a handsome bunch of grapes, on the other a little Nike engaged in wreathing the haft. It will be observed that the grape-bunch actually touches the left blade, while the Nike is linked to the right blade by a short but clearly-marked fillet[1]. I should infer that, at the time when this coin was struck, grapes and a small Nike were kept dangling from the wings of the sacred weapon.

Of the grape-bunch there is more to be said. From about the year 420 B.C. onwards it is constantly associated with the Tenedian

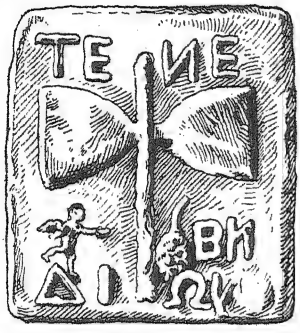


Fig. 595.

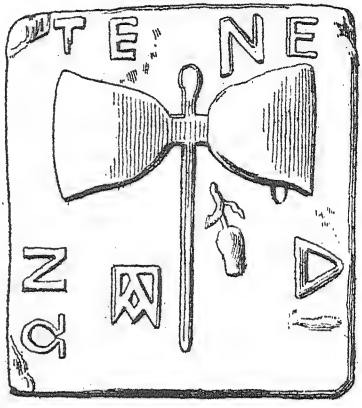


Fig. 596.

axe. And this, not only on the silver coins of Tenedos (*e.g.* figs. 585 ff., 593). Two leaden weights (*hemimnaîa*) of the same island, now at Paris (fig. 595)[2] and Berlin (fig. 596)[3], show the grapes as well as the axe. And a bronze tablet of Hellenistic date (*c.* 300—250 B.C.) from Olympia, recording a decree in honour of the Tenedian wrestler Damokrates, is embellished with two double axes and a bunch of grapes (fig. 597)[4]. The grapes imply a Dionysiac divinity of some sort, and go far towards establishing the contention of L. Stephani[5] and F. Lenormant[6] that the axe refers to a Tene-

[1] For the fillet thus used as a means of magic connexion see *supra* p. 408 n. 0.

[2] Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 678 no. 2241 fig. (=my fig. 595).

[3] K. M. R. Schillbach *Beitrag zur griechischen Gewichtskunde* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* lxxiii) Berlin 1877 p. 13 no. 6 pl. 2, É. Michon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 554 fig. 5734 (=my fig. 596).

[4] A. Kirchhoff in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxxiii. 183 ff. no. 4, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 332 f. no. 1172, W. Dittenberger—K. Purgold in *Olympia* v. 75 ff. no. 39 fig., E. Curtius—F. Adler—G. Hirschfeld *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia* Berlin 1876 i pl. 31, a. My fig. 597 was drawn from the cast in the Museum of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge. The original bronze was found to the south of the south-west angle of the temple of Zeus in the *Altis*.

[5] L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1863 p. 128, cp. *ib.* p. 125.

[6] F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 624.

dian cult of Dionysos. Lenormant remarked that Simonides of Keos in one of his riddles speaks of an axe as the 'ox-slaughtering

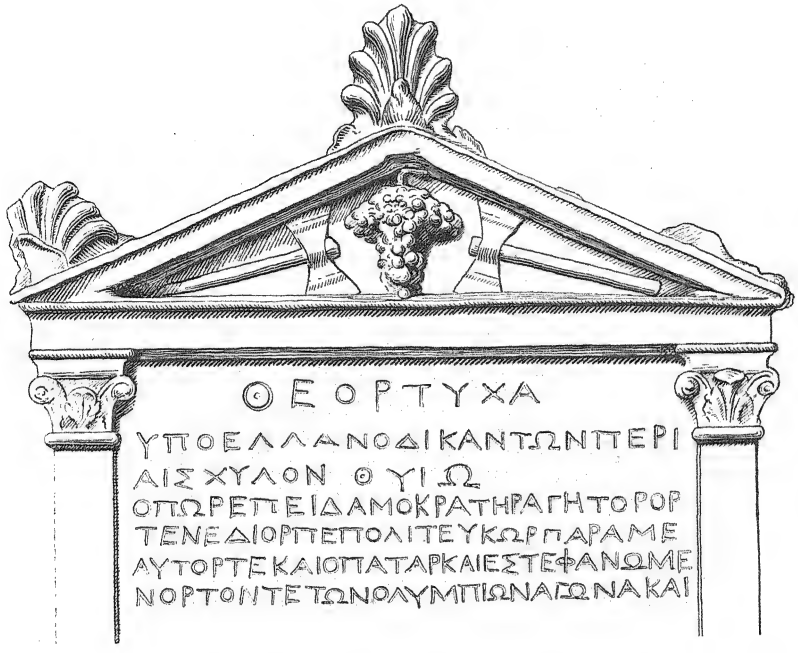


Fig. 597.

servitor of king Dionysos[1],' and—what is more convincing—that

[1] Simonid. *frag.* 172 Bergk[4], 163 Hiller—Crusius, *ap.* Athen. 456 C—E *γριφώδη δ' ἐστὶ καὶ Σιμωνίδη ταῦτα πεποιημένα, ὥς φησι Χαμαιλέων ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν τῷ περὶ Σιμωνίδου* (*frag.* 13 Köpke in E. Koepke *De Chamaeleontis Heracleotae vita librorumque reliquiis* Berlin 1856 p. 21 ff.)· *'μιξονόμου τε πατὴρ ἐρίφου καὶ σχέτλιος ἰχθὺς | πλησίον ἠρείσαντο καρήατα· παῖδα δὲ Νυκτὸς | δεξάμενοι βλεφάροισι, Διωνύσοιο ἄνακτος | βουφόνον οὐκ ἐθέλουσι τιθηνεῖσθαι θεράποντα.' (A) φασὶ δ' οἱ μὲν ἐπί τινος τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀναθημάτων ἐν Χαλκίδι τοῦτ' ἐπιγεγράφθαι, πεποιῆσθαι δ' ἐν αὐτῷ τράγον καὶ δελφῖνα, περὶ ὧν εἶναι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον. (B) οἱ δὲ εἰς ἐπιτόνιον ψαλτήριον δελφῖνα καὶ τράγον εἰργασμένον εἰρῆσθαι· καὶ εἶναι τὸν βουφόνον καὶ τὸν Διονύσου θεράποντα τὸν διθύραμβον. (C) οἱ δέ φασιν ἐν Ἰουλίδι τὸν τῷ Διονύσῳ θυόμενον βοῦν ὑπό τινος τῶν νεανίσκων παίεσθαι πελέκει. πλησίον δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς οὔσης εἰς χαλκεῖον δοθῆναι τὸν πέλεκυν· τὸν οὖν Σιμωνίδην ἔτι νέον ὄντα βαδίσαι πρὸς τὸν χαλκέα κομιούμενον αὐτόν. ἰδόντα δὲ καὶ τὸν τεχνίτην κοιμώμενον καὶ τὸν ἀσκὸν καὶ τὸν καρκίνον εἰκῇ κείμενον καὶ ἐπαλλήλως ἔχοντα τὰ ἔμπροσθεν, οὕτως ἐλθόντα εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις τὸ προειρημένον πρόβλημα. τὸν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ἐρίφου πατέρα τὸν ἀσκὸν εἶναι, σχέτλιον δὲ ἰχθὺν τὸν καρκίνον, Νυκτὸς δὲ παῖδα τὸν Ὕπνον, βουφόνον δὲ καὶ Διονύσου θεράποντα τὸν πέλεκυν.*

An elaborate, but not very enlightening, attempt to make sense of all this will be found in W. Schultz *Rätsel aus dem hellenischen Kulturkreise* Leipzig 1909 i. 16, 31, 36 no. 17, Leipzig 1912 ii. 111—117 (=*Mythologische Bibliothek* iii. 1 and v. 1), who distinguishes *A* and *B* as partial solutions from *C* as relatively complete. In *A* Schultz emends *ἐν χαλκεί<ῳ τρίπο>δι*, holding that the bronze tripod of *A* is tantamount to the

Alexander tyrant of Pherai was specially devoted to the cult of Dionysos *Pélekys*, Dionysos the 'Double Axe,' at Pagasai on the Thessalian coast[1]. Silver coins struck by this Alexander between 369 and 357 B.C. have as their reverse type a warrior sitting a horse, whose flank is marked with the double axe, another double axe being beneath it (fig. 598)[2], or a lion's head, sometimes with a double axe below it[3], or a double axe alone (fig. 599)[4]. Hence B. V. Head[5] suggested that the Janiform type of the Tenedian coins

strung lyre of *B* (cp. Artemon of Kassandreia *frag.* 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 342 f. Müller) *ap.* Athen. 637 B—F, where Pythagoras of Zakynthos invents a musical tripod composed of three lyres). In both *A* and *B*, according to Schultz, the 'goat' and 'dolphin' are wrongly conceived as *on* the ringing vessel, not *in* it; and 'dolphin' is a blunder for 'crab.' In *B* he supposes that 'Dithyramb' means 'Dionysos.' In *C* we are to assume that Dionysos was awakened out of his annual sleep by an axe used to strike a caldron containing bellows (*ἀσκός*) and tongs (*καρκίνος*): on account of its contents the caldron was dubbed a smithy (*χαλκεῖον*), on account of its rumbling echoes a bull (implied in *βουφόνος*). The whole riddle is translated as if there were a comma *after*, not *before*, *Διωνύσοιο ἄνακτος*: 'Der Vater des vermischt weidenden Böckleins (*Balg*) und der schreckliche Fisch (*Zange*) | stiessen die Häupter an einander: der das Kind der Nacht (*Schlaf*) | von den Lidern des Herrn Dionysos nehmen will—| dass dieser Rinder tötende Diener (*Axt*) gelabt werde—das wollen sie nicht.'

I fear that Simonides' riddle remains unread. See, however, *infra* p. 663 ff. for the combination of crab with double axe.

[1] Theopomp. *frag.* 339 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 332, iv. 643 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Il.* 24. 428 *καὶ Θεόπομπός φησιν Ἀλέξανδρον Φεραῖον Διόνυσον τὸν ἐν Παγασαῖς, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Πέλεκος* (*leg.* Πέλεκυς with Preller—Plew *Gr. Myth.* i. 566 n. 2 rather than *πελεκᾶς* or *πελεκῖνος* with L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1863 p. 116 n. 4), *εὐσεβεῖν διαφόρως. καταπονηθέντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Διόνυσος ὄναρ ἐπιστάς τινι τῶν ἀλιέων ἐκέλευσεν ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν φορμὸν τῶν ὀστῶν. ὁ δὲ ἀπελθὼν ἐς Κράννωνα τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀπέδωκεν, οἱ δὲ ἔθαψαν.* So cod. V. Cod. T. reads *ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Πελάγιος*—a needless emendation (accepted by E. Maass '*ΔΙΟΝΤΣΟΣ ΠΕΛΑΓΙΟΣ*' in *Hermes* 1888 xxiii. 70—80). Parallels abound: *e.g.* Κρόνος, the 'Chopper' (? see *supra* p. 549); *Hamar* or *Hamer* as a title of the Germanic thunder-god (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 11 n. 1, 181 f., 1883 ii. 883, 885 n. 2, 1888 iv. 1344 f., 1605, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 204, 208 ff. and Index *s.v.* 'Hammer'); Charles *Martel*, whose gigantic hammer is still to be seen cut in the hillside at Tours (H. Bayley *Archaic England* London 1919 p. 355). My brother-in-law the Rev. H. E. Maddox notes that the sixth incarnation of Vishṇu was *Paraśu-rāma*, the 'Axe-Rāma,' a Brāhman who cleared the earth of the Kshatriya race twenty-one times till he was at last defeated by Vishṇu's seventh incarnation *Rāma-ćandra*, the 'Moon-like-Rāma.' Paraśu-rāma forced the ocean to retire for the formation of the Malabar coast, caused vast fissures in the Western Ghāṭs and other mountains by blows of his axe, etc. He is still worshipped in Malabar and the Koṅkan (Sir M. Monier-Williams *Brāhmanism and Hindūism*[3] London 1887 pp. 110, 270 f.).

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 47 pl. 10, 11 (=my fig. 598) didrachm, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 308 fig. 176.

[3] Head *Hist. num.*[1] p. 261 drachm: 'Lion's head; beneath, sometimes, bipennis.' *Id. ib.*[2] p. 308 omits all reference to the 'bipennis.' Are we to infer that this weapon figures only on the didrachm and the obol?

[4] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 308 obol. Fig. 599=the *Pozzi Sale Catalogue* Genève 1920 p. 70 no. 1257 pl. 41.

[5] Head *Hist. num.*[1] p. 476, *ib.*[2] p. 551.

represents Dionysos *dímorphos*[1], the 'two-formed,' or perhaps rather Dionysos and Ariadne. Other considerations too might be urged in favour of Dionysos. An Attic black-figured *amphora* depicts that divinity as a bearded figure seated on a bull with a drinking-horn



Fig. 598.



Fig. 599.

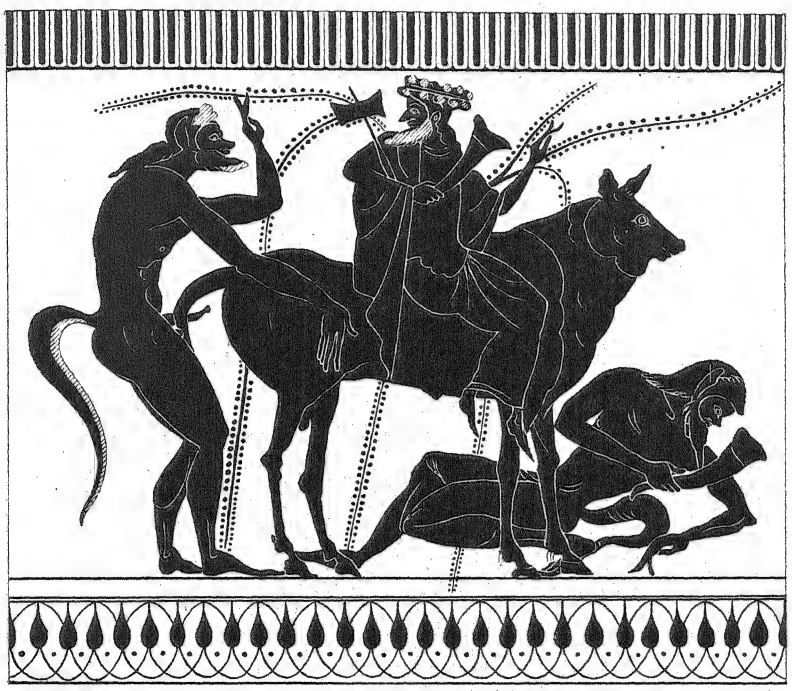


Fig. 600.

in his right hand and a double axe on his shoulder: two Silenoi complete the scene (fig. 600)[2]. An Attic red-figured *kýlix* shows the same god again as a bearded figure with *kántharos* and double axe[3]. A silver coin of the Odrysian king Metokos, struck *c.* 400 B.C.,

[1] Orph. *h. Dion.* 30. 3 ἄγριον, ἄρρητον, κρύφιον, δικέρωτα, δίμορφον, | κ.τ.λ.

[2] *Notizia dei vasi dipinti rinvenuti a Cuma nel* MDCCCLVI *posseduti da sua Altezza Reale il Conte di Siracusa* Napoli 1856 p. ix f. pl. 2 (=my fig. 600).

[3] *Supra* i. 216 fig. 159.

has on the obverse a bearded head of Dionysos (?), on the reverse a double axe surrounded by a grape-vine (fig. 601)[1]. Finally, we have already seen reason to think that in Tenedos itself Dionysos *Anthroporrhaístes*, 'Smiter of Men,' was conceived as embodied in an axe[2].

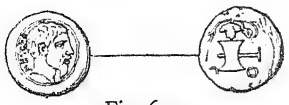


Fig. 601.

There are, then, strong grounds for supposing that the Tenedian coin-types relate to the cult of Dionysos. The main objection to that view is thus stated by W. Wroth[3]: 'if Dionysos were intended, the male head would almost certainly be wreathed with ivy. On those coins, however, on which the head is wreathed, the wreath is of laurel and not of ivy. Perhaps, therefore, the heads are those of Zeus and Hera.' Wroth's conclusion is quoted with approval by B. V. Head[4], and would doubtless have commended itself to C. Lenormant[5], who equated *Ténes* the eponym of Tenedos with the Etruscan *Tinia*[6] and the Cretan *Tán*[7]. Such an equation is, of course, philologically impossible. But the fact remains that the head with its bay-wreath resembles Zeus rather than Dionysos, and any hypothesis connecting it with the latter must account for its likeness to the former.

On the whole, I should summarise the situation as follows. Tenedos bears a name which is pre-Greek. A. Fick[8], comparing it with a second *Ténedos* on the borders of Lykia and Pamphylia, with *Lébedos* in Ionia (Lydia), and with *Sébeda* in Lykia, treats the name as Hittite, and points out that *Ténes* or *Ténnes* (for **Téndes*) was derived from *Ténedos*, not *vice versa*[9]. Now *Ténnes* occurs again as the name of a king of Sidon in the revolt of Phoinike from Artaxerxes iii Ochos[10]. And Tenedos itself, as Pliny[11] informs us, was once called *Phoinîke*. It would seem, then, that in the pre-history of the island we have to reckon with the Phoinikes, whose relations to the 'Minoan' culture were of the closest[12].

[1] *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 329 no. 8 fig. (=my fig. 601) MHTOKO. The same king is known to literature as Μήδοκος or Μηδόκης (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 ii. 912).

[2] *Supra* i. 659.

[3] W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas, etc. p. xlviii.

[4] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 551.

[5] C. Lenormant *Nouvelle galerie mythologique* (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 pp. 7 f., 17, 19, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 122 and 365 f.

[6] *Supra* i. 53, 622 f. [7] *Supra* i. 149 n. 1, 655 n. 2.

[8] A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 64.

[9] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τένεδος·...οἱονεὶ Τέννου ἕδος. Cp. *infra* pp. 669, 673 n. 5.

[10] Diod. 16. 42 ff. [11] Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 140.

[12] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1912 xxxii. 278: 'The people whom we

'Minoan' objects have in fact come to light in Tenedos (fig. 602)[1] and suggest that here in early days was a 'Minoan' settlement. The settlers called themselves Asterioi[2] and doubtless discovered with joy that at Asterion in their island were river-crabs marked with a double axe[3]. The curious combination of crab and double axe recalls the joint cult of Zeus *Osogôa* and Zeus *Labráyndos* at Mylasa[4]. The circumstances, however, though similar, are not identical. In Karia a local deity, whose attribute was the crab, having been Hellenised into a Zeus of the sea, was fused with a Zeus of the sky, inheritor of the ancient 'Minoan' double axe, the resultant god being known to the Greeks as Zenoposeidon. In Tenedos too we are concerned with the legacy of the double axe. But here, in the Thraco-Phrygian area, the principal sky-god was Dios, who was worshipped in twofold form as Father and Son —Zeus and Dionysos, said the Greeks[5]. It matters little, therefore, whether we assert that among the Tenedians the 'Minoan' axe passed into the hands of a Dionysiac Zeus or into those of a Zeus-like Dionysos. Not improbably the former developed into the latter, stress being laid first on the older and afterwards on the younger aspect of the god. But in either case we mean him who was at once the husband and the son of Semele. His effigy and hers are combined as the Thraco-Phrygian equivalent of the 'Minoan' Kronos and Rhea. What then of the crabs? Presumably in Tenedos, as in Karia, they belonged to some local deity identified with Zeus.

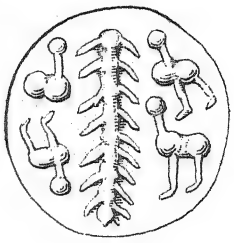


Fig. 602.

Confirmation is not far to seek. Thirty miles or so to the west of Tenedos lies Lemnos, a great centre of Cabiric cult[6]. Cor-

discern in the new dawn [*sc.* of classical Greece] are not the pale-skinned northerners—the "yellow-haired Achaeans" and the rest—but essentially the dark-haired, brown-complexioned race, the Φοίνικες or "Red Men" of later tradition, of whom we find the earlier portraiture in the Minoan and Mycenaean wall paintings.'

[1] I figure a coarsely-cut lenticular seal-stone, which I acquired in Athens in 1901. Material: haematite. Scale: ½. Alleged *provenance*: Tenedos.

[2] *Supra* i. 543 n. 6.

[3] *Infra* p. 669 n. 5. Mr L. A. Borradaile, Lecturer in Zoology to the University of Cambridge, informs me that the crabs in question probably belonged to the species *Telphusa fluviatilis*, the marking of whose back might be held to resemble the head of a double axe. He kindly refers me to Miss M. J. Rathbun 'Les crabes d'eau douce' in the *Nouvelles Archives du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle* Quatrième Série Paris 1904 pp. 254—258 pl. 9, 1 and 5.

[4] *Supra* p. 576 ff.

[5] *Supra* p. 277 ff.

[6] L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2523 ff., O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1420 ff.

responding with the divine triad Zeus, Semele, and Dionysos were the Kabeiroi[1], whose names *Axiókersos*, *Axiokérsa*, and *Axieros* proclaim their connexion with the sacred axe[2]. Moreover, Hesychios[3] expressly identifies the Kabeiroi with crabs,

[1] For the Kabeiroi equated with Zeus and Dionysos see *supra* i. 112 n. 6, ii. 313 f. They are apparently associated with a Dionysiac Zeus on a bronze plaque from Rome (fig. 603 = *Arch. Zeit.* 1854 pl. 65, 3, *supra* p. 283), which combines Mithraic with Sabazian and other elements in a manner suggestive of Thrace. Under an arch formed of two trees, two snakes, and a lion's head (the Mithraic Ahriman: Append. G *fin.*) we

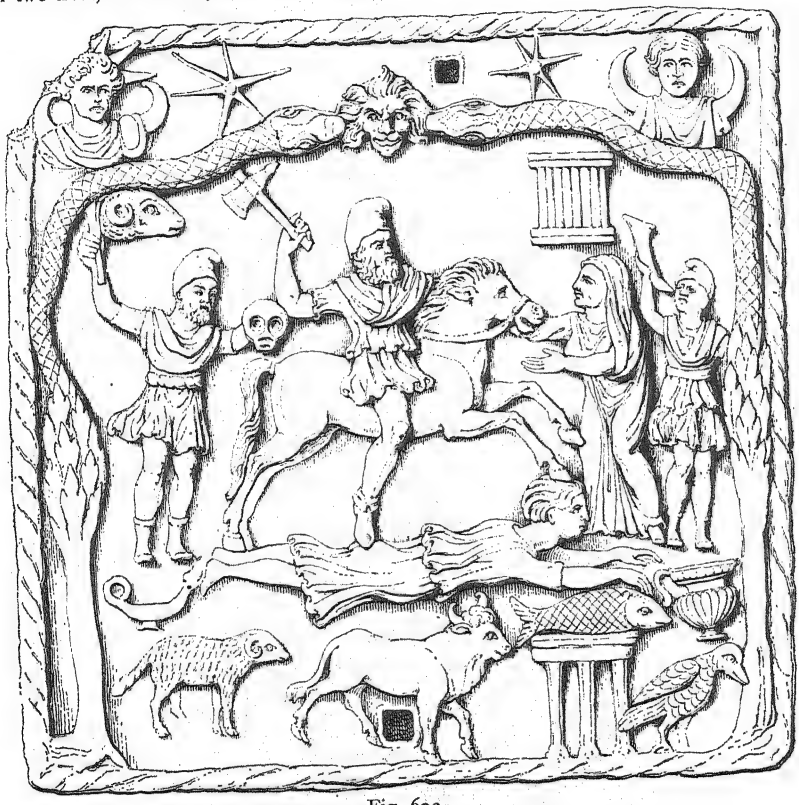


Fig. 603.

see a veiled female suppliant extending her arms towards the central figure of Zeus *Sabázios* (?), who brandishes a sort of double axe as he rides his horse between two Kabeiroi (?). Above are Sun, Moon, and two Stars; below, a series of constellations—Aquarius (? cp. G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 p. 67 fig. 11), Aries, Taurus, Pisces, Ara, Corvus, Crater. A ram's head (*supra* i. 390 ff.) and a *syrinx* (cp. *supra* p. 296 n. 4 of Attis) occupy the field.

[2] *Supra* i. 109, 328 n. 9, ii. 314 f.

[3] Hesych. *s.v.* Κάβειροι· καρκίνοι. πάνυ δὲ τιμῶνται οὗτοι ἐν Λήμνῳ ὡς θεοί· λέγονται δὲ εἶναι Ἡφαίστου παῖδες. That καρκίνοι here means simply 'crabs' is the opinion of Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 748 c and O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1450.

adding that in Lemnos they were treated as gods and called the children of Hephaistos. This amazing statement—matched only by what we hear of the lobster in Seriphos[1]—carries us back to a primitive age, when the crab was not so much a grotesque as an awesome thing. Nippers, after all, are no joke; and the *rôle* played by the crab in religion[2], mythology[3], and

M. Schmidt *ad loc.* says: 'καρκίνοι h.e. forcipes, πυράγραι.' I. Voss cited Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1389, 26 ff. ὡς δὲ καὶ καρίδας ἐστὶν οὗ ἡ τοιαύτη λέξις (*sc.* κάμμορος) σημαίνει δηλοῖ Ἀθήναιος ἐν τῷ **κάμμοροι** 'καί τι γένος καρίδων ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων οὕτω καλούμενον' (cp. Athen. 306 C—D). καὶ ἴσως ἐντεῦθεν οἱ χυδαῖοι τοὺς καβούρους παρέφθειραν: but see J. Alberti's n. on the Hesychian gloss.

[1] Ail. *de nat. an.* 13. 26 ἔστι δὲ ἄρα καὶ τέττιξ ἐνάλιος...οὐ σιτοῦνται δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ πολλοί, νομίζοντες ἱερόν. Σεριφίους δὲ ἀκούω καὶ θάπτειν νεκρὸν ἑαλωκότα· ζῶντα δὲ ἐς δίκτυον ἐμπεσόντα οὐ κατέχουσιν ἀλλὰ ἀποδιδόασι τῇ θαλάττῃ αὖθις. θρηνοῦσι δὲ ἄρα αὐτοὺς ἀποθανόντας, καὶ λέγουσι Περσέως τοῦ Διὸς ἄθυρμα αὐτοὺς εἶναι.

[2] Alex. Polyhist. (?) *frag.* 135 a (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 239 Müller) *ap.* Ail. *de nat. an.* 17. 1 Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ περίπλῳ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάττης λέγει...ἑορακέναι...καὶ γένος καρκίνων, οἷς τὸ μὲν ὄστρακον τὴν περιφέρειαν εἶχε πανταχόθεν πόδα, χηλαὶ δὲ ἠρτημέναι μέγισται προεῖχον, ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι δὲ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς αὐτούς. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον, ἱεροὶ λέγονται Ποσειδῶνος. καὶ ἀφιέρωνται τῷ θεῷ, οἷον ἀναθήματα εἶναι ἐκείνου ἀσινῆ τε καὶ ἀνεπιβούλευτα οἱ καρκίνοι. Cp. O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 491, 609.

[3] A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 ii. 354—359 ('The crab'), L. Hopf *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere in alter und neuer Zeit* Stuttgart 1888 p. 226 ('Krebse'), O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 485—500 ('Krebse'), O. Dähnhardt *Natursagen* Leipzig and Berlin 1907—1912 i—iv Index to each vol. *s.v.* 'Krebs.'

The monstrous crab sent by Hera to attack Herakles during his fight with the Hydra (A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2198 f., 2224, 2243, O. Gruppe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 1033 ff.) appears first on *fibulae* of the Geometric period (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 373 ff. no. 3205 (*a*) fig. 87, W. N. Bates in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1911 xv. 1 ff. figs. 2, 3). Okeanos on imperial coins of Tyre is a reclining figure with a head-dress of crab's-claws (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia pp. cxlii, 289 no. 464, 296 pl. 35, 5): cp. a monochrome mask of Okeanos in a painting from Pompeii (Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 205 no. 1023 'mit Hörnern wie von Krebsscheeren,' figured by G. Fiorelli *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei* Napoli 1861 p. 16 pl. 3, 6). Thalassa on a coin of Perinthos likewise wears a head-dress of crab's-claws (*supra* i. 752 f. fig. 552), as did a statue in the Forum Constantini at Constantinople representing Thetis (Arethas *ap.* schol. Aristeid. ii. 710 Dindorf ἧς ἀντικρὺ ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσιοῦσι τῶν προπυλαίων καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἀνάκειται Θέτις, καρκίνοις τὴν κεφαλὴν διαστεφής· κ.τ.λ.) or Amphitrite (Kedren. *hist. comp.* 323 A (i. 565 Bekker) πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἡ Ἀμφιτρίτη, χηλὰς ἔχουσα καρκίνου ἐπὶ τῶν κροτάφων. κ.τ.λ.). This device became, in fact, a commonplace of marine subjects (*e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 176 no. 964 bust of Triton: 'above the forehead are two lobster's or crab's claws,' *ib.* p. 177 no. 971 sea-god (?): 'he has lobster's claws on his head,' Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* ii. 250 ff. *sarcophagus* with sea-divinities: 'ein bärtiger Meerkentaur mit Krebsscheren am Kopfe.' See also W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1585).

Ἀστακός or Ἄστακος, a town on the Gulf of Olbia in Bithynia, had as eponym Astakos, son of Poseidon by the nymph Olbia (Arrian. *frag.* 29 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 592) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἄστακος). The name Ἀστακός or Ἄστακος has been plausibly derived from ἀστακός, 'a lobster' (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 i. 162 'Krabbe'). For the lobster abounded in these waters (Archestratos *frag.* 8 Ribbeck *ap.* Athen. 104 F f., Aristot. *hist. an.* 5. 17. 549 b 15 f.) and furnished an obvious *type parlant* to silver coins of Astakos struck in *s.* V B.C., which

astrology[1] was serious enough,—it even lingered on into the middle



Fig. 604.



Fig. 605.

ages[2], and has left traces of itself in modern folk-lore[3]. The

have this crustacean as their constant device (Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 266 pl. 41, 1—6, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1489 ff. pl. 181, 1—6). Yet it hardly follows that Astakos in Bithynia, or for that matter Astakos in Akarnania, really drew its name from the lobster. A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 pp. 85 f., 135 refers these place-names to the Leleges.

[1] On *Cancer*, 'the Crab,' as a sign of the zodiac (*supra* i. 66, 235 n. 2, 759 nn. 2, 6) see A. Bouché-Leclercq *L'astrologie grecque* Paris 1899 pp. 136—138 fig. 6 and Index p. 633, Haebler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1459 f., A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 111, *alib.*, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1451 f., F. Cumont in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 1046 ff. *s.v.* 'zodiacus' *passim*.

[2] Witness the story of Prodromos and the demons of the desert in F. Pradel *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters* Giessen 1907 p. 36, 27 ff. 'Εξορκία τοῦ καβούρη ['Crab,' cp. *ib.* p. 76]. 'Ως ὑπῆγεν ὁ τίμιος Πρόδρομος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ εὗρε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ χιλίους μυρίους ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, βρέφη ἀναρίθμητα, ἄλλοι ἀπὸ καβουρίου, ἄλλοι ἀπὸ τῶν οβ̄ ἥμισυ ἐβγασι<μάτων>· ἰδὼν καὶ ἐφοβήθη καὶ εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω ἐστράφη καὶ ἀπάντησε αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ ὑπερώτησεν αὐτόν· ποῦ ὑπάγεις, τίμιε Πρόδρομε; Κύριέ μου, ἐγὼ ὑπάγαινα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ ηὗρα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ μου μυρίους χιλίους ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, βρέφη ἀναρίθμητα, ἄλλον ἀπὸ καβουρίου, ἄλλον ἀπὸ τῶν οβ̄ ἥμισυ ἐβγασιμάτων, καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτοὺς ἐστράφη [*leg.* ἐστράφην] εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω. Ὕπαγε, τίμιε Πρόδρομε, καὶ ὅρκισον αὐτὰ τὰ νοσήματα εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν θεοτόκον, νὰ ψυχῇ, νὰ μαραθῇ τὰ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ.....εἰς ὕδωρ ποίησε ἡμέρας γ̄..κ̲ κατάρριχε τὰ λάχ<αν>α καὶ ἀμπ<έλους>. *Id. ib.* p. 92 n. 4 'Καβούρι Krebs. Augenscheinlich haben wir dasselbe Wort, nur das Tier bezeichnend, in dem hssl. *καβούρους* bei Nicol. Myreps. 516 B. Fuchs ändert es in *καράβους*. Vgl. 524 C.' [Nikolaos Myrepsos (end of *s.* xiii A.D.) *dispensatorium medicum* trans. L. Fuchs Francofurti 1626 p. 149 § 304 carabureum ('codex manuscriptus habet *καραβουρέαν*').] See further F. Boll in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 149 f., who cites Hesych. Καρκώ· λάμια (Rohde *Psyche*[3] ii. 410) and *Corp. inscr. Att.* App. defix. p. xxxi n. 1 = D. Bassi—E. Martini *Catalogus codicum astrologicorum Graecorum* Brussels 1903 iv. 132 a lecanomantic prescription from a manuscript at Naples (cod. Neapol. II C. 33, fol. 233) οἱ δαίμονες τοῦ μεγάλου Ἅιδου... Καρκινὰρ καὶ ἡ γονὴ (γένη cod. Bassi—Martini cjj. *γέννα* Wünsch cj. *γονή*) αὐτοῦ Ὀνοσκελίς, ἧς (*ὀνοσκελίδα εἰς* cod.) τὸ ὄνομα Σεμιραμήλ, κ.τ.λ. O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1951 justly observes: 'Erst bei der Annahme dieser Gespenster versteht man ganz den Witz des Aristophanes in den Wolken v. 1260 f.: τίς οὑτοσί ποτ' ἔσθ' ὁ θρηνῶν; οὔτι που τῶν Καρκίνου τις **δαιμόνων** ἐφθέγξατο.'

[3] B. Schmidt *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder* Leipzig 1877 p. 83 ff. no. 9 ('Prinz Krebs') tells a Zakynthian tale in which the hero married to the king's daughter is a golden crab by day, but a prince by night, with power to change into an eagle at his pleasure. The story is a variant of the Beast-bridegroom *formula*, on which see *e.g.* J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1915 ii. 234 ff., especially p. 255.

affiliation of the creature to Hephaistos stood to reason: was not he a smith? and were not the smith's tongs or pincers commonly dubbed 'crabs' (*karkínoi*)[1], while a certain species of crab was known as 'tongs' (*pyrágra*)[2]? Finally, a parallel to the Tenedian river-crabs signed with the double axe can be found in the Agrigentine river-crabs marked with a bull's head (?) (fig. 604)[3] or a *Gorgóneion* (fig. 605)[4].

If we are justified in supposing that the double axe of Tenedos belonged to a god conceived as the rebirth of his own father, analogy with the Cretan Zagreus would lead us to expect that the Tenedian god too was served with rites of omophagy, in which a human victim, regarded as consort of the goddess[5], was dismembered and even devoured by the king[6]. This expectation is to some extent realised. For we have already had occasion to notice the horrible statement of Euelpis that in Tenedos, as in Chios, 'they used to rend a man in pieces, sacrificing him to Dionysos

[1] Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 971 B—C.

[2] Hesych. *s.v.* πυράγρα and πυράγρη ἢ πυράγρα.

[3] Tetradrachms of Akragas, struck *c.* 472—415 B.C., have for reverse type a large crab (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 8 no. 38 fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 156 pl. 11, 13, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1545 f. pl. 78, 4, Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 49 pl. 8, 1). Mr L. A. Borradaile agrees with O. Keller *loc. cit.* that this is *Telphusa fluviatilis*, a species of crab common in the sweet waters of central and southern Italy, Sicily, Greece, and Asia Minor. He adds that, apart from Japanese pictures, he has never seen a more exact representation of it in art. Fig. 604 is from a specimen in my collection. Mr E. J. Seltman, from whom I obtained it, holds that the crab is marked with a bull's head as sign of the tauriform river-god, and compares the didrachm inscribed A+∃ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 7 no. 25, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1547 f. pl. 78, 12. Fig. 606 is from a specimen of mine), which he would read as an allusion to a festival of Acheloios (Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1405 ff. pl. 66, 20, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 76 fig. 36 a *statér* of Metapontum with river-god inscribed AΨΕΛΟΣΟ ΑΕΘΛΟΝ. Schol. T. *Il.* 24. 616 says of the Acheloios καὶ Σικελιῶται αὐτὸν τιμῶσιν). This combination, which is undeniably ingenious, was accepted by the late J. R. McClean, but involves two doubtful assumptions: (*a*) that the markings on the crab's back were viewed as a bull's head by the ancients, and (*b*) that A+∃ is for A+E.



Fig. 606.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 12 no. 62 fig., Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 50 pl. 8, 13 (=my fig. 605), O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 485 f. pl. 2, 10 (a fanciful rendering of the *Telphusa fluviatilis*, cp. γραῦς as a name for 'crab' in Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 14), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 121. The coin is a drachm of *c.* 413—406 B.C.

For the crab as an *apotrópaion* on 'Gnostic' gems etc. see Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *op. cit.* p. 146 f. pl. 24, 24—34, O. Keller *op. cit.* ii. 486, S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 ii. 124 and Index p. 500 *s.v.* 'Krebs'; and for the crab in folk-medicine etc., E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 74.

[5] *Supra* i. 649 n. 7.

[6] *Supra* i. 656 ff.

Omádios ("the god of Raw Flesh")[1].' That the man thus done to death was viewed as partner of the goddess, or was actually eaten by the king, we are not told. But some such beliefs, more than half forgotten, may underlie the later rationalised and romanticised legends of the island, which tell how a prince, caught in adultery, was savagely slain with an axe.

The oldest version of the story is preserved in a fragment of Aristotle's work *On the Government of Tenedos*[2]:

'A certain king in Tenedos made a law that he who found adulterers should slay them both with an axe. And, when it fell out that his son was found in adultery, he ordained that the law should be kept even in the case of his own son. The son having been slain, the thing passed into a proverb, which is used of cruel actions. Hence too the coins of Tenedos have stamped upon them an axe on the one side and two heads on the other, to remind men of the fate of the king's son.'

With this may be combined sundry statements occurring in the mediaeval collections of ancient Greek proverbs. Thus Makarios Chrysokephalos (*s.* xiv A.D.) *à propos* of the proverbial 'Tenedian axe' says: 'In the island of Tenedos were dedicated two axes, which were worshipped, and by means of them adulterers were slain[3].' Apostolios too, in explaining another proverb, that of the 'Tenedian advocate,' refers to the same alleged fact: 'The Tenedians among their dedicated objects honour a couple of axes[4].' Apostolios certainly is a very late authority (*s.* xv A.D.); but he appears to be copying *verbatim* from Souidas[5] (*s.* x A.D.) or Photios[6] (*s.* ix A.D.), and they in turn depend upon earlier and more reliable sources. If these allusions to the cult of *two* axes in Tenedos are trustworthy, they furnish an interesting point of comparison with Cretan practice[7]. For here, as there, the two axes might be taken to signify god and goddess respectively[8]:

Further evidence with regard to the Tenedian axe is forthcoming in connexion with another proverb, the 'man of Tenedos.' Photios[9] and Souidas[10] have the following paragraph:

[1] *Supra* i. 656, 659 n. 6.

[2] Aristot. *frag.* 551 Rose *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τένεδος, cp. Phot. *lex.* and Souid. *s.v.* Τενέδιος ξυνήγορος, Apostol. 16. 26 *s.v.* Τενέδιος συνήγορος. The same account of the coin-types is given by Herakleides Pont. *de rebus publicis* 7. 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 213 f. Müller).

[3] Makar. 8. 7 *ἐν γὰρ Τενέδῳ τῇ νήσῳ δύο πελέκεις ἀνέκειντο σεβάσμιοι, δι' ὧν ἀνῃροῦντο οἱ μοιχοί.*

[4] Apostol. 16. 26 *δύο γὰρ πελέκυς (sic) ἐν ἀναθήμασι τιμῶσι Τενέδιοι.*

[5] Souid. *s.v.* Τενέδιος ξυνήγορος *·...δύο γὰρ πελέκεις ἐν ἀναθήμασι τιμῶσι Τενέδιοι.*

[6] Phot. *lex. s.v.* Τενέδιος ξυνήγορος *·...δύο γὰρ πελέκεις ἐν ἀναθήμασι τιμῶσι Τενέδιοι.*

[7] *Supra* p. 522.

[8] *Supra* pp. 537, 653.

[9] Phot. *lex. s.v.* Τενέδιος ἄνθρωπος.

[10] Souid. *s.v.* Τενέδιος ἄνθρωπος.

'Kyknos the son of Poseidon had begotten two children, Hemithea and Tennes, when he married again. Tennes was accused by his step-mother of making an attempt upon her. Kyknos believed her, put the young man into a chest, and, since Hemithea chose to share her brother's danger, dropped them both into the sea. The chest floated to the island that used to be called Leukophrys but was afterwards known as Tenedos, taking its name from Tennes. He became king of the island and made a law that behind those who bore false witness should stand the public executioner, with axe upraised so that, if convicted, they might instantly be put to death. This fearful sight gave rise to the proverb, the "man of Tenedos," which is applied to persons of fearful aspect.'

A briefer form of the same paragraph is found in Zenobios' collection of proverbs[1] together with the statement that the proverb in question occurred in Menander's *Ephesian*[2].

Different again, at least in its concluding portions, is the account given by Pausanias, who mentions certain Tenedian axes as among the objects dedicated at Delphoi near the eastern end of Apollon's temple[3].

'The axes,' he says[4], 'are an offering of Periklytos, son of Euthymachos, a native of Tenedos, and refer to an old tale[5]. They say that Kyknos was a son of Poseidon and reigned as king at Kolonai, Kolonai being a town in the Troad over against an island called Leukophrys. Kyknos had a daughter named Hemithea and a son called Tennes by Prokleia....This Prokleia died first, and the second wife Philonome, daughter of Kragasos, fell in love with Tennes, but failed to win his affection, and told her husband falsely that Tennes had consorted with her against her will. Kyknos believed the deceitful tale, put Tennes with his sister into a chest, and cast them adrift on the sea. The brother and sister got safely to the island Leukophrys, which received its present name from Tennes. But Kyknos was not destined to be ignorant of this deception for ever: he therefore set sail to find his son, meaning to confess his mistake and ask forgiveness for his offence. When he had come to an anchorage at the island, and had fastened the hawsers from his ship to a certain rock or tree, Tennes in anger cut the cables with an axe. Hence, when people deny a thing stoutly, it is customary to say that "so-and-so cut this or that with a Tenedian axe." The Greeks declare that Tennes was slain by Achilles in the act of defending his country. And the Tenedians in course of time were compelled by their weakness to attach themselves to the inhabitants of Alexandreia on the mainland of the Troad.'

The same version of the tale is given by Konon[6] and Eusta-

[1] Zenob. 6. 9. Cp. also Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 536, Phot. *lex.* and Souid. *s.v.* Τενέδιος ξυνήγορος, Apostol. 16. 26.

[2] Menand. *Ephesius frag.* 5 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 126 Meineke).

[3] On votive double axes of bronze found at Delphoi see *supra* p. 628 f.

[4] Paus. 10. 14. 1—4.

[5] Plout. *de Pyth. or.* 12 states that the men of Tenedos dedicated their axe at Delphoi because at a place called Asterion in their island there were crabs the shells of which were marked like an axe. We gather from Souid. and Phot. *lex. s.v.* Τενέδιος ξυνήγορος and from Apostol. 16. 26 that these crabs were found in a small river. The place-name Ἀστέριον is again suggestive of 'Minoan' cult (*supra* i. 543 n. 6, ii. 663).

[6] Konon *narr.* 28.

thios[1], though the latter calls the brother and sister Tenes and Leukothea, and speaks of their step-mother as Philonome or Polyboia. Diodoros[2] adds a few details. It was a flute-player who had falsely charged Tennes with attempting the honour of his step-mother: consequently, when Tennes, after leading a life distinguished for virtue and helpfulness, received divine honours, no flute-player was permitted to enter his precinct[3]; nor might any man there mention the name of Achilles, since it was Achilles who had slain him. Tzetzes[4] too contributes his quota. The name of the flute-player that denounced Tenes was Molpos[5] or, as a variant has it, Eumolpos[6]. Kyknos, on discovering the facts of the case, slew Philonome, and himself came and dwelt with his children in Tenedos. Here they were all three found and attacked by Achilles on his way to Troy. It had been fated that Achilles should die whenever he slew a son of Apollon, and Thetis had given him as an attendant one Mnemon, whose business it was to remind him of this special prohibition. But Tenes, though in reality a son of Apollon, passed as the son of Kyknos. Achilles, therefore, slew without hesitation both Kyknos and Tenes, and, when he realised what he had done, slew Mnemon into the bargain. He also pursued Hemithea, who fled from his embraces and was swallowed by the earth[7].

We fasten on this last statement as an indication that Hemithea was originally an earth-power. A goddess of the same name possessed a famous sanctuary at Kastabos on the Carian Chersonesos. According to local tradition[8], Staphylos had by Chrysothemis three daughters—Molpadia, Rhoio, and Parthenos. Finding that Rhoio was with child (by a man, as he supposed, but in reality by Apollon), he shut her up in a chest and flung her into the sea. The chest came ashore at Delos, where Rhoio gave birth to Anios and dedicated the babe on the altar of Apollon. The god hid the child, and later taught him seercraft and brought him to great honour. As to Molpadia and Parthenos, they were set to guard their father's wine—a recent invention—but fell asleep at their post. The swine they kept got in and broke the wine-jar. The maidens, fearing their

[1] Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 536, *in Il.* p. 33, 24 ff. Cp. schol. *Il.* 1. 38 (codd. A. D.: codd. B. L. have Τέννης, Ἡμιθέα, and Καλύκη as their step-mother) = Eudok. *viol.* 916.

[2] Diod. 5. 83.

[3] So too Herakleides Pont. *de rebus publicis* 7. 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 213 Müller).

[4] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 232 ff. = Eudok. *viol.* 549.

[5] So also Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 28.

[6] So also Apollod. *epit.* 3. 24.

[7] See further Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 28, Lyk. *Al.* 232 ff., Apollod. *epit.* 3. 23 ff.

[8] Diod. 5. 62 f. On the widely different account given by Parthen. *narr. am.* 1 (after Nikainetos Λύρκος and Ap. Rhod. Καῦνος) see P. Friedländer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 255.

father's savage anger, fled to the shore and hurled themselves from a cliff. Apollon, however, established them in the Chersonesos, giving Parthenos a precinct at Boubastos and Molpadia a sanctuary at Kastabos, where 'owing to her divinely-contrived epiphany[1]' she received the name of Hemithea. Libations to her are made with honey-mixture (*melíkraton*), not wine; and no man that has touched a pig or eaten of its flesh may approach her precinct. Here she manifests herself by night, working cures and helping women in childbirth. Each successive detail confirms us in the belief that at Kastabos, as in Tenedos, Hemithea was essentially an earth-goddess.

The myths told of the two localities had other points in common. Not only are the names Molpos and Hemithea in Tenedos balanced by the names Molpadia and Hemithea at Kastabos, but the episode of Tennes and Hemithea sent to sea in a chest is paralleled by the episode of Rhoio and Anios similarly cast adrift. This *motif* is best known from the story of Danaë and Perseus. It occurs, however, in at least two other Greek tales, the Tegeate tale of Auge and Telephos[2], and that of Semele and Dionysos as told at Brasiai in Lakonike[3], not to mention Romulus and Remus in Italy. In fact, the Danaë-*formula*, as J. G. von Hahn[4] and T. F. Crane[5] have pointed out, recurs in modern *Märchen* from Naples[6], Tuscany[7], Wallachia[8], Epeiros[9], etc.[10]. The Epirote tale, entitled *The Half-Man*, deserves repetition:

[1] *διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένην ἐπιφάνειαν Ἡμιθέαν ὠνομάσθαι.* P. Wesseling *ad loc.*: 'Mallem *ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ*. Ipsa Molpadia videtur indicari, quae praesentem opem aegris ferebat, *τοῖς κάμνουσι κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐφισταμένη φανερῶς*.'

[2] Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 55 ff., K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2300 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 204 n. 11.

[3] Paus. 3. 24. 3 f.

[4] J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 49. The *formula* is missing from the list drawn up by S. Baring-Gould and J. Jacobs in C. S. Burne *The Handbook of Folklore* London 1914 p. 344 ff. But it has been admirably studied by E. Cosquin 'Le lait de la mère et le coffre flottant' in the *Revue des Questions Historiques* Nouvelle Série 1908 xxxix 353—425 (especially p. 370 ff. 'Le coffre flottant').

[5] T. F. Crane *Italian Popular Tales* London 1885 p. 336.

[6] G. B. Basile *Il Pentamerone* trans. Sir R. F. Burton London 1893 i. 30 ff. (First Day: Third Diversion 'Peruonto'), E. F. Strange *Stories from the Pentamerone* London 1911 p. 22 ff. Peruonto, the princess Vastolla, and their two children, shut up in a cask with a basket of raisins and dried figs, are thrown into the sea.

See also F. W. V. Schmidt *Die Märchen des Straparola* Berlin 1817 no. 15 and W. G. Waters *The Nights of Straparola* London 1894 i. 35 ff. (Night One: Fable 4 Doralice in the chest on board ship).

[7] G. Pitrè *Novelle popolari toscane* Firenze 1885 no. 30.

[8] A. and A. Schott *Walachische Maehrchen* Stuttgart—Tübingen 1845 no. 27.

[9] J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 102 ff. See *supra* i. 414 n. 2.

[10] In a tale told by the Kirghiz of Siberia the daughter of a certain Khan, kept in a dark iron house, escapes into the bright world. Here the eye of God falls upon her and she conceives. Her angry father puts her in a golden chest and sends her floating across

A childless woman prayed for a child. God sent her a boy with half a head, half a nose, half a mouth, half a body, one hand, and one foot. He asked his mother for an axe and a mule, went off to the forest, and cut wood. One day, when riding to work, he caught sight of the king's daughter, who laughed at him so that from chagrin he dropped first his axe and then his cord, and did not even get down to pick them up. Staring disconsolately at a pool, he espied a fish, netted it in his rough cloak, and learnt from it a spell to obtain all his desires. He had but to say: 'At the first word of God, and at the second of the Fish,' this or that will take place. On his way home he saw the princess again and tried the spell upon her, bidding her to become pregnant. In due time she bore an apparently fatherless child. The king gave the child an apple, and told him to hand it to his father. The child handed the apple to the Half-Man. The king in anger had an iron vessel made, packed into it the princess, the Half-Man, and the child, and, giving them some figs for the child, flung the whole lot into the sea. Thereupon the Half-Man, tasting fig after fig, explained the whole situation to the princess, and at her suggestion, pronouncing his spell, brought the iron vessel safe ashore, provided a shelter from the rain, and built a magic castle with speaking stones, beams, and household utensils. It chanced that the king, when hunting, came that way and was entertained by the princess. The Half-Man, again eating a fig and using his spell, produced a splendid banquet with musicians and dancers complete. The king was astounded. But the princess, as a last experiment, bade the Half-Man by dint of fig and spell hide a spoon in the king's boot. She then pretended to miss something. The speaking spoon cried out and revealed its whereabouts. The king protested that he was being unjustly treated. The princess retorted that the wrong he suffered was nothing to the wrong he had committed, and told him all. So the king in amazement took his daughter back to the palace and married her to one of his lords. The Half-Man he made chief of his body-guard, and gave him his prettiest slave-girl to wife.

It is, no doubt, tempting to view the Half-Man with his axe as the complement of *Hemithéa*, the 'Half-Goddess,' and to assume some connexion with the coin-type of Tenedos. Nevertheless such an assumption would be extremely rash[1]. Other versions show that the Half-Man as such is not a constant feature of the folk-tale. The inference that I wish to draw is rather that the myth of Tennes and the earth-goddess Hemithea had as early as the time of Konon

the sea—a close parallel to Danaë (W. Radloff *Proben der Volkslitteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens* St. Petersburg 1870 iii. 82 f. cited by Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful i. 74 n. 2).

In another, from *Ulaghátsh*, a village of Kappadokia, the boy destined to be king is placed in a chest by his father and mother, and thrown into the sea (R. M. Dawkins *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* Cambridge 1916 p. 358 f. text and translation).

See also die Brüder Grimm *Kinder und Hausmärchen* Göttingen 1850 i. 175 ff. no. 29, G. O. H. Cavallius—G. Stephens *Schwedische Volkssagen und Märchen* Wien 1848 p. 95, A. Chodsko *Fairy Tales of the Slav Peasants and Herdsmen* trans. E. J. Harding London 1896 p. 313 ff. (princess and Sluggard shut up in a crystal cask and sent into the air by means of a balloon).

[1] At most it may be conceded that the whimsical notion of a half-man arose from some more serious *stratum* of popular belief: cp. what Zeus says of men in Plat. *symp.* 190 D ἐὰν δ' ἔτι δοκῶσιν ἀσελγαίνειν καὶ μὴ 'θέλωσιν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, πάλιν αὖ, ἔφη, τεμῶ δίχα, ὥστ' ἐφ' ἑνὸς πορεύσονται σκέλους ἀσκωλίζοντες.

(between 41 B.C. and 17 A.D.) been run into the mould of a *Märchen* involving the popular feature of the floating coffer. Possibly, too, the original character of the heroine as an earth-goddess persists in the trait that she must give the hero a fig before he can work his magic.

Returning now to the coin-types, we note that J. H. Eckhel[1] more than a century ago identified the Janiform head as a combination of Tennes and Hemithea. His conclusion was, I believe, substantially correct. Indeed, it might be maintained that the very name *Hemithéa*, the 'Half-Goddess,' or *Amphithéa*, the 'Double-Goddess,' as Hekataios[2] called her, has reference to the twofold type[3]. Only it must, I think, be borne in mind that Tennes and Hemithea, who bulk so big in the later myths of Tenedos, are but heroic representatives of an earlier sky-god and earth-goddess. Behind them we can detect the Thraco-Phrygian Dionysos and Semele, who in turn conceal the faded forms of the 'Minoan' Kronos and Rhea. As to the outward expression of their worship, at first a double axe or a pair of double axes symbolised the union of the two great powers. Then, in the sixth century B.C., we find a Janiform image serving the same purpose. Ultimately the divine couple appear to have had separate effigies, and that of Tennes at least had some pretensions to beauty. The Tenedians, says Diodoros[4] in the first century B.C., 'made a precinct of Tennes and used to honour him as a god with sacrifices, which they kept up till modern times.' Verres, therefore, deeply offended them when—as Cicero[5] informs us—he carried off from their midst a very handsome statue of 'Tenes himself, who in Tenedos is deemed a god most holy.'

The 'Minoan' cult, which occasioned the Tenedian combination of god and goddess, seems to have led to a like result elsewhere. A scaraboid gem of striped brown sard, found in Kypros and now forming part of a private collection in this country, shows a double head closely resembling that on the early coins of Tenedos (fig. 607)[6]. Silver coins of the 'Philisto-Arabian' series, struck during the fifth century B.C. at Gaza *Minóa*, likewise represent a bisexual Janiform

[1] Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] ii. 489.

[2] Hekataios *frag.* 139 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 9 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τένεδος.

[3] Cp. *supra* pp. 328 (*Ambi*sagrus), 421 (*Amphi*sthenes, *Amphi*kles), 445 (*Amphion*).

[4] Diod. 5. 83 (*supra* p. 670) τελευτήσας δ' ἀθανάτων τιμῶν ἠξιώθη (sc. Τέννης)· καὶ γὰρ τέμενος αὐτοῦ κατεσκεύασαν καὶ θυσίαις ὡς θεὸν ἐτίμων, ἃς διετέλουν θύοντες μέχρι τῶν νεωτέρων καιρῶν.

[5] Cic. *in Verr.* 2. 1. 49 Tenedo...Tenem ipsum, qui apud Tenedios sanctissimus deus habetur, qui urbem illam dicitur condidisse, cuius ex nomine Tenedus nominatur,—hunc ipsum, inquam, Tenem, pulcherrime factum, quem quondam in comitio vidistis, abstulit magno cum gemitu civitatis.

[6] Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 6, 65 (=my fig. 607: scale $\frac{2}{1}$), ii. 31.

head (figs. 608, 609)[1]. One specimen, in the British Museum, gives the male face a snub nose and a pointed ear, thereby imparting a Satyric character to the head (fig. 610)[2]. Another, at Paris, turns the profile into a full face with broad nose (fig. 611)[3]. This very curious treatment suggests that the god is Bes, who—unlike the general run of Egyptian deities—commonly appears *en face*[4]. The suggestion is

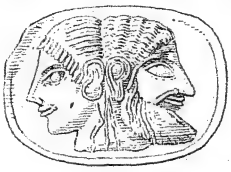


Fig. 607.



Fig. 608.



Fig. 609.

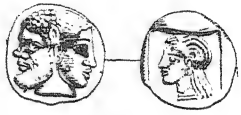


Fig. 610.



Fig. 611.



Fig. 612.

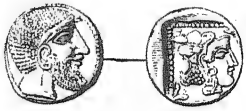


Fig. 613.

strengthened by a third specimen, also at Paris, which shows a bearded head with a mask of Bes attached to the back of it (fig. 612)[5]. It is possible too that both god and goddess stood in some relation to the lion; for the obverse of the first Parisian coin has two bearded heads surmounted by two lion-heads with lion-skins depending on either side (fig. 611), and the reverse of yet another Parisian coin

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine pp. lxxxiii ff., 176 f. pl. 19, 1—3, 7, p. 179 pl. 19, 20, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 282 pl. 77, 30, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 645 ff. pl. 123, 10, 11 f., 13 (=my fig. 608), 14, p. 651 ff. pl. 123, 25, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 805. Fig. 609 is from a specimen in the McClean collection at Cambridge. These coins are all drachms of Attic weight. As to their types, the owl and its accompanying inscription are certainly derived from Athenian originals modified to suit local requirements (J. P. Six in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1877 xvii. 231, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 645 f., G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine p. lxxxiv). The Janiform head has been referred to that of Lampsakos (Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 645 f.), or to that of an Athenian trihemiobol (G. F. Hill *loc. cit.* p. lxxxiv f.): but both at Lampsakos and at Athens the double head is beardless.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine p. 181 pl. 19, 30 (=my fig. 610).

[3] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 657 f. pl. 124, 7 (=my fig. 611).

[4] K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 325.

[5] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 659 f. pl. 124, 11 (=my fig. 612).

combines the profile of a goddess with that of a lion (fig. 613)[1]. If so, we may surmise that at Gaza, as in Tenedos, the Janiform head points backwards to the 'Minoan' cult of Kronos and Rhea. Rhea as the local Tyche kept her place from first to last. Kronos was succeeded by Zeus *Kretagenés*[2], otherwise known as Marnas[3], and apparently as Zeus *Aldémios* or *Áldos*[4], while Zeus in turn was partially eclipsed by the popular figure of Bes.

These Levantine examples of the male-*plus*-female head should



Fig. 614.



Fig. 615.

be compared, as J. P. Six[5] points out, with Berossos' description of the primeval androgynous being represented in the temple of Zeus *Bêlos* at Babylon[6].

A parallel to the survival of the 'Minoan' double axe in Tenedos might also be sought in Korkyra. Shortly before the battle of Aktion (31 B.C.) C. Proculeius, the partisan and friend of Octavian, struck copper coins in Korkyra with a head of Zeus on one side and a double axe on the other (figs. 614, 615)[7]. The head is accompanied

[1] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 659 f. pl. 124, 10 (=my fig. 613) described as 'Tête imberbe d'Héraclès à droite, coiffée de la peau de lion.' But the head, which has an earring, is obviously derived from that of Athena on Attic tetradrachms etc.

[2] *Supra* i. 149 n. 1, 478 with n. 4, *infra* § 9 (g).

[3] *Supra* i. 149 n. 1, 167 n. 3, 478, *infra* § 9 (g).

[4] Methodios *ap. et. mag.* p. 58, 20 ff. Ἄλδος, ἡ Ἄλδος, ὁ Ζεύς, ὃς ἐν Γάζῃ τῆς Συρίας τιμᾶται· παρὰ τὸ ἀλδαίνω, τὸ αὐξάνω· ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐξήσεως τῶν καρπῶν. Μεθόδιος. Cod. Vb. omits ὃς (as does cod. D.) and reads οὕτως Μεθόδιος. S. Bochart *Phaleg*[3] Lugduni Batavorum—Trajecti ad Rhenum 1692 p. 748, F. C. Movers *Die Phönizier* Berlin 1841 i. 262, and E. Renan *Mission en Phénicie* Paris 1864 p. 515 f. propound Semitic derivations of the appellative. K. B. Stark *Gaza und die philistäische Küste* Jena 1852 p. 578 is content to derive it from ἀλδαίνω. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 248 n. 4 says: 'noch nicht gedeutet.' W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 p. 489 n. 3 falls back on 'ein Ortsname.' G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1915 xxxv. 150 risks no conjecture.

[5] J. P. Six in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1877 xvii. 230 n. 140.

[6] Berossos *Babyloniaca* sive *Chaldaica frag.* 1. 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 497 Müller) *ap.* Synkell. *chron.* 29 B (i. 52 Dindorf) γενέσθαι φησὶ χρόνον ἐν ᾧ τὸ πᾶν σκότος καὶ ὕδωρ εἶναι καὶ ἐν τούτοις ζῶα τερατώδη καὶ εἰδιφυεῖς (J. D. G. Richter cj. ἰδιοφυεῖς A. Mai cj. αὐτοφυεῖς J. J. Scaliger cj. διφυεῖς) τὰς ἰδέας ἔχοντα ζωογονεῖσθαι. ἀνθρώπους γὰρ διπτέρους γεννηθῆναι, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ τετραπτέρους καὶ διπροσώπους· καὶ σῶμα μὲν ἕχοντας ἕν, κεφαλὰς δὲ δύο, ἀνδρείαν τε καὶ γυναικείαν, καὶ αἰδοῖά τε δισσά, ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ. κ.τ.λ. On Zeus *Bêlos* see *supra* i. 756 f.

[7] Fig. 614 is from Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 388 fig.; fig. 615, from the cast of a specimen in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 534 no. 235 pl. 116, 21).

by a monogram of the Greek letters KO, and there is frequently (figs. 614, 617) a countermark which appears to represent a double axe in a circle[1]. Now Proculeius is known to have been interested in the religious and mythical antiquities of the neighbourhood. For a small piece struck by him shows an *Agyieus*-pillar (fig. 616)[2], and



Fig. 616.



Fig. 617.

a large piece shows the ray-fish[3] whose poisonous tail, used as a spear-head[4] by Telegonos, caused the death of Odysseus (fig. 617)[5]. It is therefore likely enough that the double axe associated with Zeus in Korkyra was none other than the weapon of the old 'Minoan' sky-god.

[1] M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde* Wien 1897 p. 227.

[2] M. Bahrfeldt *op. cit.* p. 227 fig. (=my fig. 616) pl. 10, 241.

[3] Numismatists for more than a century past (*e.g.* S. Havercamp in Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 361 pl. Proculeia, 2, Rasche *Lex. Num.* vii. 171 f., 723) have described the type of this interesting coin as a ray-fish. F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen* Leipzig 1889 p. 43 pl. 6, 42 specify the thornback (*Raja clavata*). O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 376 f. pl. 2, 3 repeats this opinion, and further regards the death of Odysseus as due to the same fish. J. van Leeuwen, commenting on Od. 11. 134 ff. (ed. 2 Lugduni-Batavorum 1917), argues that the spear-head of Telegonos was the tail of a sting-ray (*Raja pastinaca*), which is not merely a formidable weapon (Plin. *nat. hist.* 9. 144) but actually poisonous (Opp. *de pisc.* 2. 470 ff., cp. A. C. L. G. Günther *An Introduction to the Study of Fishes* Edinburgh 1880 p. 190 fig. 98, p. 342, R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1896 v. 545). A. C. Pearson, *à propos* of Soph. Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀκανθοπλὴξ ἢ Νίπτρα (*The Fragments of Sophocles* Cambridge 1917 ii. 105 ff.), by a curious slip takes Telegonos' fish to have been a roach. W. Radcliffe *Fishing from the Earliest Times* London 1921 justly protests that 'the absolutely harmless Roach' will not do, and agrees with J. van Leeuwen that the fish must have been a sting-ray. Returning to the subject in *The Times Literary Supplement* for Jan. 5, 1922 p. 13 Mr Radcliffe accepts a suggestion of Prof. D'Arcy W. Thompson (*ib.* for Dec. 15, 1921 p. 844) that the precise species was 'a great Eagle-Ray' (*Myliobatis aquila*).

[4] Dr A. C. Haddon informs me (Jan. 23, 1922) that spears tipped with spines of the sting-ray are well known in Melanesia generally and also in Queensland (*e.g. British Museum: Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections* London 1910 p. 121 fig. 99, *a* from the Fiji Islands). Kwoiam, a legendary hero of the Torres Straits, killed his mother by means of a spear pointed with three sting-ray spines (A. C. Haddon *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits* Cambridge 1904 v. 71)—a perfect parallel to the story of Telegonos.

[5] Fig. 617 is from Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 388 fig. ('Jupiter en Terme.' Havercamp *loc. cit.*: 'Terminalis Jovis vel Neptuni.' Rasche *op. cit.* vii. 171: 'Neptuni.' Imhoof-Blumer *loc. cit.*: 'Hermenkopf').

(π) The hafted axe as a religious symbol.

The coins of Tenedos are by no means the only classical relic of pre-classical axe-cult. But before considering further evidence it will be well, for clearness' sake, to restate the essentials of the cult in question.

Throughout the Aegean and Adriatic area, as I maintain[1], we can trace the joint worship of a sky-father and an earth-mother. The former descends from above when the lightning flashes down and, in old aniconic days, leaves his weapon as a tangible token of himself. The latter ascends from below when vegetation springs up and, at the same early epoch, gives a visible proof of her presence in the sacred tree. Where, as was the case with the *sarcophagus* from *Hagia Triada*[2], we see the axe imbedded in the trunk, there we must recognise the union of the sky-father with the earth-mother, a union essential to the fertility of men and beasts and crops. The axe imbedded in a tree is the prototype of the axe imbedded in a wooden column[3] or a stalactite pillar[4]. Ultimately a hafted axe of the usual sort is found serving as a symbol of the united deities, the axe-head being the male, the axe-handle the female, element in their union.

(ρ) The axe and the sacred oak at Dodona.

The axe imbedded in the sacred tree is a feature of sundry cults, myths, and folk-tales. Early in the third century A.D. Philostratos described a real or imaginary painting of Dodona[5]. 'The golden pigeon,' he wrote, 'is still upon the oak-tree, she that is wise in sayings and oracles that she utters as from Zeus. And here lies the double axe left by Hellos the wood-cutter, from whom the Helloi of Dodona trace their descent. Fillets too are hung from the oak; for it gives oracles as does the tripod at Pytho.' This painting of the cult-scene at Dodona bears a curious resemblance to that of the cult-scene at *Hagia Triada*. In both we have the same noteworthy association of bird, axe, and tree. Moreover, the small votive axes of bronze found at Dodona (fig. 618)[6] recall the miniature votive

[1] *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 193 f.

[2] *Supra* pp. 517 f., 520 f.

[3] *Supra* p. 528 f.

[4] *Supra* p. 530 ff.

[5] Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 2. 33. 1. For the Teubner text of the first clause ἡ μὲν χρυσῆ πέλεια ἕτ' ἐπὶ τῆς δρυὸς ἐν λογίοις ἡ σοφὴ καὶ χρησμοί, κ.τ.λ., which must be wrong (C. F. W. Jacobs cj. ἡ μὲν χρυσῆ πελειὰς ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς δρυὸς ἐν λογίοις ἣν σοφὴ καὶ οἱ χρησμοί, κ.τ.λ.), I would read ἡ μὲν χρυσῆ πέλεια ἕτ' ἐπὶ τῆς δρυὸς ἡ ἐν λογίοις σοφὴ καὶ χρησμοῖς, κ.τ.λ.

[6] *Supra* p. 648. Fig. 618 is from C. Carapanos *Dodone et ses ruines* Paris 1878 p. 100 f. pl. 54, 7 (length 0·12m).

axes of Crete. A fine double axe of iron, also from Dodona (fig. 619)[1], may give us some idea of Hellos' tool.

Philostratos' statement with regard to the axe left, apparently in the sacred tree, by the forefather of the Dodonaean priests is indeed remarkable. But still more remarkable is a folk-tale heard by J. G. von Hahn at *Jánina*, close to the site of the ancient Dodona. For in this tale not only do we get the incident of the

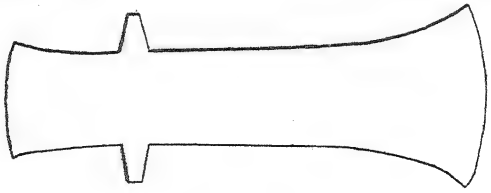


Fig. 618.

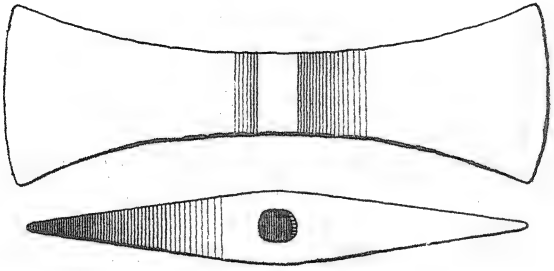


Fig. 619.

priestly wood-cutter leaving his axe in the tree, but also we have unmistakeable evidence of the axe being conceived as male and the tree as female. If I am right in my interpretation of the tale (and there is small room for error), it follows that here in an out-of-the-way corner of Europe survives a primitive conception which can be traced backwards, thanks to the Cretan *sarcophagus*, for the best part of four thousand years. The tale is this[2]:—

'A priest once went with his wife into the wood to cut timber. They found there a wood-cutter, with whom the woman went deeper into the wood. But the priest set about felling a wild pear-tree with his axe. He hewed and hewed till there was but a span left to cut through, and then he waited for his wife to come before cutting the rest. The tree, however, was so thick that it no longer held together, but collapsed of itself. No sooner had this happened than out of it came a she-bear, who said to the priest: "You must lie with me." "Hush!" replied the priest, "I am a holy man and dare not do so." "That's all one to me; do what I tell you," said the she-bear, and looked at him with so fierce a look that he was scared and, for good or ill, did what she wanted.

[1] C. Carapanos *op. cit.* p. 109 pl. 57, 6 and 6 *bis* (=my fig. 619). Length 0·21^{m}.

[2] Text unpublished; German translation in J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 72 ff. no. 75 'Das Bärenkind.'

Afterwards the she-bear had a child, who grew up strong, but being unlike the other bear-children got called a bastard. So one day the youngster asked his mother whether what his brothers said about him was true. And she made answer: "You have the axe for father." "Oh! mother, can the axe then beget children?" asked the boy, and pressed his mother for an answer till she said: "Take the axe, stand with it before the church, and ask—To whom does this axe belong? And, whoever recognises it, that man is your father." The boy did as he was bidden; but one after the other the people came out of church, and nobody would claim the axe. At last the priest too came out, and asked the boy: "Where did you get that axe from? It is mine!" And he replied: "If it is yours, so am I!" "Hush, blasphemer!" "Why so? You are in truth my father." So the boy went home with the priest, who said to his wife: "See, I've brought you this boy to serve you." The wife was pleased and said: "That's capital! Many thanks."

The first day the boy ate a loaf of bread. The second, he ate as much as the priest took in a whole month. Thereupon the priest said "You're no good to us!" and handed him over to a baker. Here the boy ate all the bread that the baker baked.

Then the king's cook came to the oven and, having had a look at him, told his master that he had seen such a fellow. The king was astonished, had the lad brought before him, and asked: "Can you load sixty mules with timber?" "Certainly," said he; "only you must have an axe made to suit me." Then the king had an axe made that weighed a hundred pounds. But the lad took it in his hands, broke it in pieces, and said: "That's no good to me; I must have a stouter one." After this they made him one that weighed five hundred pounds. He swung it with a single hand, and said: "That's the right axe for me!" He took the mules, went with them into a coppice, brought his axe to bear on the trees, and promptly had his sixty mules laden. On his way back he passed a plane-tree, seized it with his hands, wrenched it out of the ground, and carried it over his shoulder. Coming into the town like this, he tore down with his tree the roofs of the huts which stood beside his way. When the king saw him marching along, he was astonished and said to the baker: "He does indeed eat much, but he works much too; I will take him into my service." As time went on, the bear-child grew stronger and stronger. This great strength began to cause the king so much anxiety that he feared for his life. So he sent the lad forth to fetch the treasures of the Dogs-heads, hoping that these heads would devour him. But first they agreed that the king should give half his kingdom to the bear's son, if he brought the treasures. Off he went, beat the Dogs-heads, won thereby half the kingdom, and lived happily. But we here live more happily still.'

This folk-tale, which in part falls under J. G. von Hahn's thirty-seventh *formula*—'Strong Hans[1]'—and contains obvious parallels to the myth of Herakles, belongs to a very ancient *stratum* of human thought, and we need not hesitate to recognise in the axe-father and the tree-mother of the hero a genuine echo of primitive belief.

[1] J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 59. The closest resemblance to our tale is borne by one from Argyllshire entitled 'The son of the Strong Man of the Wood' (J. Macdougall *Folk and Hero Tales* London 1891 p. 187 ff.).

(σ) The sword and the sacred tree at Rhegion.

The appearance of the tree-mother as a bear suggests comparison with Artemis, whose relations to that animal are well known[1]. It is therefore interesting to find that Orestes, when he fled from the Taurian land with the image of Artemis, touched at Rhegion for purposes of purification, built there a temple of Apollon, and on departure left his sword in a tree, where it was long to be seen[2]. The 'Swordsman's Harbour' at Rhegion perhaps commemorated his exploit[3]. Further, he bore the image of Artemis done up in a bundle of rods, from which circumstance she received her title *Phakelîtis*[4] or *Phakelíne*[5], the goddess 'of the Bundle.' I have elsewhere[6] argued that this title enables us to regard as analogous cases the axe projecting from a bundle of rods, which was carried by the Roman lictor[7], and the iron scimitar set up on numerous bundles of sticks, which was worshipped by the Scythians[8].

Another myth that should be considered in this connexion is that of Myrrha, the daughter of Kinyras. According to one version[9], she loved her own father, made him drunk, and consorted with him[10]. When he realised what had happened, he pursued her with a drawn sword. Hereupon she was changed into a 'myrrh'-tree. Her father struck it with his sword; and from the tree Adonis was born. It may be suspected that in this form of the story the sword has taken the place of a double axe. For a copper of Myra in Lykia issued by Gordianus iii Pius (238—244 A.D.) shows a tree, with a female

[1] J. J. Bachofen *Der Bær in den Religionen des Alterthums* Basel 1863 p. 15 ff., S. Reinach in the *Revue celtique* 1900 xxi. 287 ff. with pl. 1 (=*id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1905 i. 55 ff. with fig. 1), Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* Index p. 1898 *s.v.* 'Bär,' O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 176. *Supra* i. 417, 421 f., 442, 453 n. 5, 784.

[2] Varro and Cato *ap.* Prob. *in* Verg. *ecl. praef.* p. 348 Lion.

[3] In Hesych. Ξιφίρου λιμήν· Αἰσχύλος Γλαύκῳ Ποντιεῖ. ὁ πορθμός. ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα τὰ περὶ Ῥήγιον ὠρείων I. Casaubon cj. ξιφήρου, which F. G. Schneidewin *Diana Phacelitis et Orestes apud Rheginos et Siculos* Gottingae 1832 p. 11 corrected into ξιφήρους. A. Meineke in *Philologus* 1858 xiii. 510 f. proposed Ξιφήρους λιμήν· and [τὰ] περὶ Ῥήγιον ...Ὠρίων(ος ἔργον) on the strength of Diod. 4. 85. See further J. Alberti and M. Schmidt *ad loc.*, A. Nauck on Aisch. *frag.* 33 Nauck[2], Philipp in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 496. It is uncertain whether ξιφήρης refers to Orion, as in Eur. *Ion* 1153, or to Orestes (cp. Strab. 239 ξιφήρης οὖν ἐστιν ἀεί of the priest at Nemi, whose mythical prototype was Orestes).

[4] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 2. 116, Prob. *loc. cit.* Cp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl. praef.* p. 95 Lion.

[5] Lucil. *sat.* 3 *frag.* 72 Bährens.

[6] *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 362 n. 3.

[7] *Supra* p. 633 ff.

[8] *Supra* p. 547 n. 3.

[9] Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 5. 72, Hyg. *fab.* 164, Fulgent. *myth.* 3. 8, Myth. Vat. 1. 200, 2. 34, 3. 11. 17. That Kinyras pursued his daughter with a sword is stated also by Apollod. 3. 14. 4, Ov. *met.* 10. 471 ff., interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 10. 18.

[10] On the significance of such incest see the convincing remarks of Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 43 f.

image in its branches, attacked by two men with double axes and defended by two snakes (fig. 620)[1]. This unusual design can be paralleled by *quasi*-autonomous coppers of Aphrodisias in Karia: here a leafless tree is attacked by two naked men, wearing Phrygian caps, of whom one brandishes a double axe and the other kneels or runs away (figs. 621, 622)[2]. On specimens struck by Saloninus (253—266 (?) A.D.) (fig. 623)[3] or Valerianus (253—260 A.D.) (fig.



Fig. 620.



Fig. 621.



Fig. 622.



Fig. 623.



Fig. 624.

624)[4] a third man is present, with uplifted arms. A. Löbbecke[5] and F. Imhoof-Blumer[6] interpret these coins of Myra and Aphrodisias as representing the myth of Myrrha. The latter scholar even supposes that the third person present (a grown man!) is meant for Adonis. In my opinion it is far more probable that the coins of both towns commemorate a local rite of threatening the sacred tree in order to make it fruitful. Sir James Frazer collects analogous

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia pp. liv f., 71 pl. 15, 6 (=my fig. 620), Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen* Leipzig 1889 p. 63 pl. 10, 42, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 78 pl. 15, 6, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 695 f. fig. 316. G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia p. 71 describes the goddess as 'simulacrum of Artemis Eleuthera, wearing modius and veil' (cp. Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 35 ἡ λεγομένη παρὰ Λυκίοις Ἐλευθέρα), but *ib.* p. liv admits that there may be 'a contamination of the cult of Eleuthera with the legend of Myrrha or of Myrike' (cp. J. Murr *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* Innsbruck 1890 pp. 76 f., 106 f.).

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 36 pl. 6, 7, Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *op. cit.* p. 64 pl. 10, 43 (=my fig. 621), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 610. Fig. 622 is from a specimen in my collection.

[3] Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 142 f. no. 422 pl. 9, 29 (=my fig. 623).

[4] A. Löbbecke in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1890 xvii. 11 f. pl. 2, 1 (=my fig. 624).

[5] A. Löbbecke *loc. cit.*

[6] Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 143.

rites from the East Indies, Japan, Armenia, South Slavonia, Bulgaria, Lesbos, Sicily, the Abruzzi, etc.[1]. A sample will serve:

'On Christmas Eve many a South Slavonian and Bulgarian peasant swings an axe threateningly against a barren fruit-tree, while another man standing by intercedes for the menaced tree, saying, "Do not cut it down; it will soon bear fruit." Thrice the axe is swung, and thrice the impending blow is arrested at the entreaty of the intercessor. After that the frightened tree will certainly bear fruit next year[2].'

If this be the *drómenon* portrayed on our coins, it is obvious that they need not have anything to do with Myrrha and her 'myrrh'-tree.

The sword left in the tree is a circumstance which occurs in the tales of other nations also. The Volsung saga[3], for example, tells how king Rerir and his wife remained without a son till Ljod, daughter of the giant Hrimnir, was sent in the form of a crow by Freyia to bring them an apple. She let the apple fall into the lap of the king as he sat upon a mound. He took it home and came to the queen, who ate part of it. After a sickness lasting six winters she was forcibly delivered of a man-child, great of growth from his birth, who was called Volsung and became king of Hunland in the room of his father. He married Ljod, Hrimnir's daughter, and had by her ten sons and one daughter. Now king Volsung built his hall in such a manner that it enclosed a big oak-tree. The trunk stood in the hall; the branches and blossoms[4] spread out over the roof. The tree was termed a *barnstokk* or 'child-tree' and also, somewhat inconsequently, *apaldr*, an 'apple-tree.' At the marriage-feast of king Volsung's daughter Signy and Siggeir king of Gothland a huge one-eyed old man[5], bare-footed but wearing a spotted cloak and tight linen breeches, entered the hall. He drew his sword[6] and plunged it up to the hilts in the tree-trunk, declaring that whosoever could pull it out might keep it for his own. This said, he took his departure. Those present attempted to pull out the sword; but none succeeded save Sigmund, son of king Volsung.

Similarly in an Irish folk-tale[7], when Fin and the Fenians were at Fintra, a ship sailed into harbour with only one woman on board. She saluted Fin and asked whether he would play a game of chess

[1] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 20—22.

[2] *Id. ib.*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 21. Cp. the parable of the barren fig-tree in Luke 13. 6—9.

[3] Text and critical notes in E. Wilken *Die prosaische Edda* Paderborn 1877 i. 149 ff. ('Vǫlsungasaga' chap. 1 f.); English translation by E. Magnússon and W. Morris *The Story of the Volsungs and Niblungs* London 1870 p. 1 ff.

[4] My friend Prof. H. M. Chadwick informs me that the Icelandic writer may mean 'leaves.'

[5] Othin.

[6] Cp. *supra* p. 547 n. 3 for the sword of Mars owned by Attila, lord of the Hunni.

[7] Text unpublished; English translation by J. Curtin *Hero-Tales of Ireland* Boston 1894 p. 484 ff. ('Fin MacCool, Faolan, and the Mountain of Happiness').

with her for a sentence. Fin agreed. They played. She won and sentenced him to take her for his wife. After a time she said: 'I must leave you now for a season.' Fin then drove his sword into a tree-stump and said: 'Call your son *Faolan* ("Little Wolf"), and never send him to me until he is able to draw the sword from this stump.' She took the stump with her and sailed away homeward. She nursed her son for three days only, and called him *Faolan*. When ten years old, he was taunted by a playmate for not knowing who his father was. He asked his mother, who told him about Fin and the tree-stump. With one pull he drew out the sword, and then set forth, accompanied by his mother's blessing, to find his father. His subsequent adventures do not here concern us; but it is obvious that thus far the story has at least some points in common with J. G. von Hahn's tale from Dodona and with the Volsung saga.

(τ) The axes and the sacred oaks at Dotion.

The enormous appetite of the strong man in the folk-tale from Dodona reminds us, not only of the ever-hungry Herakles, but also of the insatiate Erysichthon, whose myth again includes the incident of an axe left in a sacred tree.

The story is told by Kallimachos[1] as follows. The Pelasgians, before they migrated from Thessaly to Knidos, had planted a grove for Demeter at Dotion. Here dwelt the royal family of the Triopidai. Erysichthon, son of Triopas, acting under some infatuation, armed his followers with axes and hatchets, and invaded the grove. The first tree attacked was a magnificent poplar[2], which groaned aloud. Demeter heard it and, appearing in the likeness of her priestess, attempted to dissuade the madman. He at once threatened to fell her with his axe, being bent on fashioning the timbers of a house in which to feast with his friends. Demeter in wrath resumed her godlike form; and Erysichthon's comrades horror-struck left their axes sticking in the oaks[3]. She punished their chief by inflicting on him a hunger that nothing would satisfy.

Ovid[4] tells the same tale with some variations. He describes the tree cut down by Erysichthon as an ancient oak[5] adorned with fillets and tablets by the pious rustics. Though the Dryads had often danced beneath it, the son of Triops bade his servants fell it. When they hesitated, he caught up an axe and swore that the tree should fall, though it were not merely the favourite of the goddess,

[1] Kallim. *h. Dem.* 24—117.
[2] *Id. ib.* 37 αἴγειρος. *Supra* p. 497 n. 5.
[3] *Id. ib.* 60 ἐνὶ δρυσὶ χαλκὸν ἀφέντες.
[4] Ov. *met.* 8. 738 ff.
[5] *Id. ib.* 8. 743 ingens annoso robore quercus.

but the goddess herself. Thereupon the 'Deoïan' oak[1] shivered and groaned and blanched, and at the first stroke shed blood. One of those present protested: Erysichthon beheaded him on the spot, and went on with his impious work. From the stricken trunk was heard the voice of the tree-nymph, who, ere she died, prophesied the evil end of the Thessalian. The Dryads implored Ceres to avenge their sister's fate. She banished Erysichthon to Scythia, the abode of Hunger[2].

It would seem that neither Kallimachos nor Ovid has preserved the primitive form of this myth[3]. In particular, the axe imbedded in the sacred tree has been treated as a mere symptom of surprise on the part of Erysichthon's followers, while the perpetual appetite of the strong man[4] has been misinterpreted as a punishment for his impious action. Such changes are indicative of a romantic and moralising age.

(*v*) The knife and the sacred oak at Phylake.

One other example of a weapon fixed in a sacred tree occurs, in the myth of Phylakos. It is related as follows by Apollodoros[5]. Phylakos, the eponym of Phylake in Phthiotis, having learnt that Melampous was a excellent seer, asked him to cure the childless condition of his son Iphiklos. Melampous sacrificed two bulls, cut them limb from limb, and invited the birds to the feast. From a vulture that came he learnt the facts of the case. Phylakos had once, when gelding rams, laid down his knife covered with blood on the severed portions beside Iphiklos[6]. The boy being terrified

[1] *Id. ib.* 8. 758 Deoïa quercus.

[2] What Kallimachos and Ovid relate of Erysichthon was by others related of Triopas himself. Diod. 5. 61 says that Triopas, son of Helios and Rhodos, helped the sons of Deukalion to drive the Pelasgians out of Thessaly. When he came to divide up the land, he laid waste the precinct of Demeter in the plain of Dotion, and used its timber to make a palace: hence he was hated by the natives and had to fly the country. He sailed to Knidos, and there founded the Triopion. Diodoros adds that some authorities made Triopas the son of Poseidon and Kanake (Kallim. *h. Dem.* 98 f.), others of Lapithes son of Apollon and Stilbe daughter of Peneios.

[3] On the development of the myth see O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1373—1384 and O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 571—574.

[4] Erysichthon occurs as the name of a Giant, probably the adversary of Demeter, on the frieze of the great altar at Pergamon (H. Winnefeld in *Pergamon* iii. 2. 154, M. Fränkel *ib.* viii. 1. 65 no. 114 'Ερυσίχθων on a fragment found S.E. of the altar).

[5] Apollod. 1. 9. 12. *Supra* p. 452.

[6] *παραγενομένου δὲ αἰγυπιοῦ, παρὰ τούτου μανθάνει δὴ ὅτι Φύλακός ποτε κριοὺς τέμνων ἐπὶ τῶν αἰδοίων παρὰ τῷ Ἰφίκλῳ τὴν μάχαιραν ἡμαγμένην ἔτι κατέθετο, δείσαντος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ φυγόντος αὖθις κατὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς δρυὸς αὐτὴν ἔπηξε, καὶ ταύτην ἀμφιτροχάσας ἐκάλυψεν ὁ φλοιός.* The words *ἐπὶ τῶν αἰδοίων*, which R. Hercher would delete, must—as the text stands—refer to the genitals of the rams. It is, however, possible that they arose from a gloss on *παρὰ τῷ Ἰφίκλῳ*, in which case Apollodoros will agree with schol.

had run away. Phylakos had then thrust the knife back into the sacred oak-tree, the bark of which had compassed it about and concealed it from view. If Melampous could now find the knife, scrape the rust off it, and give it to Iphiklos to drink for ten days in succession, Iphiklos would beget a child. Thus instructed by the vulture, Melampous found the knife, scraped the rust off it, and for ten days in succession gave it to Iphiklos to drink, the result being that a son Podarkes was born to him. In this story we may presume that the generative power of the rams[1] passed from them to the knife and so to the rust that was put in Iphiklos' drink[2]. But why was the knife thrust into the sacred oak? Or rather, why was it 'thrust *back*' into the oak? This implies that the gelding knife was kept in the tree. It was—we remember—'beneath the tall oaks' that Zeus himself gelded Kronos[3]. Perhaps the idea was that a blade so highly charged with procreative force would permanently fertilise the sacred oak. If so, we have here another instance of the weapon regarded as *quasi*-male, the tree as *quasi*-female.

(φ) Axe-blades and axe-hafts in the megalithic art of western Europe.

The connexion here suggested between weapon and tree, blade and haft, is to some extent confirmed by evidence from western Europe. As far back as 1867 A. de Longpérier put forward the idea that in Gaul there may have been a cult of the axe comparable with that of Assyria, Egypt, Karia, Tenedos, and Pagasai[4]. S. Reinach in 1894 grouped together the sacred axes of all ages from the quaternary era downwards and regarded them as symbols of the lightning-flash[5]. Lastly, J. Déchelette in his admirable *Manuel d'archéologie*[6], after a more detailed study of the subject, arrives at the following conclusion:

'Thus the representations of the axe symbol in prehistoric art offer three variants—the hatchet complete, that is to say the blade furnished with its handle, the blade alone, and the handle alone. It is impossible for us to deter-

Theokr. 3. 43—45 c p. 129, 24 ff. Wendel Φυλάκῳ τῷ πατρί, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ χώρα Φυλάκη ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐκτέμνοντι (C. F. W. Jacobs adds ζῷα) ὁ Ἰφικλος παῖς ὢν παρίστατο· ὃν ἐκπλῆξαι ὁ πατὴρ θέλων ἦν εἶχε μάχαιραν εἰς τὸ πλησίον δένδρον ἐμπῆξαι ὥρμησε, καὶ συνέβη ἐπενεγκεῖν αὐτὴν τοῖς μορίοις τοῦ παιδός. κ.τ.λ. (quoted by Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1685, 38 ff.).

[1] *Supra* i. 429 f., 717, 779.

[2] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 158 f.

[3] *Supra* p. 448 n. 1, *infra* Append. G *med.*

[4] A. de Longpérier in the *Comptes rendus de la seconde session du Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistoriques* Paris 1867 pp. 37—40 = G. Schlumberger *Œuvres de A. de Longpérier* Paris 1883 i. 218—221.

[5] S. Reinach *Bronzes Figurés de la Gaule Romaine* Paris 1894 p. 167.

[6] J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1908 i. 610.

mine the symbolic value that should be ascribed to each of these mysterious signs ; but the fact that they appear on monuments dedicated to the shades of ancestors, in other words, on stones that are sacred, is enough to prove that their character is, in the etymological sense of the term, hieroglyphic.'

Where Déchelette is negative, it would be rash to be positive. But I note, as a point tending to support my interpretation of the



Fig. 625.

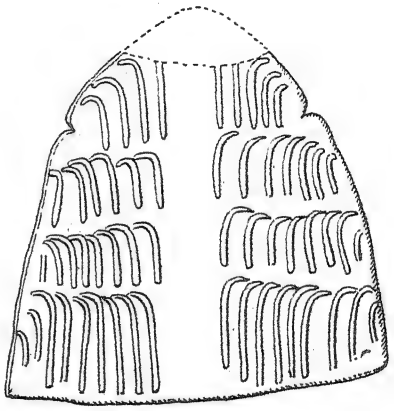


Fig. 626.

'Minoan' *data*, that in the contemporaneous[1] megalithic art of Gaul axe-blade (fig. 625)[2] and axe-handle (fig. 626)[3] were regarded as distinct entities, which might occur separately as well as in com-

[1] *Id. ib.* i. 612.

[2] *Dictionnaire archéologique de la Gaule, époque celtique* Paris 1867 pl. 16, 9 (=my fig. 625. Scale $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{6}$), 1875 p. 110 f. from the *allée couverte* of Gavr' Inis in the *commune* of Baden (Morbihan), J. Déchelette *op. cit.* i. 605 f. fig. 241, 608, *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 194 with fig. 19. Cp. M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*[2] Wien 1915 pp. 222 fig. 3, 226. For early bronze-age examples from Portugal see P. Paris in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. p. 335 f. figs. 28 (a schist slab from Defesa (S. Tiago de Cacem) showing in low relief a sword, a club (?), and the head of an axe with recurved blade) and 29 (fragment of a similar slab, found near Panoias de Ourique, showing an axe-head with recurved blade), J. Déchelette *op. cit.* 1910 ii. 1. 490 ff. fig. 208 (the slab from Defesa), M. Hoernes *op. cit.*[2] p. 214 ff. fig. 1 (the slab from Defesa, and two others).

[3] J. Déchelette *op. cit.* 1908 i. 609 f. fig. 244, 1 (=my fig. 626) after A. de Mortillet 'Les figures sculptées sur les monuments mégalithiques de la France' in the *Revue mensuelle de l'École d'Anthropologie de Paris* 1894 p. 291 fig. 80, *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 194 with fig. 20. From the dolmen known as *La Table des Marchands* at Locmariaquer (Morbihan).

bination (fig. 627)[1]. If we take into account on the one hand the Scandinavian rock-carvings of the Bronze Age, which represent an

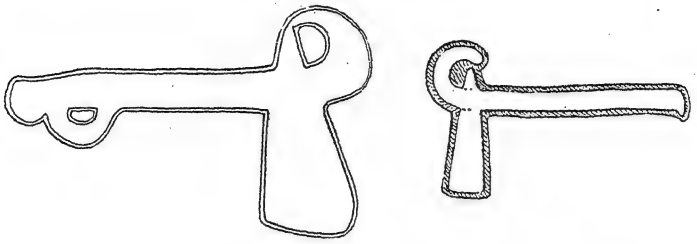


Fig. 627.

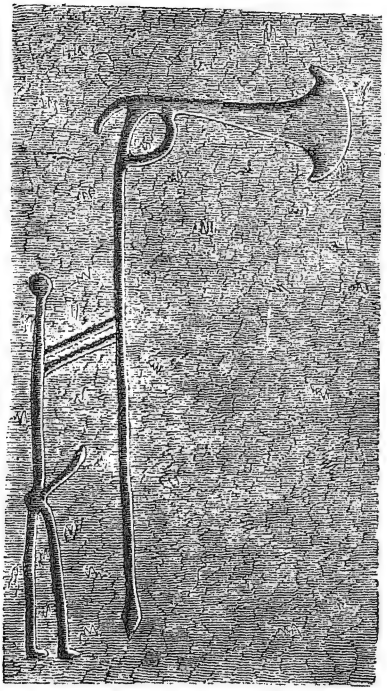


Fig. 628.

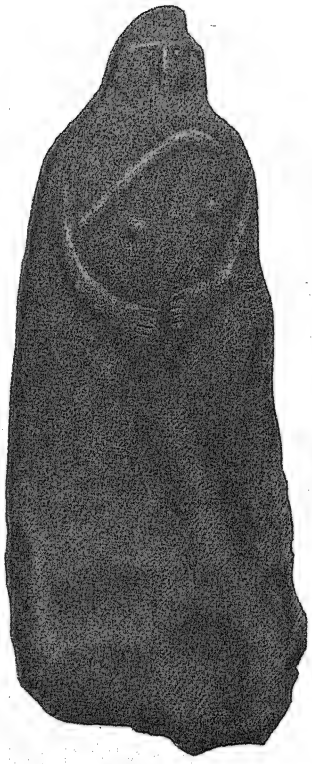


Fig. 629.

ithyphallic male bearing an axe (fig. 628)[2], and on the other hand

[1] J. Déchelette *op. cit.* 1908 i. 606 fig. 242, 1 and 2 (=my fig. 627), 608 after A. de Mortillet *loc. cit.* p. 300 f. figs. 94 and 95, *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 192 with fig. 18. The axes here shown are incised on *La Table des Marchands* at Locmariaquer and on the *allée couverte* of Gavr' Inis. A photograph of the first is printed by M. Hoernes *op. cit.* pp. 223 fig. 2, 226.

[2] O. Montelius *The Civilisation of Sweden in Heathen Times* trans. F. H. Woods

London 1888 p. 54 fig. 53 (=my fig. 628), P. B. du Chaillu *The Viking Age* London 1889 ii. 131 fig. 906, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 73 pl. 23, 8 (reversed). From a rock at Simrislund (Scania) in S. Sweden. Height of man 1 ft. 6 ins.: length of axe-handle 1 ft. 8 ins.: length of axe-head nearly 1 ft. 2 ins.

The designs hammered on rocks high up in the Italian Maritime Alps, described and drawn *in primis* by C. Bicknell (bibliography in J. Déchelette *op. cit.* 1910 ii. 1. 493 n. 2),

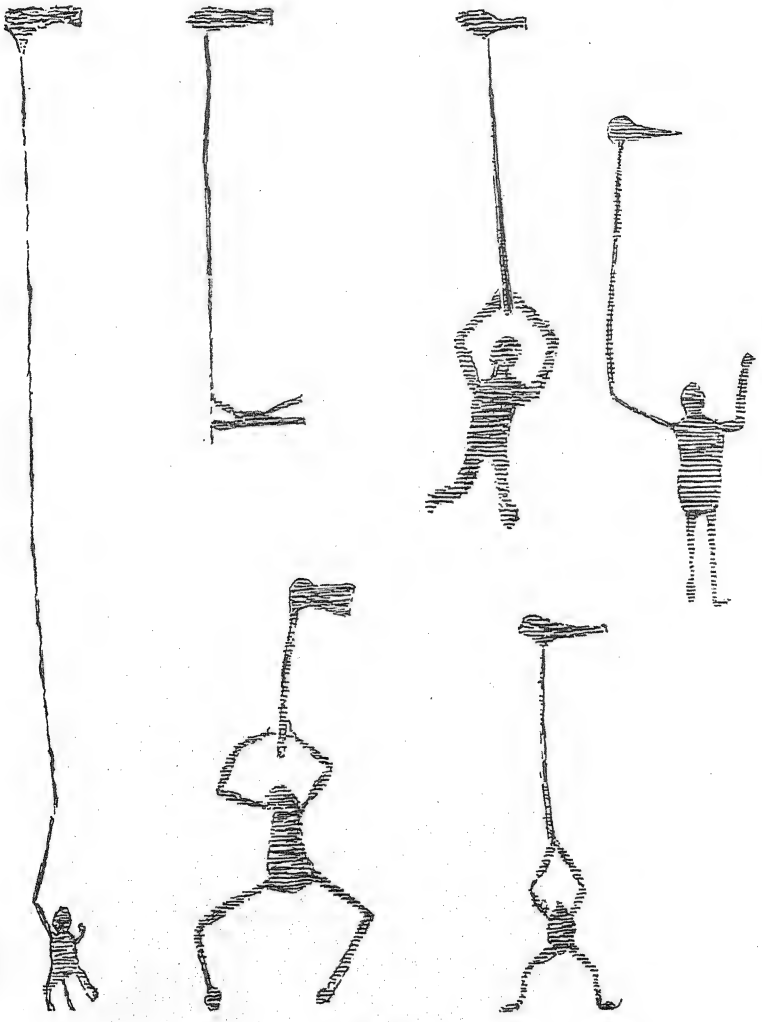


Fig. 630.

include numerous examples of little men uplifting large axes (*id. ib.* 1910 ii. 1. 495 with fig. 209, 7—12, M. Hoernes *op. cit.*[2] p. 216 with fig. 2 on p. 215). They appear to be the work of Ligurian hands (G. Dottin *Les anciens peuples de l'Europe* Paris 1916 p. 187) during the earlier part of the Bronze Age (Sir A. J. Evans in *The Athenæum* Dec. 25, 1897, p. 890, *id.* 'The European diffusion of pictography and its bearings on the origin of script' in R. R. Marett *Anthropology and the Classics* Oxford 1908 p. 39 with fig. 20

(upside down)), and had almost certainly some religious or symbolic value. Figs. 630, 631

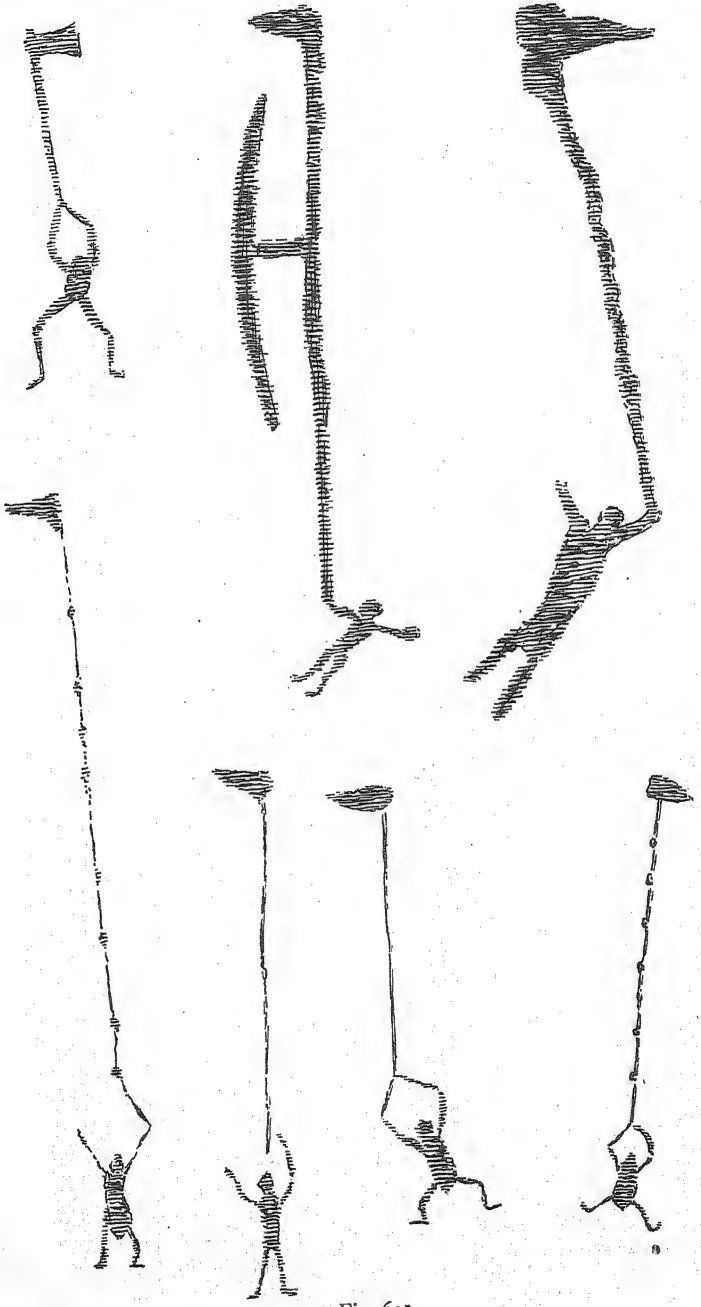


Fig. 631.

the carved slabs of the same age[1] from the dolmen of Collorgues in Gard, which represent a female bearing an axe-handle (fig. 629)[2], we may be disposed to allow that blade *plus* handle sometimes symbolised the union of male with female—a symbol that probably arose in neolithic times[3].

(χ) The axes of Penelope.

If in 'Minoan' times the hafted axe thus denoted the union of male with female, it is possible that there was some such notion underlying the marriage-test proposed by Penelope:

> Behold the dawn comes, dawn of evil name
> That is to take me from Odysseus' home;
> For now forthwith a contest will I make,
> To wit the axes, which within his halls
> My lord was wont to set, twelve in a row,
> Like ship-stays, and himself far off would stand
> And send a single arrow through them all.
> Now on the wooers will I lay this task:
> Whoso most easily shall string the bow
> And shoot a shaft through the axes, twelve in all,
> Him will I follow and forsake this house,
> Where I was wed, so fair, so full of wealth,
> That I shall mind me of it even in dreams[4].

The *Odyssey* certainly gives no hint that the contest was anything more than an athletic competition. Nevertheless, athletic competitions in Greece were often religious in their origin; and it may be that in this feature of the story, as in some others (*e.g.* the tree-bed of Odysseus[5]), the poet is modernising materials of immemorial antiquity.

are from C. Bicknell *The Prehistoric Rock Engravings in the Italian Maritime Alps* Bordighera 1902 pp. 41, 73 pl. 7, *f* (Val Fontanalba), *id. Further Explorations in the Regions of the Prehistoric Rock Engravings in the Italian Maritime Alps* Bordighera 1903 pp. 14, 36 pl. 3, 9 (Val Fontanalba).

[1] So S. Reinach in *L'Anthropologie* 1894 v. 12, 1901 xii. 606, 608, cp. E. d'Acy *ib.* 1901 xii. 608. But M. Hoernes *op. cit.*[2] p. 218 says: 'aus dem Ende der Steinzeit und den frühesten Metallperioden.' And J. Déchelette *op. cit.* 1908 i. 587 ff. treats them as neolithic.

[2] F. Hermet 'Sculptures préhistoriques dans les deux cantons de Saint-Affrique et de Saint-Sernin' in the *Mémoires de la Société des Lettres, Sciences et Arts de l'Aveyron* 1892 xiv. 1—22 with pl., É. Cartailhac 'La divinité féminine et les sculptures de l'allée couverte d'Épône, Seine-et-Oise' in *L'Anthropologie* 1894 v. 152 f. figs. 7 and 8 (=my fig. 629), J. Déchelette *op. cit.* 1908 i. 588 fig. 226, 7 and 8, M. Hoernes *op. cit.*[2] p. 217 figs. 7 and 8.

[3] *I.e.* when the blade was hafted into the handle, not the handle into the blade. For neolithic as opposed to bronze-age haftings see *e.g.* Forrer *Reallex.* pls. 21 and 23.

[4] *Od.* 19. 571—581.

[5] W. Crooke 'The Wooing of Penelope' in *Folk-lore* 1898 ix. 131 ('I may, perhaps, hazard the suggestion that in the earlier form of the tale this olive tree was the marriage tree

The name *Penelópe* or *Penelópeia* is a legitimate derivative of *penélops*[1], 'wild duck' or 'goose[2].' According to Didymos Chalkenteros, an Alexandrine *savant* whose life-time covered the beginning of our era, Penelope was first called Ameirake or Arnakia, but, when cast into the sea by Nauplios in revenge for the fate of his son Palamedes and rescued from that predicament by wild ducks, was re-named *Penelópe*[3]. Others said that her name had been changed from Arnaia[4] or Arnea (?)[5] to *Penelópe* because, when flung into the sea by her own parents, she was brought safely ashore and restored to them by wild ducks. Recent critics, discussing the Penelope of epic and non-epic tradition, have resolved her into an Arcadian or Laconian goddess[6]. Thus E. Meyer[7], laying stress on the common Greek belief[8] that she was by Hermes the mother of the Arcadian Pan[9], concludes that originally a goddess (Artemis ?) surnamed *Penelópe* gave birth to Pan at Mantineia[10], where in later days her grave was shown[11]. F. Solmsen[12] too regards it as certain that Penelope was an ancient goddess whose home was Arkadia, especially eastern Arkadia, and Lakonike. Here in the second millennium B.C., at a time when theriomorphic conceptions were wide-spread throughout Greece, she took the form of the bird *penélops*. Lastly, J. A. K. Thomson[13] in his venturesome but

of the lovers, and that a very primitive and obsolete incident of wedding ritual assumed this rather clumsy form in the later recension'). But *id. ib.* p. 131 n. 4 cites J. T. Bent *The Cyclades* London 1885 p. 22 for a parallel in modern Greece to the bed as described by Homer. In *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 172 f. I have given some examples of life-trees built into castles.

[1] A. Fick—F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Personennamen*[2] Göttingen 1894 p. 418, F. Solmsen 'Odysseus und Penelope' in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1909 xlii. 232 f. I tentatively advocated this view in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 194.

[2] On the πηνέλοψ see D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 147 f., O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 234 f.

[3] Didymos *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1422, 6 ff. and schol. *Od.* 4. 797.

[4] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 792 ('Αρναία codd.).

[5] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9. 79 ('Αρνέα codd. B.C.E. 'Αρνέαν cod. Q. But A. B. Drachmann restores 'Αρναία from Tzetz. *loc. cit.*). See further J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1906, K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1820, ii. 1201—1203.

[6] Nonn. *Dion.* 14. 92 f. speaks of Νύμφης |...Πηνελοπείης (cp. *ib.* 24. 87), whom however he does not identify with the Homeric heroine. Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 772 says expressly ὁ Πὰν γὰρ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Πηνελόπης ἄλλης.

[7] E. Meyer 'Der Ursprung des Odysseusmythus' in *Hermes* 1895 xxx. 264.

[8] Hdt. 2. 145.

[9] W. H. Roscher 'Die Sagen von der Geburt des Pan' in *Philologus* 1894 liii. 368 ff., *id. Lex. Myth.* iii. 1380.

[10] Apollod. *epit.* 7. 38. See also W. H. Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1354 f., 1357, 1380.

[11] Paus. 8. 12. 5 ff.

[12] F. Solmsen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1909 xlii. 233.

[13] J. A. K. Thomson *Studies in the Odyssey* Oxford 1914 p. 48 ff. This book does not deserve all the hard things said of it by a somewhat petulant critic in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1914 xxxiv. 335.

most suggestive *Studies in the Odyssey* maintains that Penelope, like Artemis *Stymphalía*[1], was a local Arcadian *kóre* in the shape of a water-fowl, and points out that her other titles *Arnakía, Arnaía, Arnéa* (?) mean 'She of Arne,' the famous spring near Mantineia. 'Penelope,' he says, '...was evidently the divine Penelops of Arne[2].' This is to treat a possibility as a certainty. But the hypothesis itself is by no means absurd[3].

In any case the occurrence of a bird-name in connexion with the episode of the axes *donne à penser*. It recalls the birds perched on the axes of the *sarcophagus* from *Hagia Triada*[4], and the bird on the axe-cleft tree at Dodona[5]. S. Wide[6], commenting on the complex, bird, axe, and tree, surmises that the bronze double axe, or rather its prototype the stone axe, belonged by rights to the bird regarded as *numen* of the sacred tree. The woodpecker with his chisel-shaped[7] beak was actually called *pelekâs, pelekán, spélektos*, the 'axe-bird[8]'; and many another popular name for him all over Europe bears witness to his reputation as a borer and fashioner of timber[9]. In this respect he has for rival the hoopoe, who is described by R. Lydekker as commonly breeding in hollow trees[10] and hammering on the ground at the production of each note[11]. D'Arcy W. Thompson[12] and Sir James Frazer[13] remark on the parallelism of these two birds in ancient belief. The myth of Tereus the hoopoe has a doublet in that of Polytechnos the woodpecker, the former being current on the western, the latter on the eastern side of the Aegean. Tereus, king

[1] K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1398 f., O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1563.

[2] J. A. K. Thomson *op. cit.* p. 59, cp. *ib.* p. viii.

[3] Farnell *Gk. Hero Cults* p. 62 scouts it, but without discussion.

[4] *Supra* pp. 518, 520.

[5] *Supra* p. 677.

[6] S. Wide 'Baum, Vogel und Axt' in the *Sertum philologicum Carolo Ferdinando Johansson oblatum* Göteborg 1910 pp. 62—69 with 4 figs. I am indebted to Miss Harrison for the loan of an offprint of this article.

[7] R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1894–95 iii. 551 'The bill in all the woodpeckers is strong and chisel-shaped, and is thus admirably adapted for hewing holes, and prising off bark to capture insects.'

[8] D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 pp. 136, 157.

[9] Extensive collections of woodpecker-names will be found in J. Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 pp. 330 ff. ('Woodpecker place- and person-names'), 416 f. ('Names of the Woodpecker'), *id. Picus who is also Zeus* Cambridge 1916 pp. 17 ff. ('The Woodpecker in the British Isles'), 37 ff. ('The popular names of the Woodpecker'), R. Riegler 'Spechtnamen' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1913 xxiii. 265—277.

[10] R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1895 iv. 57.

[11] *Ib. ib.* iv. 59.

[12] D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 pp. 52, 56 f., *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 80.

[13] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful ii. 70 n. 2.

of Thrace, armed with a double axe (*pélekys*)[1], pursued Prokne and Philomela till the gods changed them all into birds—Tereus becoming a hoopoe, Prokne a nightingale, Philomela a swallow. Just so Polytechnos of Kolophon, to whom Hephaistos had given a double axe (*pélekys*), pursued Aëdon and Chelidonis till Zeus transformed the whole family into birds—Polytechnos into a woodpecker (*pelekán*), the brother of Aëdon into a hoopoe, etc.[2] The boast of Polytechnos and Aëdon that they loved each other more than Zeus and Hera suggests that *Polýtechnos* was originally an epithet of Zeus[3] conceived as a woodpecker[4]. If so, *Tereús* too may have been

[1] So Apollod. 3. 14. 8. Other mythographers arm Tereus with a sword (Konon *narr.* 31, Ov. *met.* 6. 666, 673, Ach. Tat. 5. 3 and 5. 5, schol. Aristoph. *av.* 212), Aristophanes equips him with shield and lance (Aristoph. *Lys.* 563), and an Apulian vase at Naples gives him a couple of spears (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 533 f. no. 3233, J. Roulez in the *Nouv. Ann.* 1839 ii. 261 ff. pl. 21 and pl. D, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 239 f., 1, 2). F. G. Welcker *Die Aeschylische Trilogie Prometheus und die Kabirenweihe zu Lemnos* Darmstadt 1824 p. 502 n. 796, E. Oder in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1888 xliii. 555, and O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2345 n.** take the πέλεκυς to be a trait borrowed from the Asia Minor version.

[2] Ant. Lib. 11 (citing Boios ὀρνιθογονία).

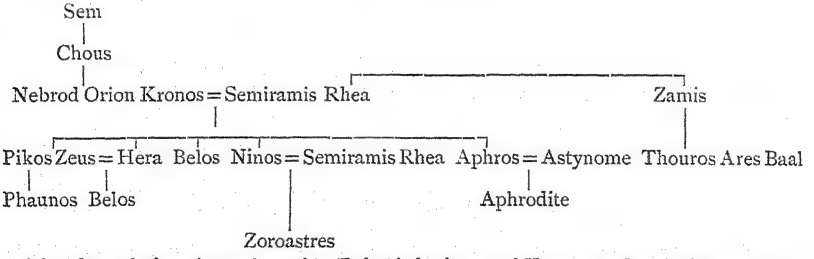
[3] Cp. the description of the Dodonaean Zeus in Pind. *frag.* 57 Schroeder *ap.* Dion Chrys. *or.* 12 p. 416 Reiske Δωδωναῖε μεγασθενὲς | ἀριστότεχνα πάτερ.' οὗτος γὰρ δὴ πρῶτος καὶ τελειότατος δημιουργός, χορηγὸν λαβὼν τῆς αὑτοῦ τέχνης, οὐ τὴν Ἠλείων πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πᾶσαν τοῦ παντὸς ὕλην. S. Wide in the *Sertum philologicum Carolo Ferdinando Johansson oblatum* Göteborg 1910 p. 66 ff. thinks that the priests of Dodona got their name τόμαροι (τόμουροι), 'carpenters,' from the sacred doves nesting in the hollow oak ('Es lag ja nahe, den in dem heiligen Baume pickenden Vogel Τόμαρος zu nennen, denn er war ja ein Zimmermann mit der Axt, vgl. die modernen Benennungen des Spechtes: Schweiz. *Zimmermann*, französ. Volkssprache *Charpentier*, italien. *Carpentiere*,...u.s.w.'). Τόμουροι may indeed mean 'cutters,' as I conjectured years ago (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 180 f.), understanding thereby a clan privileged to cut the sacred oaks; but that they were named after a 'cutter'-dove seems to me improbable. It was the priestesses, not the priests, who, according to some, were known as πελειάδες (*supra* i. 443).

[4] The phrase Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, to which I drew attention some time since (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 412, *Folk-lore* 1904 xv. 387), has in sundry quarters *fait fortune*—see *e.g.* Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 161, W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 265 n. 1 with context, and especially the interesting little volume of my friend J. Rendel Harris *Picus who is also Zeus* Cambridge 1916. It seems, therefore, worth while to attempt some investigation of its antecedents, a task in which, so far as Byzantine literature is concerned, I have had the kind assistance of Prof. J. B. Bury.

The *Weltchronik*, as contained in the compilation of Georgios Kedrenos (*c.* 1100 A.D.), is to the following effect (Kedren. *hist. comp.* 15 B ff. (i. 28 ff. Bekker), cp. *ib.* 20 D (i. 37), 81 D (i. 144)):—Of the tribe of Sem (Shem) was Chous (Cush) the Aethiopian. He begat Nebrod (Nimrod) the founder of Babylon, called also Orion, who was the first to become king on earth: he ruled over Assyria and took as title the name of the planet Kronos. His wife was Semiramis, called also Rhea. Their children were Pikos, who took the name Zeus (Πῖκος, ὃς καὶ μετωνομάσθη Ζεύς), Belos, Ninos, and Hera. Ninos founded Nineui (Nineveh) and married his own mother Semiramis. Africanus adds that Kronos had another son, Aphros the forefather of the Aphroi (Africans), who married Astynome and begat Aphrodite. Kronos, expelled from his kingdom by his own son Zeus, went west-

wards and became ruler of Italy. Then Zeus, quitting Assyria, followed Kronos, who yielded to him the kingship of Italy. Having reigned for many years, Zeus died and was buried in Crete. Ninos as king of Assyria was succeeded by Thouros, called also Ares. The Assyrians changed his name to Baal or Bel, set up a statue of him, and worshipped him. After the death of Zeus, Phaunos his son became king and took the name Hermes. Aphrodite married Adonis son of Kinyras. Pikos, called also Zeus (Πῖκον τὸν καὶ Δία), was king of Assyria for thirty years and then, leaving the throne to his son Belos and to his wife and sister Hera, followed his father Kronos, who being old and infirm abdicated in his favour. So Pikos reigned in Italy for another sixty-two years. Belos his son was king of Assyria for two years. Ninos, the uncle of Belos, reigned for fifty-two years. A descendant of his was Zoroastres the famous astronomer, who prayed that he might be struck and consumed by celestial fire, and bade the Persians venerate his bones on pain of losing their empire (*supra* p. 35 f.)—a fate which they actually incurred. Ninos the brother of Zeus was succeeded as king of Assyria by Thouros, to whom Zamis his father, the brother of Rhea, gave the name of the planet Ares. This Ares slew the giant Kaukasos, who came from the tribe of Iapheth (Japheth), and passing over into Thrace died and was buried there. To him the Assyrians set up the first statue, worshipping him under the name of Baal. After him Lamis became king of Assyria, and then Sardanapalos, who was slain by Perseus, son of Zeus and Danaë. He transferred the empire from the Assyrians to his namesake Persians, over whom he ruled for fifty-three years. It must be borne in mind that this Pikos Zeus (Πῖκος οὗτος ὁ Ζεύς) was the greatest deceiver, charlatan, trickster, and magician of the whole human race. From his infancy to his old age—for he lived to be one hundred and twenty—he indulged in all manner of abominable sins, seducing no fewer than seventy fair maidens by means of mystic apparitions. For all that he persuaded men to regard him as a god. Worse still, when he died and was buried in Crete, his relatives, in accordance with his own behest, built him a temple and a tomb, on which they inscribed ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς.

This wild *farrago*, which implies the genealogy



and involves obvious inconsistencies (Belos is both son of Kronos and son of Zeus; he is also distinguished from Baal or Bel), was taken over by Kedrenos or his immediate source (K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*[2] München 1897 p. 369) from earlier chroniclers such as Georgios Monachos (*s.* ix) and Georgios Synkellos (*s.* viii). Souidas (*c.* 950 A.D.) used a similar source *s.v.* Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, citing the Cretan epitaph as ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς (*supra* i. 158 n. 2)—an itacism which occurs also in the narrative of Georg. Monachos *chron.* 1. 3 (i. 12 de Boor) ἔχων δὲ γυναῖκα Σεμίραμιν, τὴν καὶ Ῥέαν καλουμένην παρὰ Ἀσσυρίοις, ἔσχεν (*sc.* Κρόνος) υἱοὺς δύο καὶ θυγατέρα μίαν, καὶ τὸν μὲν προσηγόρευσε Δία εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ πλανήτου ἀστέρος, τὸν δὲ ἐπωνόμασε Νίνον, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἥραν, ἣν καὶ ἔλαβεν εἰς γυναῖκα Πῆκος (πῖκος codd. G.H.R. et L.[2] et sic deinceps πύκος hic cod. V.) ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀδελφήν, cp. *ib.* 1. 8 (i. 14) Περσεὺς ὁ υἱὸς Πήκου τοῦ καὶ Διός. Yet another spelling is found in Synkell. *chron.* 171 B (i. 322 f. Dindorf) ὅτι πρὸ Αἰνείου α' φασὶ Πεῖκον υἱὸν Κρόνου βασιλεῦσαι χώρας Λαυρέντου λζ'...μεθ' ὃν Φαῦνον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Πείκου τοῦ καὶ Διὸς ἔτη μδ'. τοῦτον δέ φασί τινες Ἑρμῆν, κ.τ.λ. and *ib.* 237 C (i. 450) τινὲς βούλονται Κρόνον πρῶτον Ἀλβανὸν κρατῆσαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἑσπέραν τόπων. μεθ' ὃν φασι Πεῖκον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸν καὶ Δία, βασιλεῦσαι· εἶτα Φαῦνον Διὸς υἱόν, τὸν καὶ Ἑρμῆν· κ.τ.λ. Further, the *Chronicon Paschale* (early in *s.* vii) 36 A ff. (i. 64 ff. Dindorf) already has the

whole story, later retailed by Kedrenos, together with the names of one or two authorities, *viz.* 38 B (i. 68) *ἄτινα συνεγράψατο Σεμηρώνιος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος Πέρσης* and 38 C (i. 69) *ὁ δὲ σοφώτατος Βρούττιος ὁ ἱστορικὸς καὶ χρονογράφος ἐξέθετο ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς κ.τ.λ.*: in 44 C (i. 80) it gives the epitaph in the form *ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσιν*. The source of the *Chronicon Paschale* was, according to Prof. Bury (but see K. Krumbacher *op. cit.*[2] p. 337 f.), probably Ioannes Malalas (*s.* vi). The first book of his *Χρονογραφία*, missing in the unique Oxford manuscript, can be, for our purpose, virtually restored from the Exc. Salmasii in Cramer *anecd. Paris.* ii. 386, 11 ff. and from cod. Paris. 1630. These passages, printed as Io. Antioch. *frag.* 3 ff. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 541 ff. Müller), contain between them substantially the same account as that of Kedrenos (the only noteworthy differences are as follows: Belos is the son of Pikos Zeus by Hera (Io. Antioch. *frag.* 4. 4 in cod. Paris. 1630 *ἔλαβε δὲ εἰς γυναῖκα Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὴν Ηραν, ἣν καὶ ζυγίαν Νέμεσιν ἐκάλουν τινὲς εὐχαριστοῦντες αὐτῇ ὡς ἀγαθῇ καὶ δικαίᾳ. ἔσχε δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁ Πῖκος Ζεὺς υἱόν, ὃν ὠνόμασε Βῆλον διὰ τὸ ὀξύτατον εἶναι*); Aphros and Cheiron are the sons of Kronos by Philyra; Zeus is buried at Knossos in Crete (Io. Antioch. *frag.* 5 in Exc. Salmasii in Cramer *anecd. Paris.* ii. 386, 29 ff. *ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐν τῇ δύσει Φαῦνον τὸν Ἑρμῆν γεννᾷ, καὶ θανὼν θάπτεται ἐν Κνώσσῳ τῆς Κρήτης*), where his epitaph runs *ἔνθα κεῖται θανὼν Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσι* (Io. Antioch. *frag.* 6. 4 in cod. Paris. 1630)). The same may be said of the *ἐκλογὴ τῶν Χρονικῶν ἀπὸ Ἰωάννου Ἱστορικοῦ* in Cramer *anecd. Paris.* ii. 233, 32 ff. (p. 236, 18 f. *'ἐνθάδε κατάκειται Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσι,' περὶ οὗ συνεγράψατο Διόδωρος ὁ σοφώτατος χρονογράφος*), and of the *ἐκλογαὶ ἱστοριῶν ἰδ.* ii. 250, 29 ff. (p. 257, 33 ff. *καὶ 'Ασσυρίων, μετὰ Πῖκον τὸν βασιλέα τὸν πρῶτον, ὃς ἐν Κρήτῃ ἀπέθανεν, ὃς καὶ τοῖς τότε καιροῖς Ζεὺς μετωνομάσθη, κ.τ.λ.*). Thus for over half a millennium the Byzantine chroniclers had been content to copy almost mechanically the traditional lore of their monkish predecessors. Can we get behind their tradition to any more authoritative source?

The *Excerpta Latina barbari* published by A. Schöne in his ed. of Euseb. *chron.* Berolini 1875 i. 174 ff. and, with a Greek retranslation, by C. Frick *Chronica minora* Lipsiae 1892 i. 183 ff. are a rendering into vulgar Latin made by an anonymous Gaul or Frank *c.* 700 A.D. from a Greek original probably written in Alexandreia soon after 412 A.D. and provided with a series of miniature illustrations. F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1576 concludes that the first section of the *Excerpta* (fol. 1*a*—36*b*), a chronicle running from Adam to the death of Kleopatra, represents the *Χρονικά* of Hippolytos enlarged and interpolated with extracts from the Septuaguint, Sex. Iulius Africanus, the pseudo-Kallisthenes, and the Ravenna *annales* or *consularia Italica*. One of these interpolations, derived from Sex. Iulius Africanus (?), contains the following passage: fol. 20 *b*, 26 ff. unde Picus ille Cronu pronepus partibus occasu ipsis temporibus imperauit. Cronus quidem propater eius in diuisione terrae fuit occidentales partes tenens· sicut sine urbes et sine reges essent· de quo multus est sermo et sine interpraetatione sunt. Post Cronis autem perditionem secundum successiores annorum Picus pronepus eius per tempora regnauit in Italia primus. quem et Serafin quidam interpraetauerunt. alii autem Dia Olympium· ceteri autem Plutea Aidonium et alii Chthonium Posidona. Istorum autem nominum ei pertinuit pro eo quod ille multa potuisset super omnes. Iste autem in Assyrios in iuuentute regnans Ninus ibi uocabatur et condidit Niniuem ciuitatem Assyriorum. Uxor autem eius Semimaris mulier fuit maligna et praesumens et inpudica. quem Ream uocauerunt. alii autem Iram Zygiam. et alii Nemesim multiformem· ceteri autem Ecatin Chtonicam propter innumeram eius atrocitatem· Iste quidem relinquens uxori imperium occidentis partibus ueniens imperauit. Erant enim omnes partes illas sine urbes et sine regem secundum quod narrat historia. In illis uero temporibus Picus Croni pronepus inueniens terram illam spaciosam manentem imperauit· in illam annos LXXX· patrias possidens· et illas nobilissimas feminas per magicas et ingenia maligna conuertens et auortiuos faciebat et sic mulieres quae ab ipso deludebantur domos· et sedes praeparabant ei et scultilia multa multa illi configebant sicut placebat eis· et quasi dō eas conmiscuisset et in dm̄ eum esse gloriabantur.

If this is really an extract from the *Χρονογραφίαι* of Sex. Iulius Africanus,—and it must be borne in mind that Kedren. *hist. comp.* 15 D (i. 28 Bekker) definitely cited him (*ὡς δὲ*

Ἀφρικανός φησι, κ.τ.λ.),—it would seem that the whole story of Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς was already current *c.* 200 A.D.; for the chronographer, a native of Jerusalem (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1903 iii. 36 ff. no. 412, 59 ff.: but see B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt *ad loc.*), is known to have been on intimate terms with Abgar ix of Edessa (179—216 A.D.) and his son Mannus (Iul. Afr. *tact.* 29: cp. W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 116). The common assumption that Malalas rests largely on Iulius Africanus is contested by K. Krumbacher *op. cit.*[2] p. 327, who holds that there were in all probability intervening authors, links now lost to us. Nor was Iulius Africanus the staple of the whole chain. For in Cramer *anecd. Paris.* ii. 236, 19 f. (*supra* p. 695) Diodoros is expressly quoted as a source, and the entire context, in which Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, brother of Ninos, is said to have reigned 120 years over the west, to have begotten sons and daughters, and to lie buried in Crete, is printed by F. Vogel the latest editor (Lipsiae 1890) as Diod. 6. 5. This brings us back to a date *c.* 60 B.C. and to a suitable atmosphere of Euhemerism (*supra* i. 662). But even so we have not reached the starting-point. I observe that the *Chronicon Paschale* 38 B (i. 68 Dindorf) cites a certain Σεμηρώνιος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος Πέρσης (*supra* p. 695), whose name has been curiously misinterpreted. C. Müller in the *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 492 would turn it into that of the Persian Σειράμνης (Plout. *reg. et imperator. apophth.* 172 D). H. Gelzer *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie* Leipzig 1880 i. 77 says: 'Der Name selbst is aber echt assyrisch, er bedeutet einfach "der Sumerier."' I should rather suppose that Σεμηρώνιος is a blundered form of Σεμπρώνιος, *i.e.* the annalist C. Sempronius Tuditanus, consul in 129 B.C., who concerned himself much with the primitive history of Italy (*Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 89 ff. Peter): ὁ Βαβυλώνιος Πέρσης would then be an attempt or attempts to make sense of his misspelt name. On this showing the story of Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς may be as early as the second century B.C.

Further than this we cannot trace it. But C. Trieber in his important article 'Die Idee der vier Weltreiche' (*Hermes* 1892 xxvii. 321—344) arrives at the heart of the matter, when he points out that, according to a view prevalent in antiquity, the end of the Assyrian empire coincided with the beginning of three others—the Medo-Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman. The chronographer that first brought Rome into this scheme (Trieber *ib.* p. 340 n. 2 thinks it was Kastor of Rhodes, whose work J. W. Kubitschek in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2348 dates in 61 B.C.) used Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς as a tie between east and west. His procedure is not easy to explain. Πῖκος in the west we know: he was an ancient Italian power, who appears in tradition sometimes as a bird, the woodpecker, sometimes as a god, sometimes as a king (J. B. Carter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2494 ff.). But who was Πῖκος in the east? Pekah king of Israel (*c.* 735—730) is near enough in point of date to the foundation of Rome and might, I suppose, be regarded as a vassal of Assyria; but he was a monarch of no particular importance. Mr N. McLean, whom I consulted on the matter, suggested that Πῖκος perhaps covers *pekha*, a Hebrew word for 'governor' of Assyrian origin. So I applied to my friend Prof. S. Langdon, who kindly sent me the following comment (Feb. 24, 1920): 'The title *pîḫatu* "provincial governor," or originally *bêl pîḫāti* "lord of a province," passed into Hebrew as פֶּחָה *pĕchā* "governor," and Assyrian and Persian governors of Syria were known to the Hebrews under this title. It is probable that some governor of the late period at Tarsus or some other city may have received apotheosis and identified himself with Zeus. There is no Assyrian king whose name is similar to Πῖκος.' Prof. Langdon further informs me that 'The Assyrians and Babylonians never deified and worshipped birds,' and that 'No bird was ever known to have been identified with a king.' With regard to the woodpecker in Mesopotamia he says: 'The *pilaḳḳi* of Ishtar [M. Jastrow *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1912 ii. 2. 802 n. 1] probably is the woodpecker commonly called *kuzazu* and *ḫanzizîtu* the "gnawer," but what Houghton says in PSBA. 1885, 67 [W. Houghton 'The Birds of the Assyrian Monuments and Records' in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology* 1885 viii. 67—70 with 119 f.] is totally erroneous. The "axe of Ishtar" is a poetical name for the woodpecker....But otherwise no connection between Ishtar and the woodpecker is known. The bird is described as "green" in a syllabary. It is certain that the woodpecker was not a deity, but it may have been the symbol of Ishtar.' Another possi-

an appellative of Zeus, who is known to have taken on occasion the shape of a hoopoe (*épops*)[1]. Popular etymology, always rife among the Greeks and busied with this myth in the fifth century B.C.[2], would readily equate *Tereús* the 'Watcher[3]' with Zeus *Epópsios* the 'Overseer[4].' In reality the Thracian *Tereús* correlates with the Phrygian *Tereíe*, an epithet of the mother-goddess worshipped on a mountain near Lampsakos[5]. This tends to confirm our impression that to Thracian believers Tereus the hoopoe was in some sense an embodiment of the father-god.

Those who see in Odysseus a former fire-god[6] or sun-god[7] and in Penelope a divinised duck can at least claim to detect a certain ap-

bility is mooted by Dr J. Rendel Harris, who in conversation has pointed out to me (Feb. 1920) that, since the woodpecker is named *Hadad* or *Heddad* the "Smith" in north Africa (J. Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 p. 394 f.), it is tempting to regard Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς as the Greek translation of *Hadadrimmon* (*supra* i. 577) and *Picus* as the Italian equivalent of *Benhadad* (*Boanerges* p. 36 n. 1).

In weighing these various hypotheses we must not lose sight of the fact that Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς is consistently said to have been buried in Crete. Now the Idaean Cave has yielded a *týmpanon* of the ninth or eighth century B.C., which represents the youthful Zeus or Zagreus in definitely Assyrian guise (*supra* i. 644 ff. pl. xxxv). Moreover, we have seen reason to surmise that at *Hagia Triada* the soul of the prince embodying this deity took the form of a jay (*pica*)—a bird whose bright plumage suggested comparison with the woodpecker (*picus*) (*supra* pp. 522, 523 f.). It is, then, conceivable that the phrase Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς finds its ultimate explanation in an actual Cretan cult, and that this cult was known, at least by tradition, to the chronographer who first tacked the history of Rome on to that of Assyria. When Euelpides in Aristoph. *av.* 480 spoke of Zeus as 'soon destined to restore the sceptre to the Woodpecker,' it was no mere flight of fancy but a genuine piece of folk-belief (*Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 81, J. Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 pp. 15, 35 f., 357). A trace of it survives even in the dull catalogue drawn up by Niketas, bishop of Serrhai, towards the close of the eleventh century A.D. (Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. 81 πίκου, 266 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. 76 πίκου, 274 Niket. *rhythm. de duodec. deor. epith.* 1. 1 ff. Ἐπίθετα Διός...πίκος, 281 f. 1 Ἐπίθετα τοῦ Διός...πίκος).

[1] *Infra* Append. M *med.*

[2] Aisch. *frag.* 304 Nauck²=Soph. *frag.* 581 Jebb *ap.* Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 49. 633 a 17 ff. (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 86) τοῦτον δ' ἐπόπτην ἔποπα τῶν αὐτοῦ κακῶν | πεποικίλωκε κἀποδηλώσας ἔχει | θρασὺν πετραῖον ὄρνιν ἐν παντευχίᾳ· | κ.τ.λ. A. C. Pearson *ad loc.*, following F. G. Welcker *Die Griechischen Tragödien* Bonn 1839 i. 384, E. Oder in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1888 xliii. 541 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 92 n. 4, and others, makes out a good case for transferring the fragment from Aischylos to Sophokles.

[3] Schol. Aristoph. *av.* 102 ὁ λεγόμενος Τηρεὺς παρὰ τὸ τηρεῖν τὴν Ἰώ (*sic*), *et. mag.* p. 757, 45 f. Τηρεύς· ὁ τηρῶν τὰ ἡδονὴν ἀγείραι (ἐγείραι cod. V.) δυνάμενα καὶ ἀκρασίᾳ ἡδονῶν λελημμένος. Oder *loc. cit.* p. 553 cp. Ach. Tat. 5. 5 καὶ ὁ Τηρεὺς αὐταῖς συναναβαίνει, καὶ ὄρνις γίνεται· καὶ τηροῦσιν ἔτι τοῦ πάθους τὴν εἰκόνα.

[4] *Supra* i. 737, *infra* Append. M *med.*

[5] *Il.* 2. 829 Τηρείης ὄρος αἰπύ with Eustath. *in Il.* p. 356, 11 ff. and especially Strab. 589 (cp. 565) οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τετταράκοντα σταδίων Λαμψάκου δεικνύουσι λόφον, ἐφ' ᾧ Μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερόν ἐστιν ἄγιον, Τηρείης (so A. Koraës for τῆς ρείης codd.) ἐπικαλούμενον. See further Oder *loc. cit.* p. 552 f. and M. Mayer in *Hermes* 1892 xxvii. 494 ff.

[6] *Supra* i. 327 f.

[7] Refuted by J. A. Scott 'Odysseus as a Sun God' in *Class. Philol.* 1917 xii. 244—252 (*Class. Quart.* 1918 xii. 52).

propriateness in this oddly assorted couple; for the solar sign of the Lycians was sometimes equipped with the heads of swans or ducks[1] (fig. 632)[2], and the swan (or duck[3]) was, according to J. Déchelette[4], 'le principal symbole ou compagnon du soleil pendant la seconde moitié de l'âge du bronze et au premier âge du fer dans l'Europe du

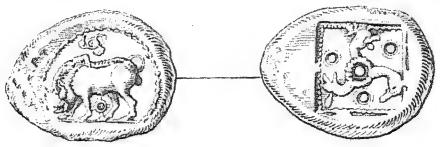


Fig. 632.

sud, du centre et du nord.' Nevertheless it cannot be too strongly insisted that, to the Greeks of the classical period, Odysseus and Penelope—whatever they may have been in the prehistoric past—were simply hero and heroine, and uncommonly human at that. After all, this is the secret of their immortality.

(ψ) Superstitious practices with axes.

Those who have weighed the evidence adduced in the course of this section (from page 505 onwards) will not hesitate to admit that the axe, whether double or single, was over a large part of the ancient world recognised as a visible token of the sky-god. Accordingly it is reasonable to expect that round it would spring up the usual crop of rites and ceremonies, which in process of time, obscured or misunderstood, would dwindle into a variety of superstitious practices.

Of such we have already noticed some; for instance, the habit of wearing axes or axe-shaped pendants, which ran through a whole series of evolutionary forms[5]. In this connexion I would recall a lively little passage in Theophrastos' description of 'The Complaisant Man':

'Then when he is asked to dinner he will request the host to send for the children; and will say of them, when they come in, that they are as like their father as figs; and will draw them towards him, and kiss them, and establish them at his side,—playing with some of them, and himself saying "Wineskin," "Hatchet," and permitting others to go to sleep upon him, to his anguish[6].'

[1] *Supra* i. 300 f. fig. 232.

[2] Fig. 632 represents a unique *statér* of Lykia, which came to me from the Pozzi collection (*Pozzi Sale Catalogue* Genève 1920 p. 151 (wrongly described) no. 2751 pl. 80). The three branches of the Lycian symbol are here terminated by the heads of a cock, a swan (or duck), and a griffin respectively. Weight: 9·62 grammes.

[3] *Supra* p. 648 f.

[4] J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 421.

[5] *Supra* p. 647 ff.

[6] Theophr. *char.* 5 (=2 Jebb) trans. Sir R. C. Jebb. The new edition, revised by

On this Sir Richard Jebb remarked: 'Some child's-game, of which nothing is known. It may have consisted, for instance, in one of the players bringing down his hand edgewise ("hatchet") on the other's clenched fist, before he could snatch it away. That the words are not names which the guest calls the children—as they have usually been explained[1]—is clear from...the text, which shows that the children said them too. Casaubon's theory that the "wine-skin" and "hatchet" were little toys...hung round the children's necks, which the guest takes up and names successively, supposes the children to be infants.' The latest editors, J. M. Edmonds and G. E. V. Austen, likewise conclude that the words in question 'refer to some children's game, or possibly to an early lesson in spelling[2].' More probably Casaubon was right in suggesting the amulets hung round the necks of children (*peridéraia*)[3]. The imperial cabinet at Vienna possesses a handsome gold necklace to which are attached no fewer than fifty of these charms, including an excellent little hatchet (fig. 633)[4]. And the Museum at Reading has several bronze models of similar shape found during the excavations at Silchester (fig. 634)[5]. Analogous examples doubtless exist in other collections. They attest the curious fact that the dreaded weapon of the Thunderer can degenerate into an infant's toy without losing all trace of its superhuman quality.

Pliny[6] mentions, on the authority of 'Osthanes[7],' that one species

Sir J. E. Sandys (London 1909), leaves text, translation, and notes unaltered, so far as this passage is concerned.

[1] *E.g.* by H. G. Liddell—R. Scott *A Greek-English Lexicon*[8] Oxford 1897 pp. 232 *s.v.* *ἀσκός* 'Punch,' 1171 *s.v.* *πέλεκυς* 'a sharp blade.'

[2] Theophr. *char.* ed. by J. M. Edmonds and G. E. V. Austen London 1904 p. 58. They rightly scout the cjj. *κασκός*, 'little finger,' and *θύλακος*, 'wallet.'

[3] On these *περίαπτα* or *περιάμματα* see O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1855 p. 40 ff.

[4] J. Arneth *Die antiken Gold- und Silber-monumente des k. k. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinettes in Wien* Wien 1850 p. 19 no. 1 pl. 1 (=my fig. 633), E. Fernique in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1561 fig. 2066. This necklace, together with a sumptuous gold *bulla*, fourteen gold medallions of various emperors, and other objects of interest, was found in 1797 by a couple of Walachian goat-herds at Szilágy-Somlyó in Siebenbürgen (Transylvania). Its central pendant is a ball of smoky quartz enclosed by gold bands and surmounted by two panthers or tigers on either side of a *kratér*.

[5] Fig. 634 is from a photograph kindly obtained for me by my friend Prof. P. N. Ure. I made a sketch of one of these trinkets many years ago, and mentioned it once as the best illustration of the passage in Theophrastos to Sir Richard Jebb. He told me that, if he ever brought out a second edition of his commentary, he would consider the point.

[6] Plin. *nat. hist.* 30. 14.

[7] Plin. *nat. hist.* 30. 8 and 11 distinguishes two writers on magic named Osthanes, one a contemporary of Xerxes, the other of Alexander the Great. Xanthos the Lydian *frag.* 29 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 44 Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. *prooem.* 2 *Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς εἰς τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωροάστρου ἐξακισχιλιά φησι* (*sc.* *ἔτη γεγονέναι*), *καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν γεγονέναι πολλούς τινας Μάγους κατὰ διαδοχήν, Ὀστάνας καὶ Ἀστραμψύχους καὶ Γωβρύας καὶ Παζάτας, μέχρι τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καταλύσεως* was taken by

Souid. *s.vv.* Μάγοι, Ὀστᾶναι to imply a succession of Magi called Ostanes: but the plural merely meant 'men like Ostanes' (R. Kühner—B. Gerth *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*[3] Hannover—Leipzig 1898 i. 15). However, the exact number of persons named Ostanes is not worth discussing, since very serious doubts have been cast

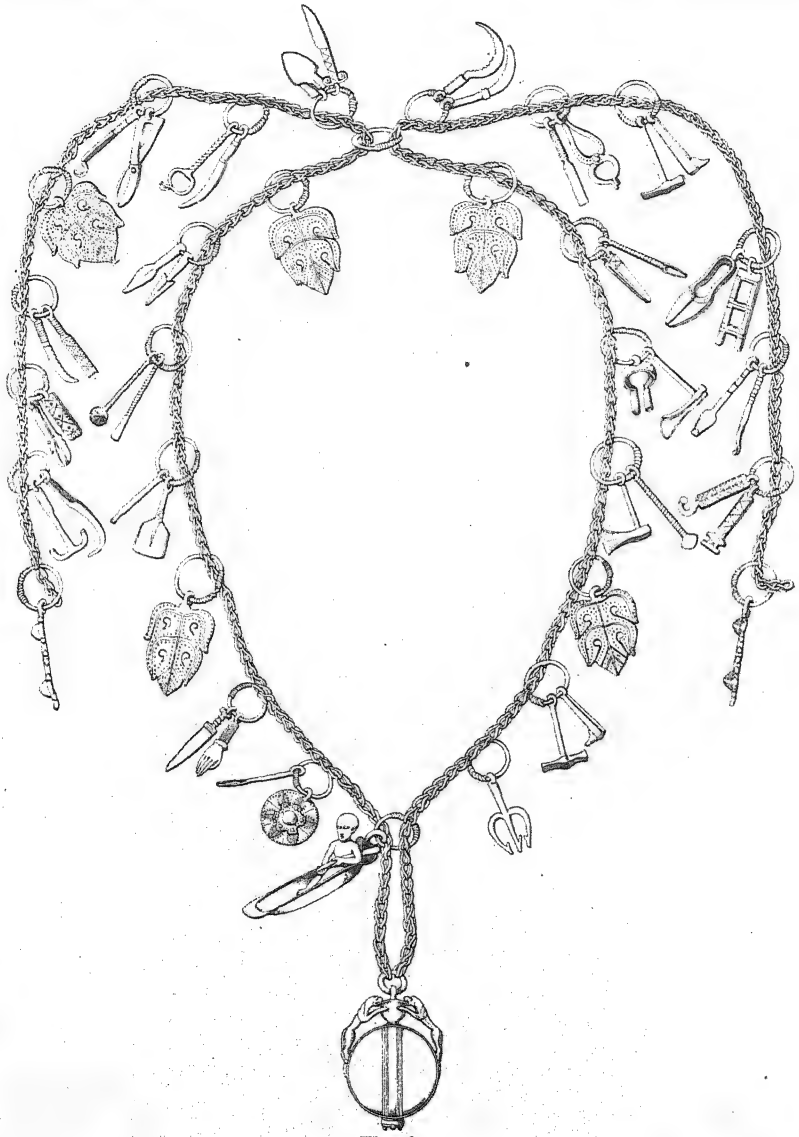


Fig. 633.

upon his historicity. C. W. Goodwin 'On the name Astennu' in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde* 1872 x. 108 f. pointed out that one of the appellations of the Egyptian god Thoth was *Astennu* and asked: 'Is not the name of the Magian Ostanes...a Grecised form of Astennu?' Sir G. Maspero in the *Proceedings*

of magic dealt in hatchets (*secures*). He adds elsewhere[1] that the Magi in their axe-divination (*axinomantia*) set fire to a piece of jet (*lapis Gagates*) and, if this was not consumed, announced that the

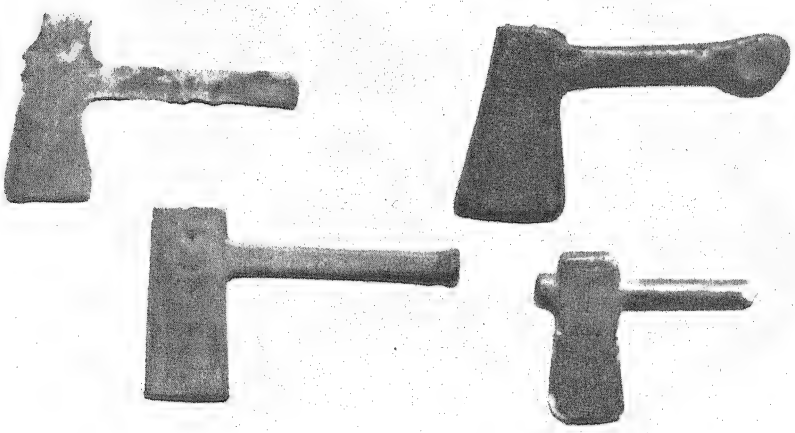


Fig. 634.

wishes of the worshipper would come true. The connexion between the axe and the burnt jet is not indicated and leaves room for conjecture[2]. J. Dalechamps[3] in 1587 said that the jet was placed on a red-hot hatchet—an assertion roundly rebuked by Salmasius[4] as

of the Society of Biblical Archæology 1898 xx. 140—144 argues that *Austanou, Ostané* was, to begin with, one of the cynocephalous deities forming the ogdoad of Hermopolis, that he was subsequently confounded with Thoth, that he acquired importance during the Ptolemaic period, and that Ostanes the god then gave rise to Ostanes the priest of Memphis, who according to Hermetic tradition initiated Demokritos of Abdera into the mysteries (Synes. *ad Dioscorum comment. in Democr.* in M. Berthelot *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* Paris 1888 Texte grec p. 57, 7 ff. = H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 ii. 130 f.). Maspero further contends that 'Ostanés devient un Perse par la vertu de son nom, et par suite un mage, un chaldéen, d'où la variante qui lui donne une origine babylonienne.' F. Granger in *The Journal of Theological Studies* 1904 v. 398 f. carries the matter from Greece into Italy and makes it probable 'that Pliny depends upon Democritus for his mention of Ostanes.'

[1] Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 142.

[2] On the virtues of jet in general see G. F. Kunz *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* Philadelphia & London 1913 pp. 91 f., 263 f., *id. The Magic of Jewels and Charms* Philadelphia & London 1915 pp. 146 f., 352, 386. Burnt jet in particular had prophylactic, curative, and detective powers (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 141 f. Gagates lapis...cum uritur, odorem sulpureum reddit...fugat serpentes (cp. Nik. *ther.* 37 with schol. *ad loc.*) ita recreatque volvae strangulationes. deprendit sonticum morbum et virginitatem suffitus).

[3] On Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 142 : '*Axinomantiam.* Ea fit gagati imposito securi candenti.' See also M. Delrio cited *infra* p. 702 n. 4.

[4] C. Salmasius *Plinianae exercitationes in Caii Iulii Solini Polyhistora* Parisiis 1629 i. 252 E f. ('scribe : *in eam quam vocant causimomantiam*').

ridiculum, but not half so 'ridiculous' as that eminent scholar supposed; for in East Prussia it is still customary for the midwife to put red-hot coals on an axe and to step across it with the infant in her arms[1]. This, however, is a case of prophylaxis, not of divination. Axinomancy, strictly so called, has varied somewhat in its *modus operandi*. A hatchet suspended by a cord was used to detect criminals or discover secrets: it twisted and turned in answer to relevant questions[2]. Again, a hatchet poised in equilibrium on a pole was believed to bob at the name of the guilty party[3]. Lastly, a hatchet stuck in a pole and carefully balanced would turn or nod as soon as the right name in the list was reached[4]. These methods, detailed by

[1] S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 ii. 17.

[2] J. J. Boissardus *De divinatione & magicis prœstigiis* Oppenheimii s. a. [161–]p. 18: '*Axinomantia* eadem perficit (*sc.* detects criminals or secrets) ex securi suspensâ funiculo, quæ ad interrogata movetur & in gyrum vertitur,' E. B. Tylor in *The Encyclopædia Britannica*[11] Cambridge 1911 xx. 173 *s.v.* 'Ordeal': 'When a suspended hatchet was used in the same way (*sc.* as a sieve) to turn to the guilty, the process was called *axinomancy*.'

[3] J. Potter *Archæologia Græca*[7] London 1751 i. 352: 'Ἀξινομαντεία, from Ἀξίνη, i.e. an *Ax* or *Hatchet*, which they fixed so exactly upon a round Stake, that neither End might out-poise, or weigh down the other; then they pray'd, and repeated the Names of those they suspected; and the Person, at whose Name the *Hatchet* made any the least Motion, was found guilty.'

J. Tuchmann in *Mélusine* 1888—89 iv. 285 (followed by E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2627) mentions, among other means of discovering witchcraft, both these forms of axinomancy: 'On suspendait une hache à une corde ou on la posait, le manche en l'air, en équilibre sur un pieu. Après la récitation de certaines formules, on tournait autour de la corde ou du pieu en prononçant à haute voix le nom de toutes les personnes soupçonnées: la hache, dans le premier cas, tournait; dans le second, elle tombait.'

[4] C. Peucerus *Commentarius, de præcipuis divinationum generibus* Francofurti 1593 p. 321: 'Κοσκινομαντείᾳ & ἀξινομαντείᾳ, *divinatione ex cribro et securi*, ad pervestigandos atque aperiendos occultos scelerum authores, & res alias obscuras explorandas ac proferendas, incantatores utuntur. Hanc securi expediunt, rotundo palo infixa, aptataq́; ad normam ac perpendiculum, & cum præfatione, ordine enumeratis nominibus eorum, qui in suspicione hærent: ad cuius se mentionem securis, vel levi impulsu circumagit aut nutat, eum culpæ reum peragunt. Illam' etc., M. Delrio *Disquisitionum Magicarum* libri sex Lugduni 1612 p. 245 *b* D: 'Decima ad eundem usum erat ἀξινομαντεία, quâ securim rotundo infigebant palo, & ex eius motu furem deprehendebant. Quando autem successûs futuri divinatio petebatur, tũc gagatem lapidem securi imponebant, ut Plinius[s] (slib. 36. c. 19) refert,' J. Prætorius *De Coscinomantia, Oder vom Sieb-Laüffe diatribe curiosa* Curiæ Variscorum 1677 A 2 'ex *D. Davide Herliciô*, (*Stetinens. 1602.*) *lib.* 1. *orat. Gryphiswald.* lit. H.... Huic similis est ἀξινομαντεία, quæ *Securi* rotundo polo [*sic*] infixâ perficitur: sicut eô modô apud *Homerum* produntur proci Penelopes,' *ib.* E 2 'Dn. Meisnerus Phil. sobr. p. 2. l. 2. c. 3. q. 1. Descriptionem ἀξινομαντείας non tam commodè hic subjungit: ubi *securis* cylindraceo infigitur palo, adque normam aptatur; ut ille sons censeatur, cujus ad nomen se circumegerit,' A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* Paris 1879 i. 183: 'Les vibrations ou oscillations d'une hache plantée dans un poteau constituaient la matière de l'*axinomancie* (ἀξινομαντεία), divination importée en Europe par les mages orientaux[2] ([2]PLIN., XXX, 1, 14; XXXVI, 19, 34).' So also W. Vollmer—W. Binder *Wörterbuch der Mythologie aller Völker*[3] Stuttgart 1874 p. 86, C. Kiesewetter *Die Geheimwissenschaften* Leipzig 1895 p. 375.

writers of the sixteenth century and later, have doubtless a long history behind them; and it is possible that Philon was thinking of the first when, instead of the sword of Damokles, he described 'a whetted axe hung by a slender cord[1].'

Axe-superstitions are with us still[2]. P. Sébillot in his *Folk-Lore de France* remarks that prehistoric stone implements are commonly supposed to act as a safeguard against a thunderstorm. Their efficacy

[1] Philon *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 8. 14. 29.

[2] My friend and colleague Prof. R. H. Kennett draws attention to one curious case: 'It was formerly the custom, if an offence were committed in the neighbourhood of Fordwich near Canterbury, to decide where the offender should be tried as follows. If a man from a boat in the middle of the river Stour could throw an axe weighing seven pounds beyond the place where the offence was committed, the offender was tried, and, if found guilty, punished at Fordwich' (R. H. Kennett—Mrs Adam—H. M. Gwatkin *Early Ideals of Righteousness* Edinburgh 1910 p. 11 f.). Prof. Kennett adds that he remembers to have heard his father mention the custom, which is duly noted both in king Cnut's grant of the Port of Sandwich to Christ Church Canterbury in 1023 A.D. (W. A. Scott Robertson 'Archæological Notes on Thanet' in *Archæologia Cantiana* 1878 xii. 339) and in a description of the Boundaries of the Liberty of Fordwich in 1272 A.D. (C. Eveleigh Woodruff 'Fordwich Municipal Records' *ib.* 1889 xviii. 92 n. † 'as far as a man being in a boat at *high* water can throw an axe of seven pounds weight, called a taper-axe, on to the land'). Cp. the throwing of a hammer, which in old German law ratified the acquisition of property (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 180 n. 3).

I append an even more suggestive usage from *A Guide to Criccieth & Pwllheli* published by Messrs Abel Heywood & Son of Manchester: p. 6 'After the subjugation of Wales, the constable appointed for Criccieth Castle was William de Leybourne,... This charge was afterwards given to Sir Hywel-y-Vwyall (Sir Howell of the Axe) by Edward the Black Prince, for his valour at Poictiers. According to the Welsh bards this redoubtable knight was the person who took the French King John prisoner at Poictiers,... A pole-axe formed part of the escutcheon of Sir Hywel in commemoration of his doughty deeds in that battle, which he had performed entirely with that weapon, and in perpetual memory of his services it was ordained that a mess of meat should be laid before the pole-axe every day, guarded by eight yeomen, and afterwards given to the poor. This ceremonial lasted till the time of Queen Elizabeth, when it became obsolete.'

Finally, Sir G. L. Gomme *Folklore as an historical science* London 1908 pp. 66—78 collects from the Germanic area much evidence tending to prove that it was formerly (in pre-Celtic times?) the custom to kill off the aged and infirm by means of a club or mallet (*e.g.* J. Aubrey *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme* 1686—87 (London 1881) p. 19: 'An old Countrie Story'...'The Holy-mawle, w^{ch} (they fancy) hung behind the Church dore, wch when the father was seaventie the sonne might fetch, to knock his father in the head, as effœte, & of no more use.' Cp. *ib.* p. 127). Sir G. L. Gomme analyses a Gaelic folk-tale, which involves this *motif*, and notes that such mallets are still preserved at Osnabrück and in several towns of Silesia and Saxony. Mrs E. M. Leather *The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire* Hereford 1912 p. 171 f. with pl. adds a parallel from the Bargates, Leominster, where four small almshouses, founded in 1736 and since rebuilt, are adorned with 'a figure of a man, very quaint and rudely carved, holding an axe in his hand with these lines beneath:—"He that gives away all before he is dead, | Let 'em take this hatchet and knock him on ye head."' The rhyme is but the English form of that on the German mallet: 'Wer den Kindern gibt das Brod | Und selber dabei leidet Noth | Den schlagt mit dieser Keule todt' (W. J. Thoms in the *Gentleman's Magazine* 1850 i. 250—252).

is sometimes increased by the addition of a sort of prayer. Thus near Dinan as late as the year 1880 many people would carry a thunder-stone in their pocket during stormy weather and, if thunder were heard, would say:

Pierre, pierre,
Garde-moi du tonnerre.

Sébillot shows further that this *rôle* of acting as a lightning-rod passed from the neolithic celt to the iron axe:

Among the Basques, when a storm bursts, the best preservative is to place some cutting instrument, axe or scythe, outside the house with its edge turned to the sky. Peasants on the farms near Beuvray in Saône-et-Loire, as soon as they hear the first rumblings of thunder and feel the first drops of rain, bring out into the yard and set up near the threshold of their house an iron axe, with its handle against the ground and its blade uppermost, to preserve the place from lightning and hail. This custom is half-Christianised in the district of Saint-Gaudens in Haute-Garonne, where an iron axe, blade in air, is put in a plate containing holy water[1].

We come back, then, at length to the point from which we started[2], *viz.* the primitive belief that the thunderbolt falls in the form of an axe. By an axe therefore, according to the homœopathic principle of early thought, it must be averted.

ii. The spear of Zeus.

Lightning was sometimes, though not often, regarded by the ancient Greeks as the spear of Zeus. Pindar, ever on the look out for an effective epithet, coined a fine sonorous compound *encheikéraunos* to describe Zeus, 'whose spear is the lightning[3].' Bakchylides has the rival formation *keraunenchés*, Zeus 'whose lightning is his spear[4].' Aristophanes greets the lightning as

Immortal fiery spear of Zeus[5],

and an Apolline oracle quoted by Eusebios from Porphyrios calls it the

descending spear of Zeus[6].

[1] P. Sébillot *Le Folk-Lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 104 f. Cp. *Geopon.* 7. 11 (Zoroastres) *σίδηρος τοῖς πώμασι τῶν πίθων ἐπιτιθέμενος ἀπερύκει τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν βροντῶν καὶ ἀστραπῶν βλάβην.*

[2] *Supra* p. 505.

[3] Pind. *Ol.* 13. 77 *Ζηνὸς ἐγχεικεραύνου* with schol., *Pyth.* 4. 194 *πατέρ Οὐρανιδᾶν ἐγχεικέραυνον Ζῆνα* with schol., Eustath. *in Il.* p. 839, 9 ff. *οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς νῦν ἔχει στεροπὴν μετὰ χερσὶ* (*Il.* 11. 184) *καθὰ καί τι βέλος· ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ ἐγχεικέραυνον αὐτὸν ἡ λυρικὴ Μοῦσα καλεῖ, ὡς οἶα καὶ δόρατι χρώμενον αὐτῷ, καθὰ δηλοῖ καὶ ὁ φράσας ὅτι ἐναγκοινεῦται ὁ Ζεὺς κεραυνὸν ὡς ἐν σχήματι αἰχμητοῦ πολεμησείοντος. Infra* p. 705 n. 4.

[4] Bakchyl. 7. 48 Jebb *ὦ Ζεῦ κεραυνεγχές.*

[5] Aristoph. *av.* 1750 f. *ὦ μέγα χρύσεον ἀστεροπῆς φάος,* | *ὦ Διὸς ἄμβροτον ἔγχος πυρφόρον,* | *κ.τ.λ.*

[6] Porph. *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 6. 3. 1 (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 146. 12) cited *supra* p. 14 n. 11.

Nonnos in the fifth century of our era makes Nike pray to Zeus as follows:

> Do thou in battle lift
> Thy lightning-flash, Olympos' luminous spear[1].

Accordingly, when Zeus meets Typhon,

> in the fray
> His shield was thunder and his corselet cloud,
> The spear he shook was lightning[2].

And elsewhere in the same poem Zeus is termed

> The javelin-thrower of the thunderbolt[3].

It is probable that the poets were but adopting a popular belief; for Eustathios in the middle ages explained that 'Zeus has a fiery spear[4],' and the modern Greek sailor with his eye on the storm-cloud will say 'God is throwing lightning like spear-strokes[5].'

The axe-bearing Zeus of Karia is not unfrequently represented with a spear[6]. And, since he was worshipped as *Strátios*, 'Lord of Hosts[7],' this weapon might no doubt be explained as an indispensable part of his panoply. Nevertheless it is probable that the old storm-god became the new war-god just because his thunderbolt was conceived as a potent weapon, first a double axe and then a spear or sword[8].

At Hydisos in Karia Zeus *Áreios*, the 'Warlike,' appears on a bronze coin struck by Hadrian (fig. 635)[9] as a soldier with helmet and shield, though he still brandishes a thunderbolt in his raised right hand. Bronze coins of the same town dating from the first century

[1] Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 211 f. *μαρνάμενος δὲ | ἀστεροπὴν κούφιζε σελασφόρον ἔγχος Ὀλύμπου.* Conversely *ib.* 47. 609 ff. Hera hurls at Dionysos a spear, *ἀστεροπῆς μίμημα, θεόσσυτον ἀλλόμενον πῦρ |... σελασφόρον αἴθοπα λόγχην.*

[2] Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 478 ff. *ἐν δὲ κυδοιμῷ | βροντὴν μὲν σάκος εἶχε, νέφος δέ οἱ ἔπλετο θώρηξ, | καὶ στεροπὴν δόρυ πάλλε, κ.τ.λ.*

[3] Nonn. *Dion.* 7. 163 *Ζηνὶ...ἀκοντιστῆρι κεραυνοῦ.*

[4] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1240, 51 f. *καὶ Ζεὺς δὲ πύρινον ἔχει δόρυ, τουτέστιν ἔγχος. ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἐγχεικέραυνος παρὰ Πινδάρῳ λέγεται.*

[5] B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 32 *ὁ θεὸς ῥίπτει* (more often *ῥίχνει*) *ἀστραπαὶς σὰν κονταριαῖς.*

[6] *Supra* pp. 574 ff., 593.

[7] *Supra* pp. 576 ff., 590 f.

[8] *Supra* p. 591 n. 1, *infra* p. 712 ff.

[9] D. Sestini *Lettere e dissertazioni numismatiche* Firenze 1818 v. 44, 1820 ix pl. 3, 11, *id. Classes generales seu Moneta vetus urbium populorum et regum*[2] Florentiae 1821 p. 88, F. Streber in the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad. 1835* Philos.-philol. Classe pp. 232—239 pl. 4, 5, T. Panofka in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1853* Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 32—42 ('Zeus Areios') pl. 1—2, 2, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 11 pl. 2, 21, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 208—210 Münztaf. 3, 11 (=my fig. 635), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 620. Sestini *locc. citt.* read IACCEΩN, Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* iii. 353 no. 291 IACEΩN, Streber *loc. cit.* IAICEΩN, Panofka *loc. cit.* IACEΩN, Wieseler *loc. cit.* IAICEΩN (for IACCEΩN), Overbeck *loc. cit.* IAICEΩN. B. V. Head was the first to transfer the coin from Iasos to Hydisos.

B.C. show him as he rests upon a spear (fig. 636)[1], while others give only the helmeted head (fig. 637)[2] or bust[3] of this martial deity. Whether the Zeus *Áreios*, before whom at Passaron in Molossis the kings and people of Epeiros plighted their troth[4], was a form of the ancient Epeirote thunder-god we cannot definitely assert; but it is likely enough. Again, the altar at Olympia, on which Oinomaos



Fig. 636.



Fig. 635.



Fig. 637.

used to sacrifice to Zeus *Áreios*[5], may have stood in some relation to the altar of Zeus *Keraúnios* adjoining the foundations of Oinomaos' house[6]. Be that as it may, the title *Áreios* was remembered for many centuries as one appropriate to the sky-god[7]; and Zeus *Áreios* was apparently Latinised as Iupiter *Militaris*[8].

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 122 pl. 20, 12, W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1896 xvi. 95 f. pl. 7, 12 (=my fig. 636), Imhoof—Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 134, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 620.

[2] Imhoof—Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 134 no. 1 pl. 5, 7 (=my fig. 637), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 620.

[3] Imhoof—Blumer *op. cit.* i. 134 no. 2, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 620.

[4] Plout. *v. Pyrrh.* 5 εἰώθεισαν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐν Πασσαρῶνι, χωρίῳ τῆς Μολοττίδος, Ἀρείῳ Διὶ θύσαντες ὁρκωμοτεῖν τοῖς Ἠπειρώταις καὶ ὁρκίζειν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἄρξειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἐκείνους δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν διαφυλάξειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους.

[5] Paus. 5. 14. 6 τοῦ δὲ Ἡφαίστου τὸν βωμὸν εἰσιν Ἠλείων οἱ ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀρείου Διός. λέγουσι δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ ὡς Οἰνόμαος ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τούτου θύοι τῷ Ἀρείῳ Διί, ὁπότε τῶν Ἱπποδαμείας μνηστήρων καθίστασθαι μέλλοι τινὶ ἐς ἵππων ἅμιλλαν. This altar of Zeus Ἄρειος explains the varying tradition that Oinomaos sacrificed on such occasions to Zeus (Diod. 4. 73: *supra* i. 36 ff., 407 ff.) or to Ares (Philostr. min. *imagg.* 9. 5). But the presence of Hephaistos at Olympia is unexpected, and his relation to Zeus Ἄρειος very problematic (cp. C. Robert in *Hermes* 1888 xxiii. 430 with n. 2). The coin which T. Panofka in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1853* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 34 pl. 1—2, 3 takes to be a copper of Elis with *obv.* head of Hephaistos or Zeus Ἄρειος, *rev.* thunderbolt in wreath of wild olive, is a common mintage of Ithake (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 105 pl. 21, 9) showing the head of Odysseus but lacking the legend [ΙΘΑ]! Equally unconvincing is the conjecture of Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 211 n. 127 that the altar was adorned with a relief representing the head of Hephaistos, whose cap was compared with the helmet of Zeus Ἄρειος. There is more to be said for the view advanced by F. Streber in the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad. 1835* Philos.-philol. Classe p. 234, *viz.* that the archaic helmeted figure standing beside the enthroned Hera in the Heraion at Olympia (Paus. 5. 17. 1) was none other than Zeus Ἄρειος. But even this is far from certain.

[6] Paus. 5. 14. 7 cited *infra* § 3 (c) iv (ε).

[7] Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. 15 ἀρείου, 266 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. 14 ἀρείου. See further O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 624.

[8] Apul. *de mundo* 37 (Iupiter) est Militaris et Triumphator et Propagator, Tropaeo-

Zeus *Áreios* is hardly to be separated from Zeus *Strategós* who, together with Hera, is mentioned in an inscription of 69 A.D. as the patron deity of Amastris in Paphlagonia[1]. *Quasi*-autonomous coppers of the town, issued in early imperial times, exhibit his bust with a remarkable tress of wavy hair above the forehead (fig. 638)[2]. On coppers struck by Antoninus Pius he stands in a statuesque pose, his


Fig. 638.


Fig. 639.


Fig. 640.


Fig. 641.

left hand swathed in an ample *himátion*, his right holding a spear, and an eagle at his feet (fig. 639)[3]. Other pieces struck by the same emperor show him grouped with his consort, the sceptre-bearing Hera (fig. 640)[4],—a type repeated in inferior style by Tranquillina (fig. 641)[5]. It is probable that Zeus *Oúrios*, whose sanctuary stood on the eastern side of the Thracian Bosporos[6], was a god of like aspect.

phorus; et multo plura eiusmodi apud haruspices et Romanos veteres inveneris. The passage is thus printed by G. F. Hildebrand (ed. min. 1843). But for *Propagator* (E. Aust in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 746, 751, *supra* i. 552 n. 1 (?)) I should read *Propugnator* (E. Aust *loc. cit.* ii. 751), thereby obtaining an unbroken series of military titles. On imperial coins with the legends IOVI PROPVGNATORI (or PROPVGNAT) and IOVIS PROPVGNATOR see Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 921, Suppl. iii. 156 f., 162. I figure a 'first brass,' struck by Alexander Severus, from my collection.


Fig. 642.

[1] G. Hirschfeld in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1888 p. 876 f. no. 27, R. Cagnat—G. Lafaye *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* Paris 1906 iii. 32 no. 89 ὁ δῆμος | μαρτυρεῖ Παρμενίσ[κ]ῳ | καὶ Φαρνάκῃ,.....καὶ | εὐχεται Διὶ Στρατηγῷ | καὶ Ἥρᾳ, τοῖς πατρίοις θε|οῖς καὶ προεστῶ(σ)ιν τῆς | πόλεως,..... | ἔτους βλρ' (*sc.* 132 of the Pompeian era=69 A.D.).

[2] Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 138 f. no. 31 pl. 18, 23, no. 32 pl. 18, 24, no. 33 pl. 18, 25 (=my fig. 638), no. 34 pl. 18, 26, no. 35 pl. 18, 27, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 85 pl. 20, 1 f., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 223 Münztaf. 3, 21, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 506.

[3] Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *op. cit.* i. 142 no. 61 pl. 19, 15 (=my fig. 639), W. Abeken in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1839 xi. 64 pl. A, 2, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 134, 164, 223 Münztaf. 2, 27, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 98 f. pl. 9, 29.

[4] Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *op. cit.* i. 142 no. 62 pl. 19, 16 (=my fig. 640) double-struck.

[5] Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *op. cit.* i. 156 no. 174 pl. 21, 20 (=my fig. 641).

[6] *Infra* § 7 (c).

For a similar figure on a silver *dekálitron* of Syracuse (215—212 B.C.) (fig. 643) almost certainly—as W. Abeken argued[1]—represents the famous statue of Zeus *Oúrios*[2] carried off from that city by Verres and known to the Romans as Iupiter *Imperator*[3], a manifest translation of Zeus *Strategós*.

The transition from storm-god to war-god may likewise be suspected in the case of that imperial favourite Iupiter *Victor*[4], whose



Fig. 643.



Fig. 644.



Fig. 645.

figure—again with spear reversed—on bronze coins and medallions of Claudius ii Gothicus (268—270 A.D.) is no doubt merely a religious expression for the victorious emperor himself (fig. 644)[5].

Other and less sophisticated examples of Zeus with spear in hand occur here and there among the Greek coins of south Italy, the Etruscan mirrors, the Gallo-Roman statuettes, and the Roman lamps.

Coppers of Petelia in Bruttium struck in the third century B.C.

[1] W. Abeken in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1839 xi. 63 pl. A, 1.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 224 no. 661 fig. (=my fig. 643), G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 196 fig. 68, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 131, 164, 220 f. Münztaf. 2, 25, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 97 pl. 9, 24 (comparing L. Müller *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique* Copenhague 1860 i. 50 no. 193 fig. a gold coin of Kyrene).

[3] *Infra* § 7 (c).

[4] Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*[3] i. 197 ff., Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] pp. 123, 139 f.

[5] Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] vi. 142 nos. 127 and 128 fig., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 165 f. Münztaf. 2, 35 (=my fig. 644), Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 97 pl. 9, 25, Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* iii. 63 no. 9 pl. 156, 1 ('col fulmine e lo scettro'). For other numismatic types of Iupiter *Victor* see Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 896 ff., 1225, 1228, Suppl. iii. 158, 275, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 484.



Fig. 646.

Iupiter *Stator* (on whom see E. Aust in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 682—686, 758, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 20—23, Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 122 f.) appears on Roman coins from Antoninus Pius to Caracalla (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 921, Suppl. iii. 157, 162, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 484 fig.) usually as a nude figure standing erect with a spear (sceptre?) in one hand, a thunderbolt in the other (fig. 646 is from a silver coin of Gordianus Pius in my collection). His title was Grecised as Στήσιος (Plout. *v. Cic.* 16 εἰς τὸ τοῦ Στησίου Διὸς ἱερόν, ὃν Στάτορα Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν) or Ἐπιστάσιος (Plout. *v. Rom.* 18 ἔστησαν οὖν πρῶτον οὗ νῦν ὁ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Στάτορος ἵδρυται νεώς, ὃν Ἐπιστάσιον ἂν τις ἑρμηνεύσειεν) or, less accurately, as Ὀρθώσιος (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 50 quoted *supra* p. 422 n. 1).

Plate XXIX



Etruscan mirror: the birth of Athena.

See page 709 ff.

sometimes show a naked Zeus advancing with thunderbolt and spear (fig. 645)[1]. The earliest specimen, however, gives him a long sceptre (fig. 647)[2] and most of the later specimens a short headless spear or sceptre (fig. 648)[3]—a type found also on the third-century federal coppers of the Bruttians (fig. 649)[4] and Lucanians (fig. 650)[5].

A magnificent mirror from Arezzo, now in the Museum at Bologna[6], represents (pl. xxix) the birth of Athena from the head


Fig. 647.


Fig. 648.


Fig. 649.


Fig. 650.

of Zeus (*Tina*)[7]. The god is seated upon the clouds of heaven, holding a leaf-shaped lance in his right hand and a sceptre in his left. Two goddesses occupy the place and perform the duty of the Eileithyiai. They are named *Thalna* and *Thanr*[8] respectively. The former clasps Zeus about the waist. The latter makes magic passes over his head, from which emerges the diminutive figure of Athena in full armour. Hephaistos, here called *Sethlans*[9], who has cleft the

[1] Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 157 pl. 112, 1 (=my fig. 645) describes this very obvious spear as a 'scettro.' If his illustration is right, his text is wrong.

[2] I am indebted to my friend Mr C. T. Seltman for the example of series A here illustrated (fig. 647).

[3] Garrucci *op. cit.* p. 157 pl. 112, 9 ('con lo scettro nella sin.'), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 371 f. nos. 1 ('holding sceptre') and 5—8 ('holding sceptre'), *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 139 nos. 1—3 ('holding sceptre in l.'), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 107. Fig. 648 is from a coin in my collection.

[4] Garrucci *op. cit.* p. 184 pl. 124, 23 (=my fig. 649) and 24 ('con iscettro nella sin.'), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 330 f. nos. 93—98 ('sceptre in extended l.'), *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 124 no. 55 pl. 9, 5 and nos. 56—61 ('spear in extended l.'), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 92.

[5] Garrucci *op. cit.* p. 182 pl. 123, 27, 28, 29 (=my fig. 650) ('con scettro nella sin.'), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 224 nos. 2—4 ('holding spear in l.'), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 70.

[6] E. Brizio in the *Guida del Museo Civico di Bologna* Bologna 1882 p. 24.

[7] F. Inghirami *Monumenti etruschi o di etrusco nome* Poligrafia Fiesolana 1824 ii. 202—245 pl. 10—a careful detailed drawing, which served as the foundation of Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 67—69 pl. 66 (=my pl. xxix). A fresh tracing of the mirror is published by E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1851 xxiii. 142 ff. pl. I—K. For further bibliography see C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 785.

[8] So E. Braun *loc. cit.* p. 143 ff. read the name, which had previously been transcribed as *Thana*. His attempt to identify *Thanr* with Iuno (*Uni*) is, however, hopeless.

[9] C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 786 ff. proposes to connect *śeθlans* with *σίδηρος*: 'Das Wort geht auf eine Form *śeθla zurück, die nach etruskischen Lautgesetzen für *śéθala stehen kann. Dies śéθala aber ist so klärlich gleich *σιδᾱρος*, dass es keiner weiteren Erörterungen darüber bedarf. Der śeθlans ist somit der "ferrarius," und die Form würde in griechischem Gewande *Σιδηρηρός* lauten.'

head of Zeus with his double axe, stands aloof on the right, his leg supported on a rock and his arm thrown up in astonishment at the result of his blow[1]. Behind *Thalna* is a pomegranate-tree[2] with an

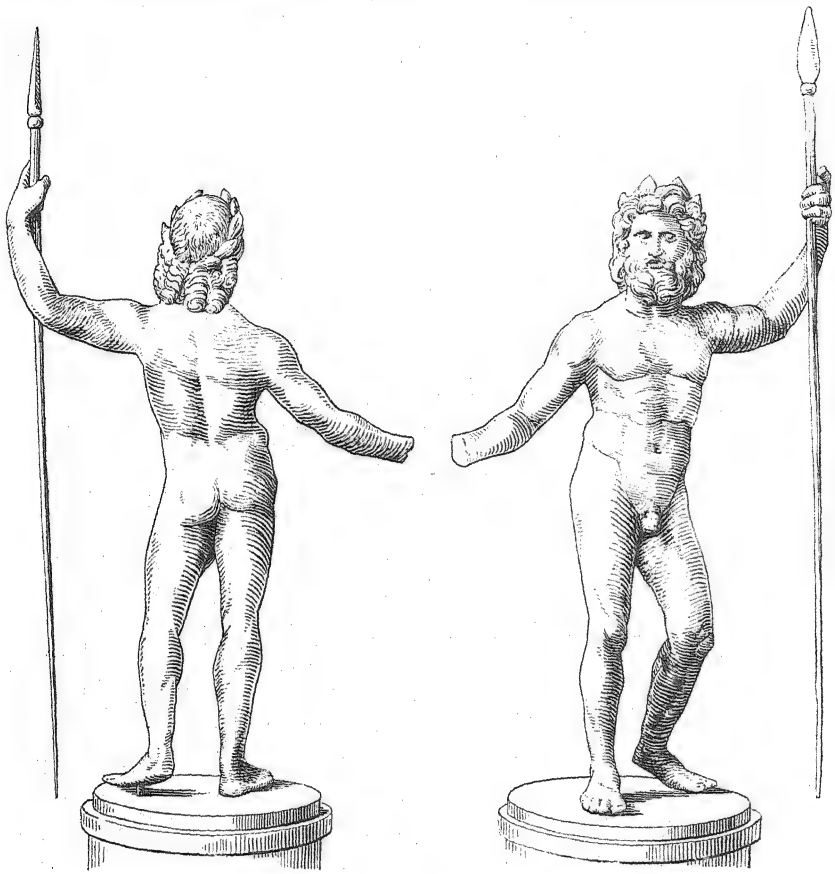


Fig. 651.

eagle[3] perched upon it; behind *Thanr*, a bay-tree. The back of the handle shows the face of Aphrodite, with a flower[4] in her hair, surrounded by leafage and flanked by a couple of doves. It will be

[1] His pose recalls on the one hand that of Hephaistos on a black-figured *amphora* in the Louvre (no. E 852, *infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*)), on the other hand that of Hermes in the east pediment of the Parthenon (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*)).

[2] Gerhard *op. cit.* iii. 68 takes it to be 'eine Myrtenstaude,' noting that the fruit of the myrtle resembles a small pomegranate.

[3] *Id. ib.* says 'mit darauf sitzender Taube,' but admits that the hooked beak is a difficulty. The suggestion of myrtle and dove would hardly have been made, had it not been for the erroneous notion that *Thalna* was a sort of Aphrodite (*Turan*).

[4] Gerhard *op. cit.* iii. 69: 'eine Rose.'

observed that in this imposing design the thunderbolt is definitely shaped like a short spear or javelin[1].

A Gallo-Roman bronze, found by labourers in 1914 on the site of a Roman house at Lyons, represents Iupiter, nude, bearded, and erect (fig. 651)[2]. His abundant hair is encircled with a wreath of bay or olive. His eyes show traces of incrustation in silver—a

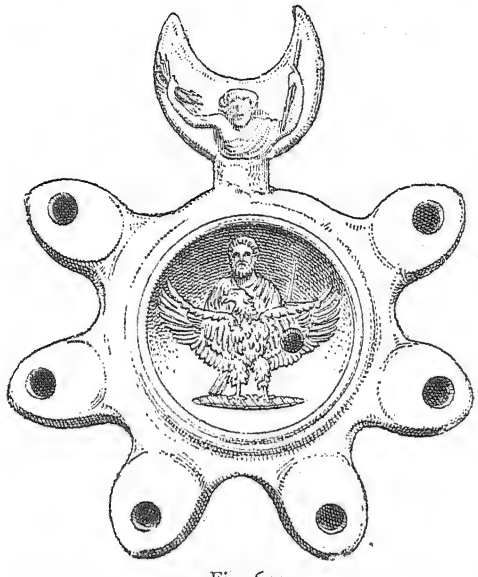


Fig. 652.



Fig. 653.

frequent and effective device. In his outstretched right hand, now lost, was some attribute, presumably a thunderbolt. In his raised left hand is a spear, still intact. H. Lechat in his excellent publication of the statuette, which he attributes to the first half of the second century A.D., rightly insists on its fine, almost Greek, style[3], but wrongly—to my thinking—denies that its attributes had any special significance[4]. On the contrary I should maintain that

[1] P. Jacobsthal *Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst* Berlin 1906 p. 15 fig. 20: 'Die Knospe erscheint hier eher wie ein Blatt einer Lanzenspitze, auf dessen Fläche Ornamente graviert sind.' In E. Braun's plate (*Ann. d. Inst.* 1851 xxiii pl. I—K), the resemblance of the lance to a thunderbolt with a spike at either end is rather more pronounced.

[2] H. Lechat 'Statuette de Jupiter' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1917 i. 68—71 pl. 3 (=my fig. 651).

[3] The turn of the head towards the supporting leg implies the lasting influence of some fifth-century sculptor (Polykleitos?). But the thick mass of hair, the exaggerated swelling of the abdominal wall above the hip, and the *Schwung* of the whole figure betray the predilections of a much later period.

[4] H. Lechat *loc. cit.* p. 70: 'Au déclin du paganisme, dans ces minuscules figurations divines dénuées de tout caractère officiel, on voit des attributs qui sont comme vides de

Iupiter, grasping a bolt in one hand and a spear in the other, fittingly expressed the popular belief in a sky-god, whose weapons were thunder and lightning.

In conclusion, it should be noticed that Roman lamps with crescentic handles not unfrequently have the crescent embellished with a relief of Iupiter holding a thunderbolt in his right hand and a spear or sceptre in his left (fig. 652)[1]. An example in the British Museum gives him an unmistakable spear (fig. 653)[2]. The lightning-god was a suitable adornment of the light-giving lamp[3], and his threatensome attitude an excellent *apotrópaion*.

iii. The sword of Zeus.

Greek literature never equips Zeus with a sword. Can the same be said of Greek art? The question arises in connexion with an important Attico-Ionian *amphora* found at Caere in Etruria and now preserved in the Louvre (pl. xxx)[4]. The body of the vase exhibits two scenes, which together form one of our earliest representations of the Gigantomachia[5]. The main combat is that of Zeus, who single-handed attacks three Giants. Agasthenes is down and out; Ephialtes and Hyperbios still show fight. The Giants are armed like Greek hoplites. So too is Zeus, except that the round shield borne on his left arm is fringed with twenty bristling snakes

sens et ne servent plus que de prétexte à une pose, d'occasion à un geste.... De même, ici, la lance au lieu du sceptre.'

[1] J. Toutain in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1327 f. fig. 4593 (=my fig. 652) from a terra-cotta specimen in the Louvre, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps* p. 129 nos. 854—857 terra-cotta handles only.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps* p. 129 no. 857 fig. 159 (=my fig. 653). Height 2⅝ inches. According to H. B. Walters, 'Zeus has three darts or arrows in r. hand.' But nos. 854—856 make it clear that a thunderbolt is intended.

[3] G. Supka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1915 xxx Arch. Anz. pp. 24, 27 f. fig. 6 publishes a large bronze lamp from Mór, now in the National Museum at Buda-Pesth, which has a fine bust of Zeus (eyes and lips originally incrusted), without thunderbolt, spear, or sceptre, between the horns of the crescent and below it on the crescent a bust of Helios. Other lamp-handles show Zeus between the horns, upborne on an eagle grasping a thunderbolt (A. C. P. de Tubières Comte de Caylus *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines et gauloises* Paris 1764 vi. 305 pl. 97, 5, Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 11 no. 20 fig. Cp. *supra* p. 102 f. fig. 64).

[4] Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* ii. 544 f. no. E 732, *id. Vases antiques du Louvre* 2me Série Paris 1901 p. 68 f. no. E 732 pl. 54 (views of front and back from photographs), O. Jahn 'Gigantomachia, dipinto vasculare ceretano' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 243—255, *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 78 (=my pl. xxx), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 349 ff. no. 13 with Atlas pl. 4, 8, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 162, 3—5, J. Endt *Beiträge zur jonischen Vasenmalerei* Prag 1899 p. 38 f., H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 13 f. fig. 111.

[5] M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 282 ff. no. 4.



Ionian (Cean?) *amphora* from Caere, now in the Louvre: Zeus, in the Gigantomachia, fighting Agasthenes, Ephialtes, and Hyperbios.

See page 712 f.

and that the weapon brandished in his right hand appears to be a thunderbolt of unusual form. The other combatants are grouped in pairs[1]. Hera stabs Harpolykos (?). Athena seizes Enkelados by the crest of his helmet and swings up a short sword for the *coup de grâce*. Poseidon, in a scaled cuirass, with a black rock (the island Nisyros) on his left shoulder and a trident in his right hand, dispatches Polybotes. And Hermes, in *pétasos*, pelt, and *endromídes*, plunges a lance into Polybios. The inscriptions, according to P. Kretschmer[2], suggest that the painter hailed from Keos, or possibly Naxos or Amorgos. Our business, however, is not with the subject as a whole, but with the weapon of Zeus in particular. O. Jahn[3], J. Overbeck[4], and M. Mayer[5]—three highly competent critics—all took it to be a sword. But E. Pottier[6]—an authority of equal eminence—described it as the thunderbolt. And P. Jacobsthal[7] has argued in the same sense: he points out that Zeus, unlike the other swordsmen of the vase, has neither sheath nor sword-belt; that the attitude of his arm implies the action of hurling, not striking; and that the lines engraved on the bolt can be paralleled from the Etruscan mirror already discussed[8]. I accept this conclusion and assume that the front half of the thunderbolt is supposed to be hidden by the swan-head crests of Zeus' helmet.

We are on surer ground, though in a less Hellenic atmosphere, when we pass from the Kyklades to Karia. In the temple at Labranda near Mylasa Zeus was worshipped as *Strátios*, and his ancient image had a sword slung beside it[9]. Here we can be

[1] On this type-form see Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 341 ff. and H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 9 ff.

[2] P. Kretschmer in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1889—1892 xxxi. 292 ff., *id. Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 pp. 59—61 ('Keische Vase'): ΣVHΞ=Ζεύς, ...ϤOΣΛ1Λ='Αγασθέ[νης], ΣOIϘϘHΓ1V='Υπέρβιος, HIΠIΛΛTEΣ ='Επιάλτης, ΛPΠOΛ....='Αρπόλ[υκος], HE..='Η[ρη], ΣHΞMϤΞH='Ερμῆς, Π...BIOΣ=Π[ολύ]βιος, AΘENΛH='Αθηνάη, ΣOΔΛΛΞHIΞH='Ε(γ)[κ]έλαδος, .ΞTOϘVΛOΠ=Πολυβώτη[ς]. The same irregularity in the writing of *e*-sounds is, according to Kretschmer, a feature of Cean inscriptions (but see A. Thumb *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* Heidelberg 1909 p. 346 f.).

[3] O. Jahn in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 246: 'una larga spada.'

[4] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 349: 'nicht seinen Blitz, sondern ein gewaltiges Schwerdt.'

[5] M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 285: 'ein Schwert.'

[6] E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 2me Série Paris 1901 p. 68: 'Zeus brandit le foudre de la main droite.'

[7] P. Jacobsthal *Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst* Berlin 1906 p. 15 n. 2.

[8] *Supra* p. 709 ff. pl. xxix.

[9] Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 30 quoted *supra* p. 591 n. 1.

tolerably certain that the old sky-god with his double axe (*lábrys*) has been modernised into a war-god with a handier blade[1].

At Stratonikeia, not twenty miles away from Mylasa, Zeus was *Chrysaoreús*[2] or *Chrysaórios*[3]. The town, indeed the whole district, had in early days been called *Chrysaorís*[4]. Its inhabitants, the *Chrysaoreîs*[5], were members of a league specially devoted to the cult of Zeus *Chrysaoreús*[6]. There was also a Carian hero Chrysaor,

[1] *Supra* p. 590 f. Similarly the Babylonian Zeus bore a dagger as well as a double axe for warlike purposes (Baruch 6. 15 ἔχει δὲ ἐγχειρίδιον δεξιᾷ καὶ πέλεκυν, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐκ πολέμου καὶ λῃστῶν οὐκ ἐξελεῖται): W. H. Roscher *Die Gorgonen und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1879 p. 78 n. 158.

[2] Strab. 660 ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Στρατονικέων δύο ἱερά, ἐν μὲν Λαγίνοις τὸ τῆς Ἑκάτης ἐπιφανέστατον, πανηγύρεις μεγάλας συνάγον κατ' ἐνιαυτόν· ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ τοῦ Χρυσαορέως Διὸς κοινὸν ἁπάντων Καρῶν, εἰς ὃ συνίασι θύσοντές τε καὶ βουλευσόμενοι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν· κ.τ.λ. A base found at Delphoi records a decree of the Delphic Amphiktiones, between 205 and 202 B.C., in honour of Antiochos iii and of Antiocheia in Chrysaoris ὅτι τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων τὰμ μὲν πόλιν τὰν Ἀντιο|χέων καὶ τὰν χώραν ἀναδεικνύει ἄσυλον καὶ ἱερὰν τοῦ Διὸς Χρυσαορέ|ως καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἰσοτίμου, κ.τ.λ. (L. Couve in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 235 ff. no. ii, 23 ff., J. Baunack in Collitz—Bechtel

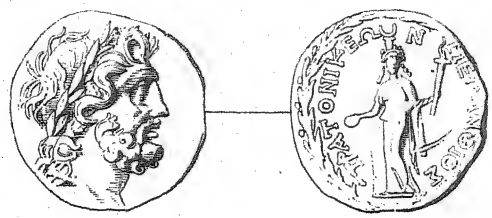


Fig. 654.

Gr. Dial.-Inschr. ii. 708 ff. no. 2529, 23 ff., Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 252, 23 ff., Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 234, 23 ff.). Silver coins of Stratonikeia from 81 B.C. onwards have *obv.* head of Zeus with bay-wreath; *rev.* Hekate, with *kálathos* surmounted by crescent, holding *phíale* and torch (A. v. Sallet in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1888 xvi. 5 pl. 1, 2 (=my fig. 654) a unique *tridrachmon* at Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 155, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 150 pl. 23, 17, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 624 f.): the two deities here represented are presumably those named in Strab. 660 (*supra*).

[3] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2720 (Stratonikeia) a decree of the people and senate honouring Hierokles, son of Panaitios son of Thrason, 3 ff. [ἀρχιερέα] τῶν Σεβαστῶν, (ἱ)ερέα τοῦ Πα|[ναμάρου Διὸς καὶ] τῆς Ἑκάτης τ(ῆ)ς (δ)αιδοφόρου | [μετὰ τῆς γυναικ]ὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀφία(ς) τῆς Ἱεροκλέ|[ους, ἱερέ]α Διὸς Χρυσαορίου, ἱερέα Δι|[ὸς Ῥεμβηνόδου (?), ἱ]ερέα Διὸς Να(κ)ράσου (?), ἱερέα Δι|[ὸς Σεράπιδος (?)] and his two sons Thrason 13 f. [ἀρχιερέα τῶ]ν Σεβαστῶν, – – | – – [ἱερέα Διὸς] τοῦ Παναμάρου and Leon 15 f. ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβασ|[τῶν, – –] – ἱερέα Διὸς Χρυσαορίου, | κ.τ.λ., no. 2721 (Stratonikeia), 11 ff. ἱ|εράτευσαν δὲ πάλιν οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ Θρ(ά)|σων μὲν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Χρυσαορ(ί)ου, | Λέων δὲ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Παναμάρου.

[4] Paus. 5. 21. 10, Steph. Byz. *s.vv.* Ἰδριάς, Χρυσαορίς.

[5] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Χρυσαορίς, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1590, 19, no. 1591, 44 and 56, ii no. 2693 *a*, 19, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 111, 8, no. 234, 12, no. 441, 22, *alib.*

[6] On this league, which was called τὸ Χρυσάορειον (or Χρυσαορικὸν) σύστημα, see L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2485, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 111 n. 4.

father of the eponyms Idrieus[1] and Mylasos[2]. Philon of Byblos in his version of Sanchouniathon's history[3] gives *Chrysór* as the name of the Phoenician Hephaistos, whom he further identifies with Zeus *Meilíchios*[4].

With regard to this group of names some rather venturesome views have been advanced by P. Carolidis[5]. He holds that Zeus *Chrysaoreús* was the Hellenic form of the *non*-Hellenic Zeus *Osogós*, whose appellative he connects with the Armenian *vosghi* or *osghi*, 'gold.' *Chrysaoreús*, originally *Chrysáor*, involves—we are told—the suffix *-vor* (=*-phóros*), and this 'Golden' deity was the great sun-god of Asia Minor later fused with the war-god of the Chalybes, Zeus *Strátios*.

It must, I suppose, be conceded that the names *Chrysaoreus* etc. are Greek, at least in appearance. It is, however, an assumption that Zeus *Chrysaoreús* was one with Zeus *Osogôa* (so his title should be spelled[6]), and a further assumption that either of them was ever called Zeus *Strátios*. Again, it is obvious that the suffix *-phóros* cannot possibly enter into such forms as *Chrysáor*, *Chrysaoreús*. I should rather conclude that *Chrysaoreús*, if Greek, meant 'He of the Golden Sword,' the latter element in the compound being akin to *áor*, 'a sword,' itself a word of doubtful origin but best related to *aeíro* as 'a thing slung from, or attached to,' the wearer[7]. But, since the Greek *chrysós*, 'gold,' was borrowed from the Semitic *ḥârûṣ*[8], it is likely enough that we have here to do with a Greek attempt to extract sense from a Semitic (Phoenician?) name—a phenomenon already noted in other connexions[9].

On the whole, it seems probable that the Carian Zeus *Chrysaoreús* or *Chrysaórios* would have been regarded by neighbouring

[1] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Εὐρωπός. [2] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μύλασα. [3] *Supra* i. 191.

[4] Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 566 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* i. 10. 11 f. *χρόνοις δὲ ὕστερον πολλοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ὑψουρανίου γενεᾶς γενέσθαι Ἀγρέα καὶ Ἁλιέα, τοὺς ἄγρας καὶ ἁλείας εὑρετάς, ἐξ ὧν κληθῆναι ἀγρευτὰς καὶ ἁλιεῖς· ἐξ ὧν γενέσθαι δύο ἀδελφούς, σιδήρου εὑρετὰς καὶ τῆς τούτου ἐργασίας· ὧν θάτερον τὸν Χρυσὼρ λόγους ἀσκῆσαι καὶ ἐπῳδὰς καὶ μαντείας· εἶναι δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Ἥφαιστον, εὑρεῖν δὲ καὶ ἄγκιστρον καὶ δέλεαρ καὶ ὁρμιὰν καὶ σχεδίαν, πρῶτόν τε πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλεῦσαι· διὸ καὶ ὡς θεὸν αὐτὸν μετὰ θάνατον ἐσεβάσθησαν· καλεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Δία Μειλίχιον.* See further F. C. Movers *Untersuchungen über die Religion und die Gottheiten der Phönizier* Bonn 1841 i. 658 f.

[5] P. Carolidis *Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen* Strassburg i. E. 1913 pp. 97–99.

[6] *Supra* p. 580.

[7] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] pp. 8 f., 43, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* pp. 15 f., 66, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 255 *s.v.* '-ensis.'

[8] H. Lewy *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* Berlin 1895 p. 59 f., Schrader *Reallex.* p. 299, S. Feist *Kultur Ausbreitung und Herkunft Indogermanen* Berlin 1913 p. 207 f.

[9] *Supra* i. 18 f., 25 with n. 2, *alib.*

Greeks—say Ionians of the coast-district—as the 'Bearer of a Golden Sword.' Now we have seen that the Ionians of the Kyklades had quite a *penchant* for arming their deities with the sword: on the *amphora* figured above (pl. xxx) even Hera and Athena are using this weapon with effect. We are therefore prepared to find that Ionic minstrels, and after them the poets in general, spoke of this, that, and the other divine personage as 'bearer of a golden sword.' Apollon, for example, was *chrysáoros*[1] or *chrysáor*[2]—an epithet which certainly denotes him as god 'of the golden sword' (*áor*), not, as it was misinterpreted by later critics, 'of the golden quiver-strap (*aortér*), or lyre-strap, or lyre[3].' Artemis too in an oracle of Bakis was, like her brother, *chrysáoros*[4]. So was Demeter in the Homeric hymn[5]. Orpheus was described by Pindar as *chrysáor*[6]. And Chrysaor, Chrysaorios, Chrysaoreus occur as theophoric names, not only in Karia and countries adjacent[7], but also in places far afield[8].

Nor must we forget Chrysaor the twin-brother of Pegasos. Hesiod[9] tells us that, when Perseus cut off the head of the Gorgon Medousa,—

> Forth sprang Chrysaor huge and Pegasos
> The horse—this named from the founts of Ocean
> Where he was born; that grasped a golden sword.
> Pegasos, quitting earth the mother of flocks,
> Winged his way heavenward: in Zeus' home he dwells
> Bearing the thunder-peal and lightning-flash
> For Zeus the wise. Chrysaor met and knew
> Great Ocean's child, the maid Kallirrhoe,
> And had for son three-headed Geryon.

[1] *Il.* 5. 509, 15. 256, *h. Ap.* 395, *h. Artem.* 3, Hes. *frag.* 227, 3 Flach, 265, 3 Rzach *ap.* schol. Pind. *Nem.* 2. 1, Ap. Rhod. 3. 1283 (χρυσαόρῳ Ἀπόλλωνι R. C. Seaton and G. W. Mooney with codd. G. L 16. and two of the Vatican MSS.), Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 267 Ἐπίθετα Ἀπόλλωνος no. 46 χρυσαόρου.

[2] *H. Ap.* 123, Hes. *o. d.* 771, Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 104, Orph. *Arg.* 140, Ap. Rhod. 3. 1283 (χρυσάορι Ἀπόλλωνι vulg., but see *supra* n. 1).

[3] Schol. *Il.* 5. 509, 15. 256, Hesych. *s.v.* χρυσάωρ, Souid. *s.v.* χρυσάορον. See Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 290 n. 5, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2484 f.

[4] Hdt. 8. 77 = *Anth. Pal.* 14. 98. 1 (Bakis).

[5] *H. Dem.* 4. E. E. Sikes *ad loc.* comments: 'χρυσαόρου: Hermann thought that the epithet could only have been chosen by an interpolator. But Demeter is ξιφηφόρος in Lycophr. 153, where the schol. notes ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ἵδρυται Δημήτηρ ξίφος ἔχουσα.'

[6] Pind. *frag.* 139, 10 Schröder *ap.* schol. *Il.* 15. 256 χρυσάορον· ἤτοι χρυσοφάσγανον, ἢ χρυσοῦν τὸν ἀορτῆρα τῆς φαρέτρας ἔχοντα ἢ τῆς κιθάρας, οὐκέτι δὲ τοῦ ξίφους· ἀγνὸς γὰρ ὁ θεός (codd. A. D.). καὶ Πίνδαρος χρυσάορα τὸν Ὀρφέα φησί. τινὲς δὲ χρυσοῦν ξίφος ἔχοντα (codd. A. L., cp. cod. T.).

[7] E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* (*Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* xx. 1) Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 17, W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 ii. 1692.

[8] De Vit *Onomasticon* ii. 266, *Thes. Ling. Lat.* Suppl. i. 419, 25 ff.

[9] Hes. *theog.* 281—288.

A terra-cotta relief from Melos, now in the British Museum (fig. 655)[1], shows Perseus on horseback riding off with the *Gorgóneion*. From the neck of Medousa emerges a small draped male



Fig. 655.

figure, Chrysaor: Pegasos is not represented[2]. More often Chrysaor and Pegasos spring simultaneously from the severed neck. The end-panel of a limestone *sarcophagus* from Golgoi (*Athienau*) in

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 132 no. B 365, J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* Series ii London 1826 p. 3 pl. 2 (=my fig. 655), Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 9 pl. 14, 51, Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 1289 f. fig. 1438, Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 797 with fig. on p. 798, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 217 f. fig. 53 a, M. B. Huish *Greek Terra-cotta Statuettes* London 1900 p. 137 pl. 37 (photograph).

[2] So Millingen *loc. cit.* Wieseler *loc. cit.* took the horse ridden by Perseus to be a wingless Pegasos, as do Baumeister and Smith—Wayte—Marindin *locc. citt.* But Overbeck *loc. cit.* rightly points out that Perseus is on horseback just because Bellerophon rides a horse in the pendant relief, found in the same Melian tomb in 1819 (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 132 no. B 364).

Kypros, which forms part of the Cesnola collection at New York, has a graphic delineation of the scene (fig. 656)[1]. Perseus, with the head in a wallet (*kíbisis*), turns his back on the moribund Medousa and marches off, to be followed by his hound. A red-figured *amphora* at Munich (fig. 657)[2] gives Perseus the winged cap, the winged sandals, and even the winged *caduceus* of Hermes: Medousa is accompanied by a second Gorgon, and Perseus by Athena. An Etruscan scarab (fig. 658)[3] leaves the figure of Medousa to speak

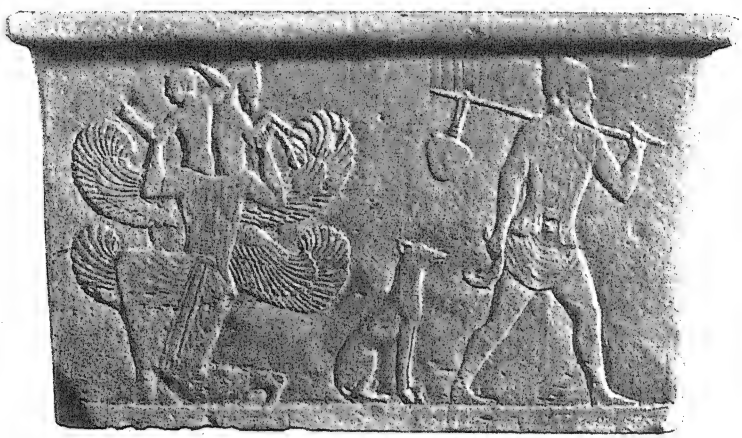


Fig. 656.

for itself. A small two-handled vase from Nola, formerly in the Campana collection (fig. 659)[4], had a stamped design representing a somewhat later moment. At the foot of an Ionic column surmounted by a Sphinx Medousa has fallen backwards in death. Chrysaor and Pegasos are already free from her neck, the former a naked infant kneeling on the ground, the latter a winged horse galloping up the sky. The two living Gorgons, Stheno and Euryale, with snakes in their right hands, pursue the hero, who keeping firm hold of his *kíbisis* and *hárpe* is conducted by Hermes into the

[1] G. Colonna Ceccaldi 'Un sarcophage d'Athiénau (Chypre)' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1875 i. 22 ff. pl. 2, L. P. di Cesnola *Cyprus: its ancient cities, tombs, and temples* London 1877 p. 110 ff. pl. 10, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 615 ff. fig. 419, E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2031 f. fig. 3, J. L. Myres in the *Ant. Denkm.* iii. 1. 3 f. pls. 5 and 6 (6 c =my fig. 656), *id. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* New York 1914 p. 226 ff. no. 1364 fig. 1364 A—D.

[2] Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 292 no. 910, Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* ii. 24 ff. pl. 89, 3 and 4 (=my fig. 657), Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 49, 2 and 4, E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2038.

[3] Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 20, 37 (=my fig. 658: scale $\frac{2}{1}$), ii. 99.

[4] E. Braun in the *Mon. Ann. e Bull. d. Inst.* 1855 pp. 17—20 pl. 2 (=my fig. 659), E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2038.

presence of Athena. Behind her back are three pairs of wings



Fig. 657.

hung up like weapons in an armoury[1]. This last touch was not

[1] E. Kuhnert *loc. cit.* describes these wings as 'Unverständlich.' But Perseus had been fitted out by the Nymphs with wings on head and foot, and these presuppose a divine store-house of such things.

particularly happy, and is abandoned in favour of a duplicated column on an *ólpe* of black glazed ware from Capua, now in the British Museum[1], which otherwise exhibits precisely the same stamped design. It would seem, then, that the artists of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. ignored the Hesiodic tradition that Chrysaor 'grasped a golden sword,' but were well aware of his phenomenal birth.

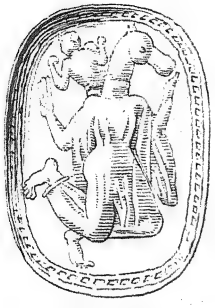


Fig. 658.

Now F. Hannig[2] has argued that Chrysaor had originally nothing to do with Pegasos, but was none other than the Carian Chrysaor[3] (son of the Sisyphid Glaukos[4], as was also Bellero-

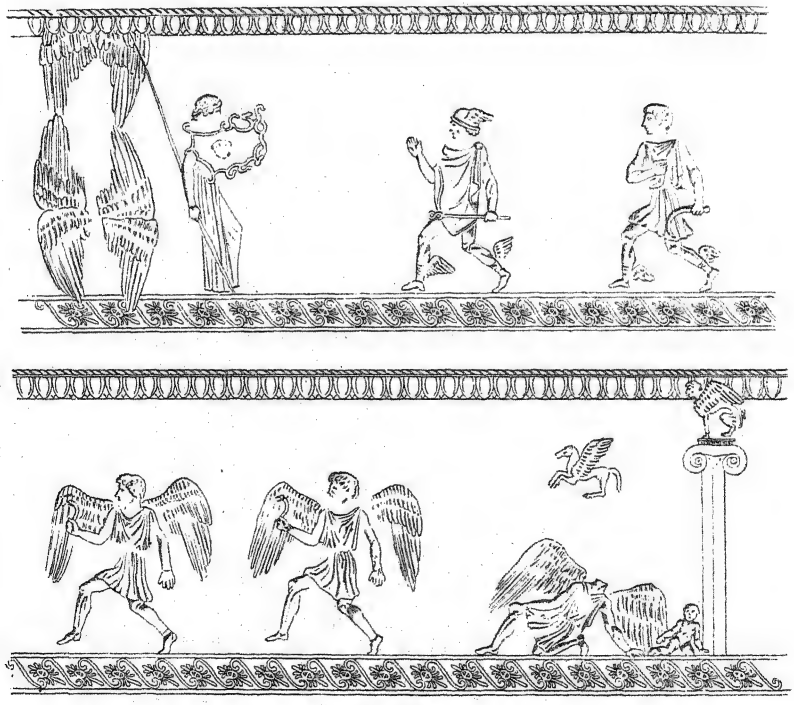


Fig. 659.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 250 no. G 90.

[2] F. Hannig *De Pegaso* (*Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen* viii. 4) Vratislaviae 1902 pp. 26—28 ('De Chrysaore a prima ortus fabula alieno'), *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1749.

[3] *Supra* p. 714 f.

[4] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μύλασα·...ἀπὸ Μυλάσου τοῦ Χρυσάορος τοῦ Γλαύκου τοῦ Σισύφου τοῦ Αἰόλου.

phon[1]), who first became attached to the birth-saga in Asia Minor, the story having been carried thither by Dorian colonists from its home in the northern Peloponnese. To this hypothesis in a modified form O. Gruppe[2] has given his assent. It should, however, be emphasised that what brought Chrysaor and Pegasos together in this peculiar twinship was their identity of function. According to Hesiod[3] and Euripides[4], Pegasos carries the thunder and lightning of Zeus. And scholars both ancient[5] and modern[6] have seen in Chrysaor a personification of the lightning[7]. I am no devotee of meteorological mythology, but I admit the attractiveness of this hypothesis, which explains well the 'golden sword' of our earliest

[1] E. Wilisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1688 ff., G. Weicker in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1408 ff.

[2] Hannig's views have been summarised and criticised by Gruppe in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* März 25, 1905 p. 380 ff., who however accepts his contention that Pegasos at first belonged to the Bellerophon-myth and concludes (*ib.* p. 386) with great ingenuity as follows: 'Endlich sind Pegasos und Bellerophontes wahrscheinlich nicht erst von Argos aus über Rhodos, sondern schon durch die troizenische Kolonie Halikarnassos, die früh den Vorderteil des Pegasos auf die Münzen setzte, in das benachbarte Bargylia, das er gegründet haben sollte, gekommen; auch Glaukos' Sohn Chrysaor ist vielleicht von Halikarnassos, also in letzter Linie von Troizen aus in eine Genealogie von Mylasa gelangt, und schliesslich ist sein Name als Entsprechung des mit der Doppelaxt dargestellten barbarischen Landesgottes von Karien gefasst worden. Nun ist natürlich Chrysaor, der Sohn des Glaukos, d. h. des Poseidon, und der Eurymede, nicht zu trennen von Chrysaor, dem Sohne Poseidons und der (Eury)medusa; beide sind niemand anders als Bellerophontes χρυσάωρ, der ebenfalls Glaukos' oder Poseidons und Eurymedes Sohn heisst. Der troizenische Hymnos erzählte also, wie aus dem Haupte der Medusa Bellerophontes das Goldschwert in der Hand und den Pegasos reitend hervorsprang: das ist eine Parallele und hat wahrscheinlich die Anregung gegeben zu der argivischen Sage von Athena, die in goldener Rüstung mit Ross und Wagen aus dem Haupt des Göttervaters hervorging.' See also Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 434, 590 f.

[3] Hes. *theog.* 285 f. Ζηνὸς δ' ἐν δώμασι ναίει | βροντήν τε στεροπήν τε φέρων Διὶ μητιόεντι.

[4] Eur. *Bellerophontes frag.* 312 Nauck[2] *ap.* Aristoph. *pac.* 722 ὑφ' ἅρματ' ἐλθὼν Ζηνὸς ἀστραπηφορεῖ with schol. *ad loc.* ὁ στίχος ἐκ Βελλεροφόντου Εὐριπίδου. παρὰ τὸ ἀστραπαῖς ὑπηρετεῖν.

[5] Schol. Hes. *theog.* 282 τίκτονται ἀστραπαὶ καὶ ὄμβροι, ὅ ἐστι Χρυσάωρ καὶ Πήγασος. Χρυσάωρ ὁ λαμπρὸς ἀήρ. κ.τ.λ., Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 17 τὸ δὲ λεπτομερέστερον εἰς τὸ αἰθερειδέστερον καὶ ἔτι εἰς τὸ πυρῶδες μεταβάλλειν, ὅπερ καὶ Χρυσάορα κεκλήκασι.

[6] *E.g.* W. H. Roscher *Die Gorgonen und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1879 p. 115 'Chrysaor = Goldschwert ist natürlich abermals ein Symbol des Blitzes,' E. H. Meyer *Indogermanische Mythen* Berlin 1887 ii (Achilleis). 480 '...Chrysaor, das Goldschwert, kann nur als Blitz gedeutet werden,' Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 192 '...Chrysaor und Pegasos entspringen d. h. der zuckende Lichtstrahl des Blitzes und die geflügelte Donnerwolke.'

[7] It is noteworthy that in Orph. *lith.* 551 χρυσαόρῳ Περσῆι (χρυσαύρῳ ed. Ald. J. G. J. Hermann cj. χρυσοπάτρῳ. E. Abel cj. χρυσογόνῳ) the epithet χρυσάορος is applied to Perseus himself, whose sword (first mentioned in Hes. *sc. Her.* 221 f. ὥμοισιν δέ μιν ἀμφὶ μελάνδετον ἄορ ἔκειτο | χαλκέου (χάλκεον codd. K. L.) ἐκ τελαμῶνος) subsequently becomes a sickle-sword (first in Pherekyd. *frag.* 25 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 75 f. Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1515 τῇ ἅρπῃ) or sickle (so on a 'Lucanian' *hydria* from Anzi in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 95 f. no. F 185 pl. 7): see E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1990, 2021.

authority and falls into line with the folk-concepts of various peoples[1]. If valid, it leads us to conclude that Zeus *Chrysaoreús* of Stratonikeia was viewed by the Greeks as a lightning-god, 'He of the Golden Sword,'—a deity essentially akin to Zeus *Stratios* the sword-bearer of Labranda.

iv. The thunderbolt of Zeus.

Zeus regarded as a lightning-god was, we have seen, sometimes armed with an axe, occasionally with a spear, very seldom with a sword or dagger, never—be it observed—with bow and arrows[2] (like Apollon) or with club (like Herakles). But far more frequent than any or all of these is another weapon. Innumerable passages of Greek literature and innumerable monuments of Greek art represent Zeus equipped with a thunderbolt. Of the literary allusions I have already said something and shall have to say more. We are here concerned only with the artistic representations, and with the light that they throw upon the development of popular belief[3].

(*a*) Gradual elimination of the thunderbolt.

O. Gruppe[4] has remarked that the thunderbolt, which from the sixth century B.C. onwards characterises the figure of Zeus, falls gradually into the background. 'Men seem to have realised,' he says, 'that a sense of majesty is produced not so much by the exercise of power as by the power to exercise it.'

To this progressive elimination of the thunderbolt there was one significant exception. In the Council Hall at Olympia even as late as the second century A.D. stood the formidable figure of Zeus *Hórkios*[5], 'God of Oaths,' still grasping a thunderbolt in either hand

[1] See F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 pp. 103, 231, 235, 282 f., *id. Indogermanischer Volksglaube* Berlin 1885 pp. 26 n. 1, 104, 141, 143, 225, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 92.

J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* Edinburgh 1860 i pp. lxxiv, 1 ff., ii. 238 ff. gives two tales, which have points in common with the myth of Perseus, Chrysaor, and Pegasos. In no. 1, 'The young king of Easaidh Ruadh,' the hero beheads the king of the oak windows and obtains two treasures belonging to him, *viz.* a white-faced black horse, the best in Erin, and a marvellous sword known as the Glaive of Light. In no. 46, 'Mac Iain Direach,' the hero obtains the yellow (bay) filly of the king of Erin and the white Glaive of Light kept by the seven Big Women of Dhiurradh.

[2] But cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 480 f. (of Zeus *v.* Typhon) Διιπετέες δὲ κεραυνοὶ | ἠερόθεν πέμποντο πυριγλώχινες ὀιστοί.

[3] For the various explanations and classifications of thunderstorm phenomena put forward by philosophers see T. H. Martin *La foudre l'électricité et le magnétisme chez les anciens* Paris 1866 pp. 1—418 *passim* and O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 pp. 620—637.

[4] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 119 f.

[5] Zeus is not known to have borne the cult-title Ὅρκιος elsewhere, except perhaps at

Tyana in Kappadokia (*supra* p. 569 n. 4). But all deities by whom men swore were ὅρκιοι θεοί, and none more so than Zeus (Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 69 f., O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2408 f.), who is described as ὅρκιος by poets of the classical and by prose-writers of the post-classical age (Soph. *Phil.* 1324 Ζῆνα δ' ὅρκιον καλῶ, Eur. *Hipp.* 1025 f. νῦν δ' ὅρκιόν σοι Ζῆνα καὶ πέδον χθονὸς | ὀμνυμι κ.τ.λ., Ap. Rhod. 4. 95 f. Ζεὺς αὐτὸς Ὀλύμπιος ὅρκιος ἔστω | Ἥρη τε Ζυγίη Διὸς εὐνέτις κ.τ.λ., Loukian. *Tim.* 1 ὦ Ζεῦ φίλιε καὶ ξένιε καὶ ἑταιρεῖε καὶ ἐφέστιε καὶ ἀστεροπητὰ καὶ ὅρκιε καὶ νεφεληγερέτα καὶ ἐρίγδουπε καὶ εἴ τί σε ἄλλο οἱ ἐμβρίντητοι ποιηταὶ καλοῦσι, Souid. *s.v.* Ὅρκιος Ζεύς. καί, Ὅρκιον σκῆπτρον, καθ' οὗ ὄμνυον οἱ βασιλεῖς· ἢ ῥάβδος (cp. *et. Gud.* p. 435, 17, Zonar. *lex. s.v.* ὅρκιον σκῆπτρον), Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. 72 ὀρκίου, 266 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. 67 ὀρκίου, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1377, 18 ff. ὅρκιος Ζεὺς καὶ φίλιος καὶ ἑταιρεῖος (*leg.* ἑταιρεῖος), ὁμόγνιος, πατρῶος, πρὸς τούτοις ἐρκεῖος, ἐφέστιος Ἰωνικῶς· ἐν οἷς καὶ ξένιος καὶ ὁ φράτριος, κοινὰ ἐπίθετα τοῦ Διός). Accordingly, his wife is ὁρκία Themis (Eur. *Med.* 208 τὰν Ζηνὸς ὁρκίαν Θέμιν, cp. *ib.* 168 ff. κἀπιβοᾶται | Θέμιν εὐκταίαν Ζηνά θ', ὃς ὅρκων | θνητοῖς ταμίας νενόμισται) and his child the personified Ὅρκος (Soph. *O.C.* 1767 χὠ πάντ' ἀΐων Διὸς Ὅρκος, where Sir R. C. Jebb rendered 'servant of Zeus' because Hes. *o.d.* 804 makes Horkos the son of Eris). An actual cult of Zeus Ἐφόρκιος is to be inferred from Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐφόρκιος· Ζεὺς †ἐνκιτανωτάματι (J. Alberti prints Musurus' cj. ἐν Τιτάνων τάγματι, M. Schmidt cj. ἐν Πιτάνῃ τιμᾶται. Ptol. 5. 13. 16 mentions Κίταμον as a town in Armenia Maior. Κίτιον in Kypros is less probable).

Zeus Ὁράτριος is known from a treaty (*s.* ii B.C.) between Hierapytna and Lyttos (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 29, 13 ff. ὅρκος Λυκτίων· ὀμνύω τὰν Ἑστίαν καὶ Ζῆνα Ὁράτριον καὶ τὰν Ἀθαναίαν Ὠλερίαν καὶ Ζῆνα | Μο[ννίτιον καὶ Ἥρ]αν καὶ Ἀθαναίαν Πολιάδα καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Πύτιον καὶ Λατὼ καὶ Ἄρεα καὶ Ἀφροδίταν καὶ Κωρ[ῆτας καὶ Νύμφας καὶ θεὸς πάντας καὶ πάσας· κ.τ.λ., 19 ff. ὅρκος Ἱεραπυτνίων· ὀμνύω τὰν Ἑστίαν καὶ Ζῆνα Ὁράτριον καὶ Ἀθαναίαν Ὠλερίαν κα[ὶ] Ζῆνα Μοννίτιον καὶ Ἥραν καὶ Ἀθαναίαν Πολιάδα καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Πύτιον καὶ Λατὼ καὶ Ἄρεα καὶ Ἀφροδί[ταν καὶ Κωρῆτας καὶ Νύμφας καὶ θεὸς πάντας καὶ πάσας· κ.τ.λ.), from another, of approximately the same date, between Hierapytna and one of its colonies (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2555, 11 ff. = F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 311 f. no. 5039, 11 ff. ὅρκος ὀμνύω τὰν Ἑστίαν καὶ Τῆνα Ὁράτριον καὶ Τῆνα | Δικταῖον καὶ Ἥραν καὶ Ἀθαναίαν Ὠλερίαν καὶ Ἀθαναίαν Πολιάδα | καὶ Ἀθαναίαν Σαλμωνίαν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Πύθιον καὶ Λατὼ καὶ Ἄρ[τε]μιν καὶ Ἄρεα καὶ Ἀφροδίταν καὶ Κωρήτας καὶ Νύμφας καὶ τὸς Κυρβάν[τας καὶ θεὸς πάντας καὶ πάσας· κ.τ.λ.), and from a third, somewhat later, between Gortyna and Hierapytna on the one side and Priansos on the other (F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 301 ff. no. 5024, 59 ff. ὅρκος Π[ριανσιέων.] | [ὀμ]νύω τὰν Ἰστίαν καὶ Τ̣τῆνα [Βιδάταν – – (R. Bergmann suggests καὶ Τ̣τῆνα Δικταῖον?) καὶ Τ̣τῆνα] | [Σκ]ύλιον καὶ Τ̣τῆνα Ὁράτριον [καὶ Ἥραν καὶ – – καὶ Ἀ][θαν]αίαν Ὠλερίαν καὶ Ἀπόλλω̣[α Πύτιον καὶ Λατὼ κἄρτεμιν κἄρεα καὶ Ἀ][φρο]δίταν καὶ Ἑρμᾶν [κ]αὶ Κύ[ρβαντας καὶ Κωρῆτας καὶ Νύμφας καὶ Ἰλί][θυι]αν Βινατίαν καὶ θιὸς πάντ̣[ας καὶ πάνσας· κ.τ.λ.], 75 ff. ὅ̣[ρκ]ος Γ[ορ][τυνίων καὶ Ἰαραπυτνίων.] ὀμνύω τὰν Ἰστίαν καὶ Τ[τῆ][να Βιδάταν – – (R. Bergmann suggests καὶ Τ̣τῆνα Δικταῖον?) καὶ Τ̣τ]ῆνα Σκύλιον καὶ Τ̣τῆνα [Ὁρά][τριον καὶ Ἥραν – –] κ̣αὶ Ἀθαναίαν Ὠλερίαν κα[ὶ Ἀ][πέλλωνα Πύτιον καὶ Λατὼ κἄρτεμιν κἄρε]α̣ κἀφροδίταν καὶ Ἑρμᾶν κα[ὶ] | [Κύρβαντας καὶ Κωρῆτας καὶ Νύμφας καὶ Ἰλίθ]υιαν Βινατίαν καὶ θιὸς πάν|τας καὶ πάνσας, κ.τ.λ. K. Hoeck *Kreta* Göttingen 1829 iii. 140 n. *g.* wanted to read καὶ Δία πάτριον καὶ Δία | Δικταῖον in the second inscription. A. Boeckh in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii. 411 proposed καὶ [Ζ]ᾶνα [Φ]ράτριον, κα[ὶ Ζᾶ]να Δικταῖον. But modern philologists (F. W. Schneidewin in *Philologus* 1854 ix. 699 n. 2, H. Voretzsch in *Hermes* 1870 iv. 273, R. Meister in G. Curtius *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik* Leipzig 1871 iv. 406 f., É. Boisacq *Les dialectes doriens* Paris 1891 p. 114, A. Thumb *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* Heidelberg 1909 p. 127) recognise Ὁράτριον = *F*ράτριον, the 'Protector of Laws and Treaties' (ῥῆτραι). 'The epithet would then be of Elean source (cf. El. ϝράτρα = ῥήτρα...), or else contain hyper-Doric ᾱ' (C. D. Buck *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects* Boston 1910 p. 277 n.).

Zeus Πίστιος occurs in Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 49 Κάτων δὲ Πόρκιος (*frag.* 50 Peter) *τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῷ Σαβίνων ἔθνει τεθῆναί φησιν ἐπὶ Σάβου τοῦ Σάγκου δαίμονος ἐπιχωρίου, τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Σάγκον ὑπό τινων* Πίστιον καλεῖσθαι Δία, 4. 58 *τούτων ἐστὶ τῶν ὁρκίων μνημεῖον ἐν Ῥώμῃ κείμενον ἐν ἱερῷ Διὸς* Πιστίου, *ὃν Ῥωμαῖοι Σάγκον καλοῦσιν*, 9. 60 *ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει τὸν νεὼν τοῦ* Πιστίου Διὸς Σπόριος Ποστούμιος...*καθιέρωσε κ.τ.λ.*, as a rendering of the Latin Dius *Fidius* (cp. Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 266 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. 78 *πιστίου*). The facts relating to this deity are collected by G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1189 f., iv. 316 ff., *id. Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] pp. 129 ff., 280 f., *alib.*, E. Aust in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1246 f. In addition to literary allusions we have extant dedications to him as *Semo Sancus' Sanctus Deus Fidius* (Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3472), *Sancus Sanctus Semo Deus Fidius* (*ib.* no. 3473), *Semo Sancus Deus Fidius* (*ib.* no. 3474), *Semo Sancus* (*ib.* no. 3475), *Sancus Deus Fidius* (*ib.* no. 3476). Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 130 infers that his full name was *Semo Sancus* Dius *Fidius*, where *Semo Sancus* is not to be regarded as a distinct divinity blended with Dius *Fidius*, but as an appellative like *Duonus Cerus* in the case of Ianus (*supra* p. 328 n. 8), *Bona Dea* in that of Fauna, *Deus Bonus* in that of Aesculapius, etc. (G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 686 ff.). A corresponding Umbrian god was Iupater *Sancius*, mentioned in the *Tabulae Iguvinae* ii *b*, 17 Saŝi Iuvepatre, ii *b*, 24 Iupater Saŝe (R. S. Conway *The Italic Dialects* Cambridge 1897 i. 417, C. D. Buck *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* Boston, U.S.A. 1904 p. 297) and apparently to be identified with the *Fisos Sancios* of i *a*, 15 Fise Saŝi, vi *b*, 3 Fiso Sansie and the *Fisovios Sancios* of vi *b*, 5 Fisoui Sansi, 6 Fisoui Sansi, 8 Fisoui Sansi (*bis*), 9 Fisouie Sanŝie, 10 Fisouie Sanŝie, 12 Fisouie Sanŝie (*bis*), 14 Fisouie Sanŝie, 15 Fisouie Sanŝie, vii *a*, 37 Fisoui Sansii (cp. also the *Vesticios Sancios* of ii *a*, 4 Vestiŝe Saŝe). But, although the historian of religion is strongly disposed to equate the Dius *Fidius* of the Romans with the *Fisos* (or *Fisovios*) *Sancios* of the Umbrians, the philologist sees lions in the way. W. Schulze 'Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen' in the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1904 N.F. v. 2. 473 ff. concludes (p. 475 n. 2): 'Die Identificirung mit lat. *Fĭdius*...ist grammatisch unhaltbar, trotzdem sie sich sachlich aufs Beste zu empfehlen scheint.' And Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 289 *s.v.* 'fīdo' says: '*fīsus*...ist mit o. *Fiísíais*, u. *Fiso-*, *Fisiu*, *Fisovie* usw. nur dann vergleichbar, wenn es urit. *ī* enthält, was sehr unsicher ist, wie infolgedessen auch überhaupt (trotz lat. *Fidius*) die etymologische Zugehörigkeit der o.-u. Götternamen zu unserer Wz.' Abandoning, then, the road that leads to Umbria and limiting our enquiry to Rome, we find that the connexion of *Fĭdius* with *fĭdes*, etc., has been almost universally assumed. For little weight can be attached to the dissent of L. Aelius Stilo, who took *Dius Fidius* to be for *Diovis Filius* (L. Aelius Stilo *frag.* 9 Funaioli *ap.* Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 66 Aelius Dium Fidium dicebat Diovis filium, ut Graeci Διόσκορον Castorem, et putabat hunc esse Sancum ab Sabina lingua et Herculem a Graeca, cp. Paul. ex Fest. p. 147, 8 ff. Müller, p. 133, 1 ff. Lindsay, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 204, 8. 301, H. Hagen *anecdota Helvetica* Lipsiae 1870 pp. 212, 37 ff. and 260, 16 ff. (=*commentum Einsidlense in* Don. *artem minorem* de adverbio), G. Goetz—G. Gundermann in the *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* Lipsiae 1888 ii. 54, 1 Diuus filius *διῶσυιος· ηρακλῆς*). There are, however, some points about the god and his ritual that provoke further investigation. He was, to begin with, a sky-god, to whom appeal must be made only under the open sky. Any one who swore by Dius *Fidius* stepped into the *compluvium* so as to have no roof over his head (Varr. *Cato vel de liberis educandis ap.* Non. Marc. p. 793, 23 ff. Lindsay itaque domi rituis nostri qui per Dium (so Scaliger for *deum*) Fidium iurare vult prodire solet in compluvium). Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 66 rightly connects this custom with the fact that Iupiter's roof had a hole in it (*supra* i. 53). The sky-god was from of old the recipient of open-air worship (*supra* i. 117 ff.), and his relatives took after him. The oath by Dionysos must not be sworn beneath a roof, and boys who wanted to swear by Herakles were turned out of doors for the purpose (Plout. *quaestt. Rom.* 28). The bronze disks or wheels (*aeneae orbes*) dedicated by the Romans to Semo Sangus out of the spoils of Privernum (Liv. 8. 20) were perhaps solar symbols, as I conjectured in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 272 n. 9. At Iguvium the man who offered a calf to Iupater *Sancius* held a wheel

(*urfeta=orbita*) in his hand (*Tabulae Iguvinae* ii *b*, 22 ff. pune seste, | urfeta manuve habetu. estu iuku habetu : | 'Iupater Saše, tefe estu vitlu vufru sestu,' which C. D. Buck *op. cit.* p. 297 translates 'Cum sistis, orbitam in manu habeto. Istas preces habeto : "Iuppiter Sanci, tibi istum vitulum votivum sisto"'). Cakes called *summanalia*, and presumably sacred to Iupiter *Summanus*, god of the nocturnal sky and sender of lightning by night (R. Peter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1600), were made in the shape of a wheel (Fest. p. 348 *b* 5 f. Müller, p. 474, 17 f. Lindsay, Paul. ex Fest. p. 349, 9 Müller, p. 475, 7 Lindsay). Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 90 p. 138, 1 f. Wünsch τὸ Σάγκος ὄνομα οὐρανὸν σημαίνει τῇ Σαβίνων γλώσσῃ is not conclusive (R. S. Conway *op. cit.* i. 357). But, on the whole, it seems clear that Dius *Fidius* was a specialised form of Iupiter, the sky-god by whom men swore. Now Iupiter was believed to sanction treaties with his thunderbolt (Verg. *Aen.* 12. 200 audiat haec genitor, qui foedera fulmine sancit with Serv. *ad loc.*). And Dius *Fidius* appears to have stood in very special relations to the lightning-flash. G. Wissowa in

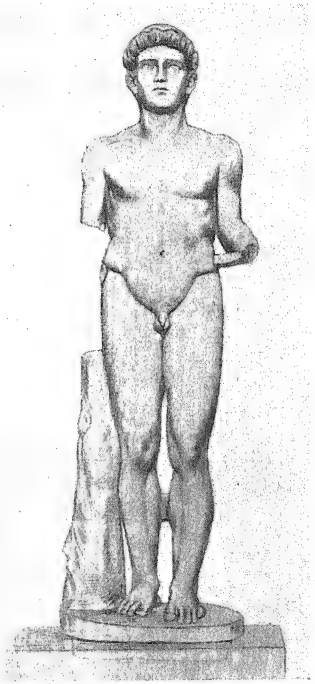


Fig. 660.

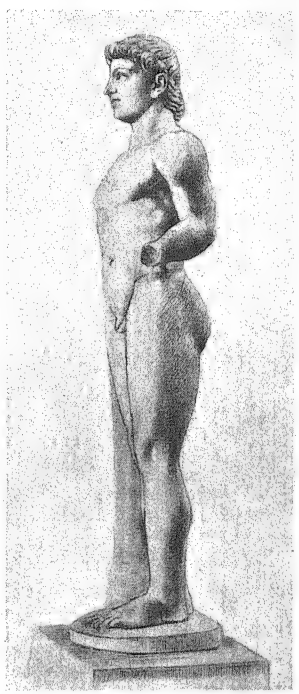


Fig. 661.

Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 318 points out that of the inscriptions mentioning him the three most important are all dedications by the *decuria sacerdotum bidentalium* (Dessau *op. cit.* nos. 3472, 3473) or *decuria bidentalis* (*ib.* no. 3474), on which see E. de Ruggiero *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane* Roma 1894 i. 1005 f. One of these inscriptions (Dessau *op. cit.* no. 3472 Semoni | Sanco | Sancto Deo Fidio | sacrum | decuria sacerdot. | bidentalium) occurs on the base of a marble statue, found at Rome in 1879 and representing Dius *Fidius* himself in the guise of an archaic Apollon (H. Jordan 'Statua Vaticana di Semone Sanco' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1885 lvii. 105—126 pl. A. = my fig. 660 f., W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 226 f. no. 351, G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 318 fig.). C. O. Thulin *Die etruskische Disciplin* i Die Blitzlehre (*Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* 1905 v) Göteborg 1906 p. 42 f. thinks that the statue once held a thunderbolt in its left hand, an *orbis aeneus* in

to the terror of would-be perjurers. Pausanias was impressed by the sight:

'the image of Zeus in the Council House is of all the images of Zeus the best calculated to strike terror into wicked men: it bears the surname of the God of Oaths, and holds a thunderbolt in each hand. Beside this image it is the custom for the athletes, their fathers and brothers, and also the trainers, to swear upon the cut pieces of a boar that they will be guilty of no foul play in respect of the Olympic games. The athletes take an additional oath, that for ten successive months they have strictly observed the rules of training. Also those who examine the boys or the foals which are entered for the races swear that they will decide justly and will take no bribes, and that they will keep secret what they know about the accepted or rejected candidate. I forgot to ask what they do with the boar after the athletes have taken the oath. With the ancients it was a rule that a sacrificed animal on which an oath had been taken should not be eaten by man. Homer proves this clearly. For the boar, on the cut pieces of which Agamemnon swore that in good sooth Briseis was a stranger to his bed, is represented by Homer as being cast by the herald into the sea:—

> He spake, and cut the boar's throat with pitiless bronze.
> Talthybius lightly wheeled and threw the boar
> Into the great deep of the gray sea, a food for fishes.

its right, and very ingeniously compares a bronze in the Baduitt collection at St Moritz in Switzerland (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 5 no. 9=my fig. 662). There is, therefore, a good deal to be said for G. Wissowa's contention (in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 318) 'dass Semo Sancus Dius Fidius in der Kaiserzeit (die Inschriften stammen etwa aus der Zeit der Antonine) besonders als Blitzgott verehrt wurde.' But, if so, I would suggest that his title *Fidius* meant originally 'the Cleaver' (cp. *findo*, *fidi*, bi-*fidus*, etc.) and was only later, by dint of popular etymology, associated with *fides*. The same god was in Christian times the subject of another curious confusion. For Iust. Mart. *apol.* 1. 26, 1. 56 (followed by Iren. *c. haeres.* 1. 23. 1, Tert. *apol.* 13, Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 2. 13. 3, 2. 14. 5, Kyrill. of Jerusalem *catech.* 6. 14 (xxxiii. 561 A—B Migne), Aug. *de haeres.* 1 (xlii. 25 Migne), Theodoret. *haeret. fab.* 1. 1 (lxxxiii. 344 B Migne)) declares that a statue on the Tiber-island dedicated ΣΙΜΩΝΙ ΔΕΩ ΣΑΓΚΤΩ was an effigy of Simon Magus (see *e.g.* G. Salmon in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. 682), who was worshipped together with his consort the harlot Helene under the guise of Zeus and Athena (Iren. *c. haeres.* 1. 23. 4, Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 6. 20 p. 256 Duncker—Schneidewin, Epiphan. *panar.* 1. 21. 3, Aug. *de haeres.* i (xlii. 25 Migne)).

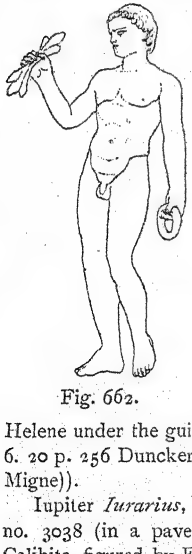


Fig. 662.

Iupiter *Iurarius*, worshipped at Rome on the island in the Tiber (Dessau *op. cit.* no. 3038 (in a pavement of *opus Signinum*, beneath the monastery of S. Giovanni Calibita, figured by F. Ritschl in the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* i Tab. lithogr. lix, *A*) C. Volcaci. C. f. har(uspex) de stipe Iovi Iurario.....[m]onimentom) and at Brixia in Cisalpine Gaul (Dessau *op. cit.* no. 3037 I.O.M. | Iur(ario) | d(e) c(onscriptorum) s(ententia)), was perhaps akin to Dius *Fidius*, who is known to have had a cult on the Tiber-island (E. Aust in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1246). M. Besnier *L'île Tibérine dans l'antiquité* Paris 1902 p. 249 ff. would identify Iupiter *Iurarius* with Vediovis—a view somewhat too decisively rejected by H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 636 n. 37.

Such was the ancient custom. At the feet of the God of Oaths is a bronze tablet, with elegiac verses inscribed on it, the intention of which is to strike terror into perjurers[1].'

In view of the epic parallel adduced by Pausanias and of the connexion between Zeus and the boar in Crete[2] it may be inferred that the cult of Zeus *Hórkios* at Olympia goes back to 'Minoan' or sub-'Minoan' times, that the duplication of his thunderbolt was due to primitive insistence on his power as a storm-god, and that any deeper ethical meaning must be attributed to moralists of a later age[3].

[1] Paus. 5. 24. 9—11 trans. Sir J. G. Frazer.

[2] *Supra* i. 157, 645, 651, 652 fig. 505, 663 n. 2, 664 n. 1.

[3] On Zeus in relation to oaths see further E. von Lasaulx *Der Eid bei den Griechen* Würzburg 1844 pp. 5 n. 13, 8 ff., *id. Der Eid bei den Römern* Würzburg 1844 p. 8 ff., E. Ziebarth *De iureiurando in iure Graeco quaestiones* Gottingae 1892 pp. 7, 17 ff., *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2076 ff., L. Ott *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des griechischen Eides* Leipzig 1896 p. 39 ff., G. Glotz in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 748 ff., R. Hirzel *Der Eid* Leipzig 1902 pp. 121 ff., 145 n. 7, 147 n. 1, 155 n. 1 and Index p. 225 *s.v.* 'Zeus,' Schrader *Reallex.*[2] p. 228 f.

The *formulae* used by the Greeks in the affirmations of everyday life are collected and exemplified by P. Meinhardt *De forma et usu iuramentorum, quae inveniuntur in comicorum Graecorum et Platonis, Xenophontis, Luciani sermone* Jenae 1892 pp. 17—23:

(1) The simple apostrophe ὦ Ζεῦ may be emphasised by duplication (Aristoph. *Lys.* 972 ὦ Ζεῦ Ζεῦ (so R. F. P. Brunck for ὦ Ζεῦ ὦ Ζεῦ codd.), cp. Eur. *Hipp.* 1363 Ζεῦ Ζεῦ, τάδ' ὁρᾷς;), or by the addition of an epithet hieratic (*e.g.* ὦ Ζεῦ Βασιλεῦ in Aristoph. *nub.* 153, *vesp.* 625, *av.* 223, *ran.* 1278, *Plout.* 1095, cp. Loukian. *Tim.* 1 ὦ Ζεῦ φίλιε καὶ ξένιε καὶ ἑταιρεῖε καὶ ἐφέστιε καὶ ἀστεροπητὰ καὶ ὅρκιε καὶ νεφεληγερέτα καὶ ἐρίγδουπε καὶ εἴ τί σε ἄλλο οἱ ἐμβρόντητοι ποιηταὶ καλοῦσι) or otherwise (*e.g.* Loukian. *asin.* 38 ὦ Ζεῦ σχέτλιε), or by both devices simultaneously (Aristoph. *vesp.* 323 ὦ Ζεῦ Ζεῦ μεγαβρόντα (so J. J. Reiske for *μέγα βρόντα* codd.)), or by an appeal to other gods (*e.g.* Xen. *Cyr.* 2. 2. 10 ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ πάντες θεοί).

(2) In the locution πρὸς (τοῦ) Διός the article was commonly dropped. Thus Meinhardt records four examples of πρὸς τοῦ Διός (Aristoph. *nub.* 314, Loukian. *Tim.* 16, *Menipp.* 2, *vit. auct.* 22), one of ὦ πρὸς τοῦ Διός (Plout. *symp.* 5. 7. 4), and one of πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λυμπίου (Aristoph. *av.* 130) as against forty-five of πρὸς Διός, eight of ὦ πρὸς Διός, and two of πρὸς Διὸς φιλίου (Plat. *Min.* 321 C, *Phaidr.* 234 E).

(3) Very common are the phrases νὴ (τὸν) Δία, ναὶ μὰ (τὸν) Δία, and μὰ (τὸν) Δία, of which the first two are positive, the third negative. They may be strengthened either by an added epithet (*e.g.* the obvious νὴ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτῆρα in Aristoph. *ran.* 738, 1433, *eccl.* 79, 761, 1045, 1103, *Plout.* 877 or the more recondite νὴ τὸν Δία τὸν αἰθέριον in Loukian. *philopatr.* 4) or by a further sanction (*e.g.* Aristoph. *nub.* 1239 οὔ τοι μὰ τὸν Δία τὸν μέγαν καὶ τοὺς θεούς). The full phrase νὴ τὸν Δία readily passed into νὴ Δία (Aristoph. *ran.* 305 ΔΙ. κατόμοσον. ΞΑ. νὴ τὸν Δία. | ΔΙ. καὶθὶς κατόμοσον. ΞΑ. νὴ Δί'. ΔΙ. ὄμοσον. ΞΑ. νὴ Δία), which became a commonplace of Attic oratorical style (*Anth. Pal.* 11. 142. 4 (Lucilius) καί τοι "νὴ Δία" καὶ "μὰ Δία") and was even, according to some grammarians, colloquially clipped into νὴ Δί or νηδί (Herodian. περὶ παθῶν 126[h] (ii. 217, 16 ff. Lentz) πᾶσα αἰτιατικὴ ἐνικῶν μονοσύλλαβος ἀρσενικὴ ἢ θηλυκὴ αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὖσα εἰς ν̄ λήγει· τὸ δὲ νὴ Δί οὐκ ἀντίκειται ἡμῖν, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ εὑρίσκεται αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀλλ' ἐν συντάξει, *id.* περὶ μονοσυλλάβων 1 (ii. 903, 22 ff. Lentz) πᾶν ὄνομα μονοσύλλαβον μακροκαταληκτεῖν θέλει εἴτε φύσει εἴτε θέσει...καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ Δί, ὅπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δία γέγονε κατ' ἀποκοπήν, ὅπερ καὶ μετὰ τοῦ νή ἐπιρρήματος γίνεται νὴ Δί, Choirobosk. *schol. in* Theodos. Al. *can. isag.* κανὼν ἀρσεν. ζ' (i. 192,

21 f. Hilgard) "καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ Δί," ὅπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δία γέγονε κατὰ ἀποκοπήν, ὅπερ καὶ μετὰ τοῦ νή ἐπιρρήματος γίνεται νὴ Δία, *ib.* τόνος τῆς αἰτιατικῆς τῶν ἑνικῶν (i. 382, 8 ff. Hilgard) πρόσκειται "αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὖσα" διὰ τὸ νὴ Δία· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ αἰτιατικὴ γίνεται κατὰ ἀποκοπὴν νὴ Δί', καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ ἀρσενικῶν ὀνομάτων εὑρίσκεται αἰτιατικὴ μονοσύλλαβος μὴ λήγουσα εἰς ν̄, λέγω δὴ τὸ νὴ Δί'· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀντίκειται ἡμῖν, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ εὑρίσκεται αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀλλ' ἐν συντάξει, Phot. *lex.* νὴ Δὶ καὶ νὴ Δία ἑκατέρως. In Aristoph. *eccl.* 778 f. λαμβάνειν | ἡμᾶς μόνον δεῖ νὴ Δία· καὶ γὰρ οἱ θεοί cod. R has *νὴ δί' (sic)*. Dindorf here and in Aristoph. *eq.* 319 would restore *νὴ Δί.* F. Blass in R. Kühner *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*[3] Hannover 1890 i. 177 approves the restoration. But the usage is at best doubtful). The elliptical *νὴ τὸν—, μὰ τὸν—* (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1480 B, v. 478 B—C) are, sometimes at least, to be filled out with Δία (cp. Aristoph. *Ach.* 730 *ναὶ τὸν φίλιον* with F. H. M. Blaydes *ad loc.*).

The public, as compared with the private, oath called for greater solemnity (A. Martin *Quomodo Græci ac peculiariter Athenienses fœdera publica jurejurando sanxerint* Paris 1886). Accordingly, we seldom find a public oath by Zeus pure and simple (R. Heberdey in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1899 ii Beiblatt p. 48 ff. publishes an archaic inscription from Ephesos ἐγμαρτυρῆσαι ἐπὶ τοῖς δι|κάζουσιν, ὀμνύντα κάπρωι τ[ὸ(ν)] Ζῆνα ἐγμαρτυρὲν· τὸν δὲ κ|ά[π]ρον παρέχεν, ὃ ἂν τὸ πρῆχ[μα . . . .]κλε, οἱ δικάζοντες | κ.τ.λ.).

More often in such a case Zeus was defined by the use of a cult-epithet (*e.g.* (1) Zeus Ὀλύμπιος in a fifth-century *rhétra* of Elis (W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold in *Olympia* v. 39 ff. no. 16, 11 f. = Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 119, 11 f., *id. Imagines inscriptionum Græcarum antiquissimarum*[3] Berolini 1907 p. 116 no. 16, 11 f. = F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 318 ff. no. 1151, 11 f. = Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 295 f. no. 298, 11 f. with Append. p. 370 ff. ὀμόσαντες πο(τ) τὸν θεὸν τὸν Ὀλύν[πιον]. (2) Zeus Σωτήρ in a third-century decree of Kalaureia (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 178, 28 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 578, 20 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 841, 30 f. καὶ ποτομοσοῦντι τὸν Δία τὸν Σ|ωτῆρα). (3) Zeus Φράτριος in a fourth-century enactment of the Attic phratry Demotionidai (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 841 *B*, 111 f. = Michel *op. cit.* no. 961 *B*, 53 f. = Dittenberger *op. cit.*[2] no. 439, 111 f. ἀληθῆ ταῦτα νὴ τὸν Δία τὸν Φράτριο|ν, cp. *ib.* 1 Διὸς Φρατρίο, 15 ff. διαδικάσαι περὶ αὐτῶν τὸς φράτερ|ας αὐτίκα μάλα, ὑποσχομένος πρὸς τὸ Δ|ιὸς τὸ Φρατρίο, φέροντας τὴν ψῆφον ἀπ|ὸ τῶ βωμῶ, 22 ff. ὀφε|ιλέτω ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς ἱερὰς τῶι Διὶ τ|ῶι Φρατρίωι (so 39 f., 48 ff., 54 ff., 90 ff., 99 f.), 74 καὶ ἐπομνύντας τὸν Δία τὸν Φράτριον).

The appeal might be reinforced by the addition of other names appropriate to the place or occasion (*e.g.* (1) J. R. S. Sterrett 'Inscriptions of Assos' in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1882—1883 i. 50 ff. no. 26, 18 ff. with pl. (a bronze tablet recording a decree of Assos passed on the accession of Caligula in 37 A.D.) ὅρκος Ἀσσίων. | ὄμνυμεν Δία Σωτῆρα καὶ θεὸν Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν (*sc.* Octavianus) καὶ τὴν | πάτριον ἀγνὴν Παρθένον (*sc.* Athena *Poliás*) εὐνοήσειν κ.τ.λ. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 364, 18 ff. (2) Dittenberger *op. cit.*[2] no. 234, 22 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 187, 22 ff. = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 419, 22 ff. (a decree of the Messenians *c.* 240 B.C.) [ὅρκ][ος Μεσσανίων· ὀμν]ύω Δία Ἰθωμάταν, Ἥρα[ν . . . . .] | [. . . . .]ον καὶ θεὼς ὁρκ[ίως πάντας ἕ] | [μὰν κ.τ.λ.]. Cp. the oath of Demaratos in Hdt. 6. 67 f. ἔθυε τῷ Διὶ βοῦν· θύσας δὲ τὴν μητέρα ἐκάλεσε. ἀπικομένῃ δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ἐσθεὶς ἐς τὰς χεῖρας οἱ τῶν σπλάγχνων κατικέτευε λέγων τοιάδε· "ὦ μῆτερ, θεῶν σε τῶν τε ἄλλων καταπτόμενος ἱκετεύω καὶ τοῦ Ἑρκείου Διὸς τοῦδε, φράσαι μοι τὴν ἀληθηίην," κ.τ.λ.).

When several powers are invoked, the name of Zeus normally heads the list—a precedence dating back to epic times (*Il.* 19. 258 = *Od.* 19. 303 ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα, θεῶν ὕπατος καὶ ἄριστος, *Od.* 14. 158 = 17. 155 = 20. 230 ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα θεῶν). Homer, sometimes content with the witness of Zeus alone (*Il.* 7. 411 ὅρκια δὲ Ζεὺς ἴστω, ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης, 10. 328 ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς αὐτός, ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης), more often associates with him either the domestic sanctities of the hearth (*Od.* 19. 303 f.) and table (*Od.* 14. 158 f. = 17. 155 f. = 20. 230 f.) or a variety of cosmic and chthonic divinities (*Il.* 3. 276 ff. Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἰδηθεν μεδέων, κύδιστε, μέγιστε, | Ἥλιός θ', ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις, | καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ γαῖα καὶ οἳ ὑπένερθε καμόντας | ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον, ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ, | ὑμεῖς μάρτυροι ἔστε, φυλάσσετε δ' ὅρκια πιστά, 19. 258 ff. ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς

πρῶτα... | *Γῆ τε καὶ Ἥλιος καὶ Ἐρινύες, αἵ θ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν* | *ἀνθρώπους τίνυνται, ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ* with W. Leaf *ad locc.*).

In *s.* iv B.C. and later the witness-group Zeus, Ge, Helios revived (?survived) in public contracts, usually in combination with other deities recognised by the contracting parties (*e.g.* (1) A. Wilhelm in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 149 ff. line 2 f. (treaty between Maussollos of Karia and Phaselis in Lykia) [---*ὀμόσ*]*αντες Δία καὶ* Ἄλιον *καὶ* Γᾶν *καὶ* | [---]. (2) Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1316, 1 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 360, 1 ff. (oath of citizens of Chersonesos Taurike *c.* 300—280 B.C.) *ὀμνύω Δία, Γᾶν,* Ἄλιον, *Παρθένον,* | [*θ*]*εοὺς* Ὀλυμπίους *καὶ* Ὀλυμπίας | [*κ*]*αὶ ἥρωας ὅσοι πόλιν καὶ χώραν* | *καὶ τείχη ἔχοντι τὰ Χερσονασι*|*τᾶν, ib.* 50 f. *Ζεῦ καὶ Γᾶ καὶ* Ἄλιε [*καὶ*] | *Παρθένε καὶ θεοὶ* Ὀλύμπιοι. (3) Michel *op. cit.* no. 15, 20 ff. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 266, 20 ff. (pact of Paramonos and other mercenary leaders with Eumenes i of Pergamon) *ὅρκος ὃν ὤμοσεν Παράμονος κ.τ.λ. ..... ὀμνύω Δία, Γῆν,* | *Ἥλιον, Ποσειδῶ, Δήμητρα,* Ἄρη, *Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλο*[*ν*] | *καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πά*[*ν*]*τας καὶ πάσας, ib.* 51 ff. *ὅρκος Εὐμένους· ὀμνύω Δ*[*ία, Γ*]*ῆν,* | *Ἥλιον, Ποσειδῶ,* Ἀπόλλω, *Δήμητρα,* Ἄρη, *Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν* [*Ταυροπό*]|*λον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας.* (4) Michel *op. cit.* no. 19, 59 ff. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 229, 59 ff. (alliance between Magnesia ad Sipylum and Smyrna *c.* middle of *s.* iii B.C.) *ὀμόσαι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐμ Μαγνησίαι κατοίκους κ.τ.λ. ..... ὀμνύω Δία, Γῆν,* Ἥλιον, Ἄρη, *Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλον καὶ τὴ*[*μ*] | *Μητέρα τὴν Σιπυληνὴν καὶ Ἀπόλλω τὸν ἐμ Πάνδοις καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως Σελεύκου τύχην, ib.* 69 ff. *ὀμόσαι δὲ καὶ Σμυρναίους τοῖς ἀπὸ Μαγνησίας τὸν ὅρκον* | *τόνδε· ὀμνύω Δία, Γῆν,* Ἥλιον, Ἄρη, *Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλον καὶ τὴμ Μη*[*τέρ*]*α τὴν Σιπυληνὴν καὶ Ἀφροδίτην Στρατονικίδα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς* | *πάντας καὶ πάσας.* (5) Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 196, 38 f. (Athenian treaty of 356/5 B.C. with the Thracian Ketriporis, the Paeonian Lyppeios, and the Illyrian Grabos) [*ὀμνύω Δία καὶ Γῆν*] *καὶ* Ἥλιον *καὶ Ποσει*[*δ*]*ῶ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ* | [Ἄρην]. (6) Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] nos. 434—435, 87 f. (Athenian treaty of 266/5 B.C. with Sparta) [*ὀμ*]*νύω Δία, Γ*[*ῆ*]*ν,* Ἥλιον, Ἄρη, *Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀρε*|[*ίαν, Ποσειδῶ, Δήμητραν*]. (7) Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 532, 8 f. (Paphlagonian oath of allegiance to Augustus in 3 B.C.) *ὀμνύω Δία, Γῆν,* Ἥλιον, *θεοὺς πάντα*[*ς καὶ πά*]|*σας καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Σεβασ*[*τ*]*όν*). The same group was concerned in the emancipation of slaves at Thermos in Aitolia (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 1 no. 412 = Michel *op. cit.* no. 1421 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 837 (deed of enfranchisement, *s.* ii B.C.) *Πολύφ*(*ρ*)*ων Λύκου Α*[*ἴνη*]*σαν τὴν ἰδίαν θρεπτ*[*ὴν*] | [*ἀπηλ*]*ευθέ*[*ρ*]*ωσεν ὑπ*[*ὸ*] *Δία, Γῆν,* Ἥλιον, *μηδε*[*νὶ*] | [*μη*]*δὲν προσήκουσαν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰτωλῶ*[*ν*] | *νόμους ἰσοτελῆ καὶ ἔντειμον*) and on the N. coast of the Euxine ((1) C. T. Newton *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1883 ii. 38 no. 180, 8 ff. = B. Latyschev *Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* Petropoli 1890 ii. 53 ff. no. 54, 8 ff. (deed of enfranchisement in the reign of Sauromates (?v = 231—233 A.D.), obtained at Kerch) *μετὰ δὲ τὴν* [*ζ*]*ω*|[*ὴ*]*ν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν* (*sic*) *εἶναι αὐτὴν ἐλευθέ*|[*ρ*]*αν ὑπὸ Δία, Γῆν,* Ἥλιον, *ἀνεπάφη*[*ν καὶ*] | [*ἀ*]*νεπηρεάστην ἀπό τ' ἐμοῦ καὶ παντὸς* | *κληρο*[*ν*]*όμου.* (2) B. Latyschev *op. cit.* ii 208 f. no. 400, 10 ff. (deed of enfranchisement in 41 A.D., with name of Polemon ii erased; now at Petrograd) *ἐφ' ᾧ ἦ ἀνέπα*|*φος καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστο*[*ς*] | *ἀπὸ παντὸς κληρον*[*όμ*]||*ου ὑπὸ Δία, Γῆν,* Ἥλιο[*ν*]). At Eresos in Lesbos the judges swore by Zeus and Helios (F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i 103 ff. no. 281 B, 54 f. = Michel *op. cit.* no. 358 *C*, 19 f. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 8 *c*, 93 f. (*formula* of oath, end of *s.* iv B.C.) *οὕτω ποήσω* | *ναὶ μὰ Δία καὶ* Ἄλιον). H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1903 lviii. 19 notes that in the group Zeus, Ge, Helios the sun-god is on occasion replaced by Apollon (R. Dareste—B. Haussoullier—T. Reinach *Recueil des inscriptions juridiques grecques* Paris 1891 i. 158 ff. no. 10 A, 4 = Michel *op. cit.* no. 1340 *A*, 4 (*formula* of oath for judges at Knidos in *s.* ii or i B.C.) *ναὶ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Λύκ*[*ιον καὶ τὰν Γᾶν*]).

At Athens the same tendency to swear by sky-god, sun-god, and earth-goddess can be traced further back (cp. G. Hofmann *De iurandi apud Athenienses formulis* Strassburg 1886 p. 27 f., E. Ziebarth *op. cit.* p. 17 f.), the oath being by Zeus, Apollon, and Demeter ((1) Michel *op. cit.* no 1428, 14 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 41, 14 ff. (decree concerning Erythrai, *c.* 465 B.C.) *τ̣ὸμ βολευσόντ̣ων ἕκαστ̣ον Ἐρυθ̣ρᾶσι π*[*ρὶ*]*ν ἐσιέναι* [*ἐς*

τὲν] | [ἀρχ]ὲν ὀμνύναι [μὲν Δ]ία κα[ὶ] Ἀπόλλο καὶ Δέμε[τρα], ἐπαρόμ̣ενο[ν ἐξ][όλ]ειαν ἑα[υτοῖ ἐπιορκο̑ντι κ]αὶ παι[σ]ὶν ἑαυτο̑· ὀ[μνύν]αι δὲ τὸν ὅ[ρ][κο]ν κατὰ [h]ιερὸν κ̣αιομ̣ένον. (2) Michel *op. cit.* no. 9, 23 f., 35 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 151, 23 f. (treaty with Korkyra, 375/4 B.C.) ἀληθῆ ταῦτα νὴ τὸ[ν] Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὴν Δήμητρα, *ib.* 35 f. [ἀληθῆ δὲ ταῦ]τα ν[αὶ τ]ὸν Δία [κα]ὶ | [τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὰν Δά]ματ[ρα]. (3) *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 578, 11 f. = Michel *op. cit.* no. 150, 11 f. (decree of the deme Myrrhinous, *s.* iv B.C.) [νὴ τ]ὸ[ν Δία, νὴ τ]ὸ[ν Ἀ]πόλλω, ν[ὴ] τὴ[ν] | [Δ]ήμ(η)τρα. (4) Aristoph. *eq.* 941 ΧΟ. εὖ γε νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὴν Δήμητρα. (5) Dem. *adv. Callipp.* 9 καὶ μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὴν Δήμητρα, οὐ ψεύσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί), or by Apollon, Demeter, and Zeus (Demarchos *frag.* 89. 25 Sauppe *ap.* schol. *in* Aischin. *c. Tim.* 114 τοὺς ὁρκίους· Ἀπόλλωνα Πατρῷον καὶ Δήμητραν καὶ Δία, ὡς φησι Δείναρχος ὁ ῥήτωρ. The same order in Poll. 8. 122 ὤμυσαν δὲ ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ δικαστηρίῳ Ἀπόλλω Πατρῷον καὶ Δήμητρα καὶ Δία Βασιλέα: but cp. Bekker *anecd.* i. 443, 29 ff. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ χωρίῳ (*sc.* Ἀρδήττῳ) ὤμνυον οἱ δικασταὶ τὸν δικαστικὸν ὅρκον. τρεῖς δὲ θεοὺς ὤμνυον, Δία, Δήμητραν καὶ Ἥλιον). Whether this group had *ab initio* any cosmic significance is very doubtful. Zeus and Apollon, the ancestral gods of the Attic nobility (Aristot. Ἀθ. πολ. 55. 3, cp. Poll. 8. 85, states that the archon was formally asked εἰ ἔστιν αὐτῷ Ἀπόλλων Πατρῷος καὶ Ζεὺς Ἑρκεῖος, καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα τὰ ἱερά ἐστιν), may well have coöpted Demeter at the time when Eleusis was added to Athens (so J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 45 n. 2, E. Ziebarth *op. cit.* p. 17).

Another Athenian triad equally susceptible of a cosmic interpretation was Zeus, Poseidon, and Demeter, divinities of sky, sea, and land. ((1) The heliastic oath in Dem. *c. Tim.* 151 ἐπομνύναι Δία, Ποσειδῶ, Δήμητρα: cp. schol. B. L. *Il.* 15. 36 διὰ τριῶν θεῶν ἦν ἔθος ὀμνύναι, ὡς Δράκων ἔταξε, Δία, Ποσειδῶνα, Ἀθηνᾶν· οἱ δὲ Δία, Ποσειδῶνα, Δήμητραν, ὡς Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Τιμοκράτους. (2) H. G. Lolling in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1879 iv. 201 no. 4, 16 ff. = *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 584 *c* B, 16 ff. (decree of the deme Aixone towards the end of *s.* iv B.C.) ἀληθῆ ταῦτα | [ν]ὴ τὸν Δία, νὴ τὸν Πο[σε]ιδῶ, νὴ τὴν Δήμητ[ρα]). This group might be extended by the inclusion of Athena (Michel *op. cit.* no. 95, 66 ff., 79 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 173, 66 ff. (decree of 363/2 B.C. concerning Ioulis in Keos) ταῦτα | [ἐμπεδορκήσω νὴ τὸν] Δία, νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνάαν, νὴ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, [ν]ὴ | [τὴν Δήμητρα], *ib.* 79 f. [ταῦτα ἐμπ]εδορκήσω ν[ὴ τὸν Δία, νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνάαν, νὴ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, νὴ τὴν Δ]ήμητρα).

The epic appeal to Zeus, Athena, and Apollon (*supra* p. 458 n. 4) was said by some to be an Athenian oath (schol. A. D. *in Il.* 2. 371 ἴδιον εἶναι τὸν ὅρκον φασὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, schol. B. L. *in Il.* 2. 371 πάτριοι γὰρ οὗτοι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις θεοί, schol. T. *in Il.* 2. 371 πάτριοι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οἱ θεοί)—a statement supported by its actual occurrence in Dem. *c. Mid.* 198 ἐμοὶ μὲν νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν κ.τ.λ. and perhaps by the context of Plat. *Euthyd.* 302 C—D οὐκ ἔστιν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, αὕτη ἡ ἐπωνυμία Ἰώνων οὐδενί, οὐθ' ὅσοι ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἀπῳκισμένοι εἰσὶν οὐθ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ Ἀπόλλων Πατρῷος διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἴωνος γένεσιν· Ζεὺς δ' ἡμῖν Πατρῷος μὲν οὐ καλεῖται, Ἑρκεῖος δὲ καὶ Φράτριος, καὶ Ἀθηναίῃ Φρατρία. ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖ γε, ἔφη ὁ Διονυσόδωρος· ἔστι γάρ σοι, ὡς ἔοικεν, Ἀπόλλων τε καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ. Ioul. *epist.* 38 p. 68 Heyler ἴστω Ζεύς, ἴστω μέγας Ἥλιος, ἴστω Ἀθηνᾶς κράτος, καὶ πάντες θεοὶ καὶ πᾶσαι, as in private duty bound (*supra* i. 187), puts Helios in the place of Apollon.

H. Usener 'Dreiheit' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1903 lviii. 17 ff. dwells at length on the triplication of Greek oaths. In addition to the foregoing triads he remarks the oath of the Platonic witness (Plat. *legg.* 936 E τοὺς τρεῖς θεοὺς Δία καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Θέμιν ἀπομόσας ἢ μὴν μὴ εἰδέναι), that of the Thessalian Magnetes (Michel *op. cit.* no. 842 *B*, 5 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 790, I *b* 54 ff. (decree of *s.* i B.C.) ὀμνύω Δία Ἀκραῖον καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω[να] | τὸν Κοροπαῖον καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν τὴν Ἰωλκίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλ[λους] θε|οὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας), that of the Delphic Labyadai (*supra* p. 233 n. 7), and that of the Achaean League (*supra* i. 16).

Finally we observe that in treaties between state and state the oath-gods of the parties are combined, the result being an impressive series of divine witnesses. Examples of the process have already been given (*supra* i. 149 n. 2 Latos and Olous, i. 729 n. 2 Dreros

Apart from this exceptional case, it is certainly true to say that throughout classical times Zeus becomes less and less the impetuous thunderer, more and more the dignified ruler. He wields both the thunderbolt and the sceptre; but the former decreases, as the latter increases, in relative importance.

This may be illustrated by a short sequence of vase-paintings arranged in roughly chronological order. A 'Chalcidian' *hydría* at



Fig. 663.

Munich, which can be dated *c.* 550 B.C., shows Zeus attacking Typhon (fig. 663)[1]. The god with a mighty thunderbolt gripped by his strong right hand is rushing against his foe in the attitude of rapid movement dear to archaic art. A red-figured *lékythos* at Paris, attributed to Hermonax, a painter of the late archaic period, represents Zeus in pursuit of Semele(?) (fig. 664)[2]. Semele, if it be she,

and Knossos, ii. 723 n. o Hierapytna and Lyttos, etc.), and it would be easy to multiply the number (*e.g.* (1) H. G. Lolling 'Symmachievertrag der Phoker und Böoter' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1878 iii. 19 ff. line 14 ff. ὅρκος· | [ὀμνύω τ]ὸν Δία τὸμ Βασιλέα καὶ τὴν Ἥραν τὴμ Βασίλειαν καὶ τὸμ Ποσει[δῶνα καὶ τ]ὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας. (2) Michel *op. cit.* no. 440 *A*, 15 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 427, *a* 15 ff. (treaty of *s.* iv B.C. between Praisos and Stelai in Crete) ὀμνύω Δῆ[να Δικταῖον, Ποτ]ειδῶνα, Ἀθάναν, Ἀπόλλωνα Πύθι[ον], | [καὶ θεοὺς πάντας] καὶ πάσας. (3) F. Halbherr in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1897 i. 230 ff. no. 36, 19 ff. (treaty between Sybrita and Gortyna) [– – – Δί]α or [Τῆν]α Κρηταγενία καὶ [– – –] | [– –]αν κ' Ἀπέλλωνα Πύ[θιον] or Πύ[τιον – – –] | [– – –'A]θαναίαν Πολιοῦχον [– – –] | [– – –] καὶ Νύμφανς καὶ τ[– – –]).

[1] Sieveking—Hackl *Vasensamml. München* i. 67 ff. no. 596 fig. 77 pl. 24, Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 161 ff. pls. 31 and 32 *c* (= my fig. 663), E. Buschor *Greek Vase-painting* trans. G. C. Richards London 1921 p. 75 ff. pl. 34 fig. 68. Zeus is inscribed ΙΕVς. He wears a fillet on his head and a *chlamýs* over his shoulders. Typhon, a monstrous figure with red hair and beard, has the ear of a horse, the wings of a bird, and two snaky tails by way of legs. He wears a short yellow-white *chitón*.

[2] De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii 362 no. 489, P. Milliet—A. Giraudon *Vases peints du Cabinet des Médailles & Antiques* (*Bibliothèque Nationale*) Paris 1891 vi[e] classe, xi[e] série ii. pl. 76 (= my fig. 664), J. D. Beazley in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1914 xxxiv. 197 n. 15 no. 6, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 33 no. 21.



Fig. 664.

appears quaintly enough on the shoulder of the vase[1] as a woman running towards the right but looking behind her. Zeus, occupying the main field of decoration, advances with hasty steps, a thunderbolt in his right hand, a sceptre in his left. But it is noticeable that, as compared with the previous design, his bolt is not brandished so high and his onset, motived by love not hate, is less furious. On a red-figured *hydría* at Paris, assigned by J. D. Beazley to the 'master of the Berlin amphora,' a painter of the ripe archaic period,

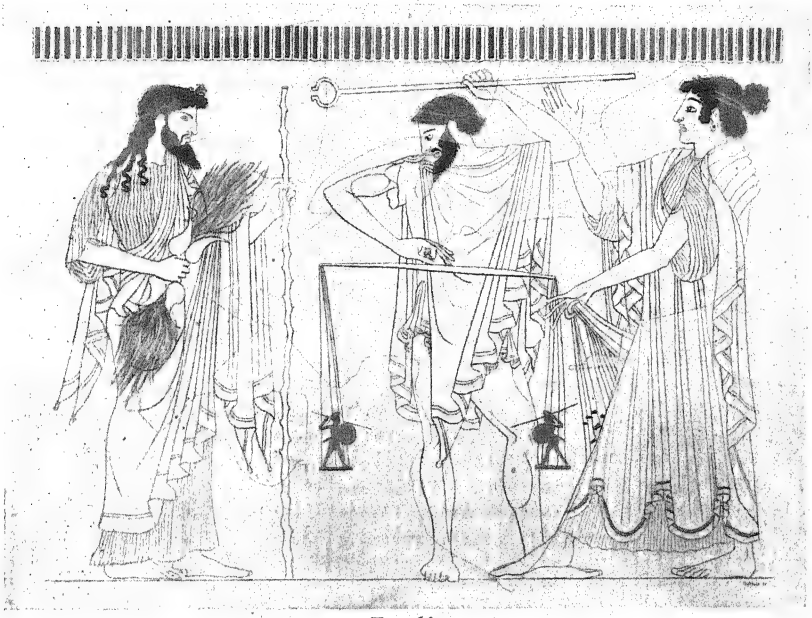


Fig. 665.

the same theme of amorous pursuit is rendered with even greater restraint (fig. 13)[2]. The bolt is held, not in the raised right hand, but in the lowered left.

Contemporary with that vase is a fragmentary *kratér*(?) at Paris, painted in all probability by the artist who worked for the potter Kleophrades. This noble sherd shows Hermes weighing the warrior-souls of Achilles and Memnon in the presence of Zeus (fig. 665)[3].

[1] J. D. Beazley *loc. cit.* notes: 'this is the only lekythos where the figure on the shoulder is related to the figure on the body.'

[2] *Supra* p. 27 n. 0. See J. D. Beazley 'The Master of the Berlin Amphora' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 294 no. 25 *a*, *id. Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 36, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 71 no. 83.

[3] De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 279 no. 385 ('stamnos'), J. de Witte in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1834 vi. 296, *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pl. 10, B (=my fig. 665), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 89, 4, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 527 no. 65 Atlas pl. 22, 9, O. Crusius in

The scene was drawn from the *Aithiopis* of Arktinos[1], who made Eos, mother of Memnon, prevail upon Zeus to honour her slain son with the gift of immortality[2]. And here she intervenes, imploring the dread judge[3] for the mitigation of his sentence. He stands by,

Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1143 f. fig. 3, J. D. Beazley 'Kleophrades' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1910 xxx. 42 no. 4, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 147 no. 34. De Witte, Reinach, de Ridder, and Hoppin are wrong in supposing the ψυχοστασία to be that of Hektor and Achilles, for in that case the scales would have been held by Zeus, not Hermes (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 678 n. 6).

[1] F. G. Welcker *Der epische Cyclus* Bonn 1882 ii². 175, Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 681 n. 6.

[2] Prokl. *chrestom.* 2 (G. Kinkel *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta* Lipsiae 1877 i 33) ἔπειτα Ἀχιλλεὺς Μέμνονα κτείνει· καὶ τούτῳ μὲν Ἠὼς παρὰ Διὸς αἰτησαμένη ἀθανασίαν δίδωσι.

[3] The belief that the souls of men are weighed in a balance was common to the Greeks, the Egyptians (*supra* p. 99 n. 1), and perhaps the Babylonians (A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 113 f.: but see M. Jastrow *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 p. 363 f.). It may be connected ultimately with the custom of divining by weight (W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 222 ff.). But the subject is deserving of separate investigation.

The *Iliad* makes Zeus himself hold the scales. He uses χρύσεια...τάλαντα to weigh the fates of Trojans and Achaeans (*Il.* 7. 68 ff.) and, again, the fates of Achilles and Hektor (*Il.* 22. 208 ff.). The scales of Zeus were in fact already proverbial (E. Hedén *Homerische Götterstudien* Uppsala 1912 p. 172 f.): when Sarpedon fell before Troy, even Hektor fled, γνῶ γὰρ Διὸς ἱρὰ τάλαντα (*Il.* 16. 658); and men weary of the fight, ἐπὴν κλίνῃσι τάλαντα | Ζεύς (*Il.* 19. 223 f.). Later, Zeus weighs out to men wealth or poverty (Theogn. 157 f. Ζεὺς γάρ τοι τὸ τάλαντον ἐπιρρέπει ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, | ἄλλοτε μὲν πλουτεῖν, ἄλλοτε μηδὲν ἔχειν). Aeschylus too conceives of Zeus as holding the balance (*suppl.* 822 f. σὸν δ' ἐπίπαν ζυγὸν ταλάν|του), and in his Ψυχοστασία showed Zeus aloft on the *theologeîon* (Poll. 4. 130) visibly weighing on his scales the souls of Achilles and Memnon (Plout. *de aud. poet.* 2, schol. A. *Il.* 8. 70, Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 699, 31 ff., 1266, 37 f.: see further *Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 88 f. Nauck²). Other allusions to the scales of Zeus (Iupiter) in *Anth. Pal.* 6. 267. 3 f. (Diotimos) οὐ γὰρ ἀφαυρῶς | ἐκ Διὸς ἰθείης οἶδε τάλαντα δίκης, 11. 380. 3 f. (Makedonios) ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰ τάλαντα Διὸς πάγχρυσα τελέσθη, | οἷσι ταλαντεύει πάντα νόμον βιότου, Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 553 ἰσοτύπου δὲ τάλαντα μάχης ἔκλινε Κρονίων, Tryphiod. *excid. Il.* 506 f. ἤδη δὲ Τρώεσσιν ὀλέθριον εἴλκε τάλαντον | Ζεὺς ταμίης πολέμοιο, Verg. *Aen.* 12. 725 f. Iupiter ipse duas aequato examine lances | sustinet, et fata inponit diversa duorum, with Serv. *ad loc.* and Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 13. 39.

For Achilles and Memnon as represented in art it is always Hermes that holds the scales (*e.g.* Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1142 f. figs. 1—4). The famous 'Boston relief' has Eros weighing two souls of men (best illustration in the *Ant. Denkm.* iii. 1. 5 ff. pl. 7). Aristophanes in *ran.* 797 f., 1365 ff.,—his parody of the ψυχοστασία (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1873 p. 81)—makes Plouton superintend the weighing of the rival tragedians. A Campanian *hydría* figures Aphrodite with two Erotes in her scales (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 109 f. no. F 220, F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais.-deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 139 f. fig. 58: cp. *supra* p. 99 n. 1). Eris holds the balance for Achilles and Memnon in Quint. Smyrn. 2. 540 ff. The syncretistic Virgo weighs life and justice in Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5863, 1 ff. = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 759, 1 ff. = F. Bücheler *Carmina Latina epigraphica* Lipsiae 1895 i. 15 f. no. 24, 1 ff. (*Caervoran, s.* iii A.D.) imminet Leoni Virgo caelesti situ | spicifera, iusti inventrix, urbium conditrix, | ex quis muneribus nosse contigit deos, | ergo eadem mater divum, Pax, Virtus, Ceres, | dea Syria, lance vitam et iura pensitans. Finally, Roman imperial art even descends to scenes of 'Phallenwägung' (A. Mau in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1896 xi. 11 f. no. 5, F. Hettner

a grand impartial figure, clad in *chitón* and *himátion*, with a knotted staff in his left hand and a red-flaming thunderbolt in his right.

Yet greater dignity attaches to him when he is represented, not only holding a sceptre, but also seated on a throne. And this very enthronement, by reducing his thunderbolt from an actual to a potential weapon (for no one sits to throw thunderbolts[1]), tended to render the god mild as well as majestic. As such he appears on



Fig. 666.

vases that portray the introduction of Herakles to Olympos. A bell-*kratér* from Gela, now at Palermo, referred by Beazley to the 'Altamura painter' at the beginning of the free style[2], shows Zeus seated on a magnificent throne and Herakles encouraged by Athena to draw near (fig. 666)[3]. The artist, who is not very adroit with the palmette on the throne-back, has made his Zeus clasp sceptre and thunderbolt in the same hand—an awkward handful[4]; the thunderbolt is distinctly *de trop*. Accordingly, on a somewhat later vase, a

Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier Trier 1893 p. 186 f. no. 463 fig., F. Studniczka *loc cit.* p. 139 fig. 57).

[1] *Supra* p. 475, *infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*).

[2] J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 144 no. 10, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 24 no. 18.

[3] H. Heydemann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1870 xxviii. 43 f. no. 24 pl. 33 (=my fig. 666), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 408, 3. The reverse design is Zeus pursuing a woman (Semele?). Height 0·41^{m}.

[4] This clumsy combination occurs first on a *stámnos* in the Louvre (G 370) by the 'Providence painter' of the ripe archaic period (F. T. Welcker in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 293—298, *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 58, 2=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 157, 2, J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 80 no. 43, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 393 no. 34).

splendid *kelébe* at Bologna, sceptre and *phiále* are retained, but the

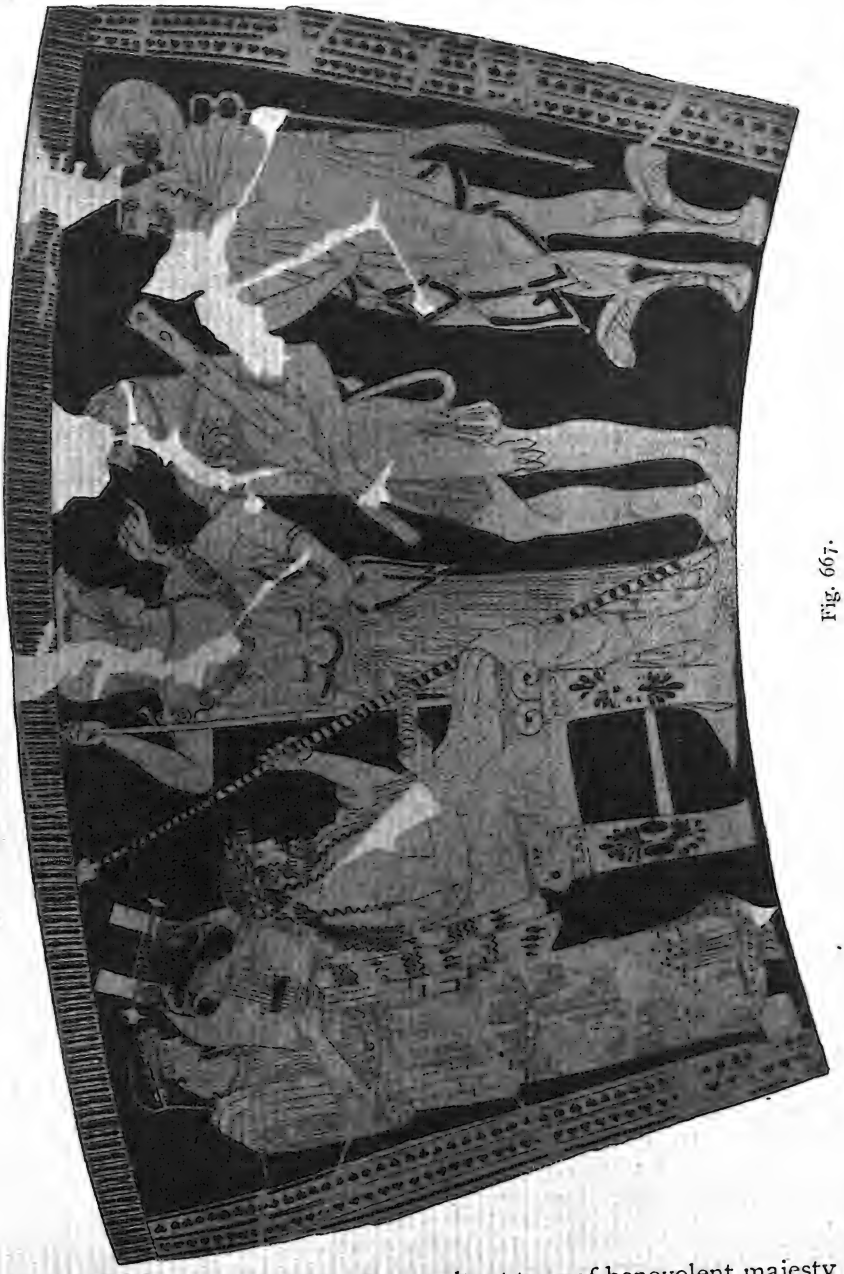


Fig. 667.

bolt is omitted (fig. 667)[1]. The resultant type of benevolent majesty

[1] G. Ghirardini in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880 lii. 100—117, *Mon. d. Inst.* xi pl. 19 (=my

is found again, with a suggestion of greater repose, on the bell-*kratér* from Falerii in the Villa Giulia at Rome, a vase attributed by G. Nicole[1], P. Ducati[2], and J. C. Hoppin[3] to the 'Talos painter,' and referable to the period of the Peloponnesian War (fig. 668)[4]. Its obverse design represents Herakles, his labours over at last, entering the presence of Zeus. Herakles is followed by Hebe, in whose ear Eros whispers of her coming wedlock. Hera, proud and resentful, will not look at Herakles, but turns her head away and addresses Hermes. Zeus in an attitude of dignified ease worthy of Pheidias[5] receives his heroic son. Wreath, sceptre, throne are there, and rightly there. But the thunderbolt would be out of place, and the god's right hand is empty.

The same transition from might to right in the popular conception of Zeus can be equally well illustrated from the remains of ancient sculpture. His earliest extant effigy, a bronze statuette from Mount Lykaion (*s.* vii B.C.), shows a nude bearded god standing erect with a thunderbolt in his raised right hand and an eagle on his outstretched left (*supra* i. 84 fig. 51). It is thus in all probability that we should conceive of such images as the Zeus in hammered gold dedicated at Olympia by Kypselos, tyrant of Corinth (655—625 B.C.)[6], or the Zeus *Hýpatos* in hammered bronze made by

fig. 667), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 222, 1—5, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2238 f. fig.

[1] G. Nicole *Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique* Genève 1908 p. 93 ff. pl. 6, 3.

[2] P. Ducati *I vasi dipinti nello stile del ceramista Midia* Roma 1909 p. 50, *id.* in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1906 xxi. 126.

[3] Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 450 no. 4.

[4] Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 87 ff. pl. 20 (=my fig. 668) Villa Giulia no. 2382. Height 0·40m.

[5] *Supra* i. 91 f., *infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*).

[6] Plat. *Phaedr.* 236 B παρὰ τὸ Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα σφυρήλατος ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ στάθητι, Strab. 353 ὧν ἦν καὶ ὁ χρυσοῦς σφυρήλατος Ζεύς, ἀνάθημα Κυψέλου, τοῦ Κορινθίων τυράννου, 378 τοῦ δὲ περὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον πλούτου μαρτύριον τὸ Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀνάθημα Κυψέλου, σφυρήλατος χρυσοῦς ἀνδριὰς εὐμεγέθης. Kypselos vowed to Zeus that, if he became master of Corinth, he would dedicate all the property of the Corinthians. On becoming master, he bade them draw up a list of their possessions, took a tenth part from each citizen, and told them to trade with the remainder. As each year came round he did the same thing, till in ten years he had kept his vow (Aristot. *oec.* 2. 2. 1346 a 32 ff.). A Platonic gloss in Phot. *lex. s.v.* Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα=Souid. *s.v.* Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα quotes further from Agaklytos περὶ Ὀλυμπίας (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 288 Müller) the statement that the golden colossus dedicated by Kypselos was kept in the old temple of Hera, from Didymos a moralising account to the effect that Periander made the colossus in order to limit the luxury and audacity of the Corinthians, from Theophr. περὶ καιρῶν 2 (*frag.* 128 Wimmer) a similar allusion, and finally a current epigram (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 4) on the colossus εἰ μὴ (so Cobet for εἰμὶ Phot., αὐτὸς Souid.) ἐγὼ χρυσοῦς σφυρήλατός εἰμι κολοσσός, | ἐξώλης εἴη Κυψελιδῶν γενεά together with the variant given by Apellas Pontikos *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 307 Müller) εἰ μὴ (so Cobet for εἰμὶ) ἐγὼ ναστὸς (so S. A. Naber for

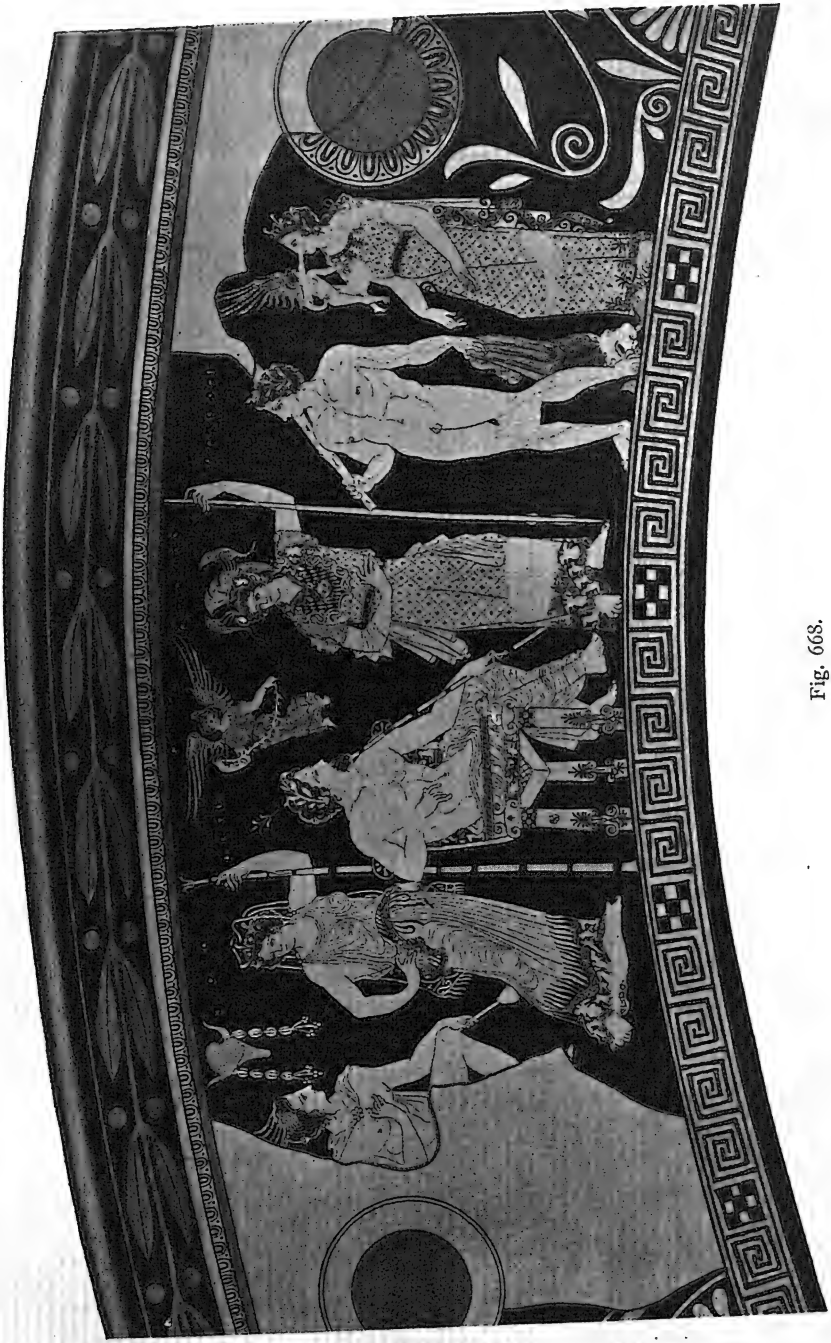


Fig. 668.

Klearchos of Rhegion (*c.* 520 B.C.) and still to be seen at Sparta in the time of Pausanias[1]. Klearchos was said to have learnt his craft from the Cretans Dipoinos and Skyllis; and the type that he employed for Zeus was presumably descended from that of the 'Minoan' fighter with right hand raised to hurl the lance and left outstretched to carry the shield[2].

When archaic sculpture shook off the trammels of strict frontality (*c.* 500 B.C.), one of the first types to attain comparative freedom was that of the fighting-man. A small bronze from Dodona[3] shows him in full armour advancing against the foe, his right arm raised for a spear-thrust, his left extended to support a notched shield. The type again served to represent Zeus the thunderer. Another brilliant little bronze from Dodona (fig. 669)[4], detailed and delicate work, the colour of lapis lazuli, gives us Zeus in a similar pose as conceived by some Aeginetan artist *c.* 490 B.C. Statuettes of the sort were multiplied during the early decades of the fifth century (*supra* i. 84 ff. figs. 52—54), the outstretched hand of the

νάξος Phot., Νάξιος Souid.) παγχρύσεός εἰμι κολοσσός, | κ.τ.λ. The schol. Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 962 a 44 ff. asserts that the sons of Kypselos, when driven out by the Corinthians, vowed that, if they recovered their power, they would dedicate to the god at Olympia χρυσοῦν ἀνδριάντα...ὁλόσφυρον. Hence in fulfilment of their vow ἀνέθεσαν ἐκεῖσε μέγιστον ἄγαλμα χρυσοῦν τοῦ Διός. Ephoros *frag.* 106 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 262 f. Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 1. 96 made Periander vow that, if he won a victory with a four-horse chariot at Olympia, he would dedicate χρυσοῦν ἀνδριάντα. He won; but, being short of gold and seeing the women's trinkets at some Corinthian festival, he appropriated their ornaments and so sent his promised offering. Paus. 5. 2. 3 has yet another yarn. Kypselos dedicated the golden image to Zeus at Olympia, but died before he had carved his own name on it. The Corinthians begged leave of the Eleans to grave on it the name of Corinth and, when met by a refusal, showed their anger by warning the Eleans to keep away from the Isthmian games.

From all this we gather that the archaic Zeus of beaten gold was a standing statue of large size, unaccompanied by an inscription, but traditionally connected with Kypselos or his sons and widely known as τὸ Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα (? a hexameter tag). It was kept in the Heraion and, if it still existed in Pausanias' day, a description of it may have stood in the *lacuna* (Paus. 5. 17. 4) immediately preceding his description of Kypselos' chest (so A. Flasch in Baumeister *Denkm.* ii. 1104 n. 2: other views in the ed. of Pausanias by H. Hitzig and H. Blümner (Lipsiae 1901) ii. 287).

[1] Paus. 3. 17. 6 τῆς Χαλκιοίκου δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Διὸς ἄγαλμα Ὑπάτου πεποίηται, παλαιότατον πάντων ὁπόσα ἐστὶ χαλκοῦ· δι' ὅλου γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰργασμένον, ἐληλαμένου δὲ ἰδίᾳ τῶν μερῶν καθ' αὑτὸ ἑκάστου συνήρμοσταί τε πρὸς ἄλληλα, καὶ ἧλοι συνέχουσιν αὐτὰ μὴ διαλυθῆναι. Κλέαρχον δὲ ἄνδρα Ῥηγῖνον τὸ ἄγαλμα ποιῆσαι λέγουσιν, ὃν Διποίνου καὶ Σκύλλιδος, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ Δαιδάλου φασὶν εἶναι μαθητήν.

[2] *E.g.* Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 752, 757 fig. 353, 758 fig. 354, Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 125 fig. 15, 126 fig. 16.

[3] R. Engelmann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1882 xl. 23—27 pl. 1, S. Reinach in O. Rayet *Monuments de l'art antique* Paris 1880 i pl. 17, 1 with text p. 5 ff., R. Kekulé von Stradonitz and H. Winnefeld *Bronzen aus Dodona in den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* 1909 pp. 13—19 pl. 2.

[4] *Eid. ib.* pp. 6—12 pl. 1 (part of which = my fig. 669), *supra* i. 86 n. 3.

god being often used to carry his eagle. So, for example, in the case of a statue seen by Pausanias[1] at Olympia:

'A little farther on is a Zeus turned towards the rising sun, holding a bird meant for an eagle and a thunderbolt in the other hand. On his head too is set



Fig. 669.

a wreath, and its flowers are lilies[2]. It is an offering of the Metapontines, the work of Aristonous an Aeginetan. We do not know who was the master of this Aristonous, nor what was his date.'

H. Brunn[3] and J. Overbeck[4] were probably right in contending

[1] Paus. 5. 22. 5.
[2] *Supra* i. 622 n. 10.
[3] H. Brunn *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler* Stuttgart 1853 i. 96.
[4] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 16 f.

that the statue in question was made before the loss of Aigina's independence in 458 B.C. And there is much to be said for E. Babelon's[1] conjecture that it furnished the reverse design of certain rare Olympian *statêres* (figs. 670—672) referred by C. T. Seltman[2] to the periods *c.* 471—*c.* 452 and *c.* 452—*c.* 432 B.C. respectively[3].



Fig. 670.

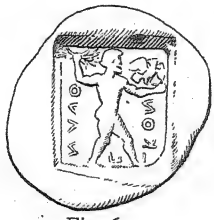


Fig. 671.



Fig. 672.

The statue of Zeus *Ithomátas*, which Hageladas made for the Messenians of Naupaktos[4], presumably not before 455 B.C.[5], seems to have perpetuated the type of the striding antagonist. For silver coins of Messene struck *c.* 369—330 (fig. 673)[6] and *c.* 330—280 B.C.

[1] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 885 ff. no. 1254 pl. 39, 1 (Berlin) = my fig. 672, no. 1255 pl. 39, 2 (Paris).

[2] C. T. Seltman 'The Temple Coins of Olympia' in *Nomisma* 1913 viii. 24, 35 f. no. 37 pl. 2, ABαι (Paris), 41 ff. no. 72 pl. 3, APβγ (Weber), no. 73 pl. 3, AQβγ (Berlin). Mr Seltman is certainly right in regarding the reverse type of no. 72 f. as a 'restitution' of no. 37. I figure the Paris and McClean specimens of the earlier coin and the Berlin specimen of the later. The legend ΛΟΧΙΠΛΛΟ is for Ὀλυμπικῶν (ἀγώνων) or (ἄθλων): see A. Lambropoulos in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1895 xix. 210, E. Babelon *loc. cit.* p. 893, and C. T. Seltman *loc. cit.* p. 41.

[3] Similar to the work of Aristonous in all probability was the image of Zeus, seven cubits high, holding an eagle in one hand, a thunderbolt in the other, dedicated at Olympia by the Leontines Hippagoras, Phrynon, and Ainesidemos (Paus. 5. 22. 7 with Sir J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*). If *Olympia* v. 735 f. no. 838 AIN[---] is really part of its base, we must refer the image to the archaic period.

[4] Paus. 4. 33. 2 τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς Ἀγελάδα μέν ἐστιν ἔργον, ἐποιήθη δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς οἰκήσασιν ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ Μεσσηνίων. ἱερεὺς δὲ αἱρετὸς κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἔχει τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας (Clavier cj. ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, cp. Paus. 3. 13. 3). ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴν ἐπέτειον Ἰθωμαῖα (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 32)· τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐτίθεσαν μουσικῆς. κ.τ.λ. *Supra* i. 121 f., *infra* Append. B Messene.

[5] In 455 B.C. the Messenians besieged by the Lacedaemonians on Mt Ithome quitted their stronghold and settled at Naupaktos, a town given them by the Athenians, who had wrested it from the Ozolian Locrians (Paus. 4. 24. 6 f.). These Messenians doubtless commissioned Hageladas to make a statue of Zeus *Ithomátas*, to whose protection they were so deeply indebted, and brought it with them on their ultimate return to Messene, the new city founded by Epameinondas in 369 B.C. (E. Pfuhl in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2193).

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 109 pl. 22, 1 (= my fig. 673), Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 46 pl. 23, 35, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 431 fig. 236, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* pp. 156, 159 pl. 8, 25, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 67 f. pl. P, 4.

(fig. 674)[1] show a bearded Zeus advancing to the right in the same pose and with the same attributes[2]. The sturdy god of the earlier coin and the sinewy god of the later enable us to catch something of the qualities of the famous[3] Argive sculptor, the teacher of both Polykleitos and Myron. Another statue made by him[4] for the in-



Fig. 673.



Fig. 674.

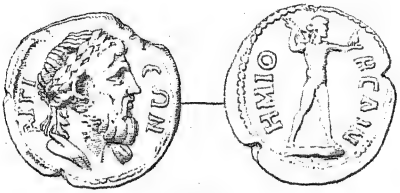


Fig. 675.



Fig. 676.

habitants of Aigion in Achaia, who worshipped Zeus under the remarkable appellation of *Paîs*[5], represented the god—to judge from coppers of the town issued after 146 B.C. (figs. 675—678)[6] and again in imperial times (figs. 679, 680)[7]—as a beardless youth advancing

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 110 pl. 22, 6 (=my fig. 674) and 7, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 64 pl. 32, 24, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 432 fig. 237, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 202 f. pl. 12, 47, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 67 f. pl. P, 5.

[2] Bronze pieces of Messene repeat the type (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 110 ff. pl. 22, 5, 10 f., 15, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 143 f. pl. 38, 20, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 432).

[3] A. Frickenhaus 'Hageladas' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 24 ff. attributes the statue of Zeus *Ithomátas* to a younger Hageladas, supposed grandson of the famous sculptor, working *c.* 450 B.C.

[4] Frickenhaus *loc. cit.* p. 30 f. refers this statue too to his younger Hageladas.

[5] Paus. 7. 24. 4 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Αἰγιεῦσιν ἀγάλματα χαλκοῦ πεποιημένα, Ζεύς τε ἡλικίαν παῖς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἔχων πω γένεια, Ἀγελάδα τέχνη τοῦ Ἀργείου. τούτοις κατὰ ἔτος ἱερεῖς αἱρετοὶ γίνονται, καὶ ἑκάτερον (so H. Hitzig for ἑκάτερα codd.) τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας (so H. Hitzig for ἐπὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις codd.) μένει τοῦ ἱερωμένου (so ed. Ald. for ἱερουμένου codd.). τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα προεκέκριτο ἐκ τῶν παίδων ἱερᾶσθαι τῷ Διὶ ὁ νικῶν κάλλει· ἀρχομένων δὲ αὐτῷ γενείων ἐς ἄλλον παῖδα ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει μετῄει τιμή.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 18 pl. 4, 12 (=my fig. 675) and 14 (=my fig. 677), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 84 f. pl. R, 12, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 413. Fig. 676 is from an uncatalogued specimen in the British Museum, and fig. 678 from another in my own collection.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 19 pl. 4, 17 (=my fig. 679), J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 302 pl. 14, 11, W. Wroth in the *Num.*

in the old familiar scheme. Since Zeus *Ithomátas*[1] and Zeus *Paîs*[2] were alike kept in the house of their priest, who held office for a year only[3], we must suppose that they were statues of manageable weight, life-sized figures of thin beaten bronze at the most[4].



Fig. 677.



Fig. 678.



Fig. 679.



Fig. 680.

Zeus militant with bolt and bird occurs sporadically throughout the classical period. He appears in this guise, now as a bronze statuette[5], now in a vase-painting[6], now again as a coin-type[7], now

Chron. Fourth Series 1902 ii. 323 f. no. 13 pl. 15, 13 (= my fig. 680), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 84 f. pl. R, 13, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 413.

[1] *Supra* p. 741 n. 4.

[2] *Supra* p. 742 n. 5.

[3] On the possible implications of such an annual tenure see *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 394 ff.

[4] E. Pfuhl in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2193.

[5] Miss C. A. Hutton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1896—1897 iii. 149 ff. pl. 10, 1 (in the collection of M. Cambanis, Athens. Right arm broken off. Height 0·126m). See also Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 1 nos. 4, 5, 7.

[6] *Supra* i. 39 f. fig. 11.

[7] (1) On coppers of Kierion in Thessaly, struck after *c.* 350 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 15 pl. 31, 2, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 293). (2) On a silver coin of Akarnania, struck *c.* 250 (?)—167 B.C. (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1878 p. 30 f. pl. 1, 5, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 333). (3) On a Cretan *kistophóros* (*supra* i. 402 f. fig. 300). (4) On a silver coin of Tabai in Karia, struck in early imperial times (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 162 pl. 25, 8, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 626). (5) On coppers of Attouda in Karia, struck in the time of Septimius Severus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 65 pl. 10, 16, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 611). (6) On a copper of Kyzikos, struck in imperial times (*Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 267 no. 19). (7) On a copper of Ephesos, struck by Salonina (fig. 681 from a specimen in my collection). (8) On a copper of Pautalia in Thrace, struck by Caracalla



Fig. 681.

on a gem[1]. From time to time efforts were made to soften the rude force of his archaic pose. A little bronze in the British Museum (fig. 682)[2] wraps a *chlamýs* about his arm. A red-figured *amphora*



Fig. 682.

formerly in the Pourtalès collection (fig. 683)[3] gave him a *chitón* as well as a small *himátion*. But the Hellenic Zeus never took kindly to the *chitón*[4], and such a garb (where not a mark of foreign

(Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. ii. 392 no. 1133). (9) On a copper of Serdike in Thrace, struck by Caracalla (G. Seure in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 240).

[1] Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 134 no. 1, 4 pl. 123 (cornelian in the collection of the duc d'Orléans with an affected, archaistic version of the type—Zeus on tiptoe, etc.).

[2] H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 172 no. 927. Restored: right leg below knee; left foot and ankle. Height $3\frac{7}{8}$ ins. Fig. 682 is from a photograph by Mr W. H. Hayles.

[3] J. J. Dubois *Description des antiques faisant partie des collections de M. le comte de Pourtalès-Gorgier* Paris 1841 p. 27 no. 123 fig., O. Jahn in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 181, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 365 no. 18, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 29 pl. 2, 9 (=my fig. 683).

[4] In *Il.* 5. 733 ff. = 8. 384 ff. Athena, when she arms herself for the fray, puts off her own *péplos* and puts on the *chitón* of Zeus. The passage was admired in antiquity (Eustath.

manners[1]) must be viewed as a concession to the increasing luxury of the age.

In general, the striding god was superseded either by the standing or by the seated god. The transition from stride to stand can be well seen in a Greek bronze from the Peloponnese, now at Paris (fig. 684)[2]. The left arm with the eagle is still outstretched, but the right with the thunderbolt is already lowered.

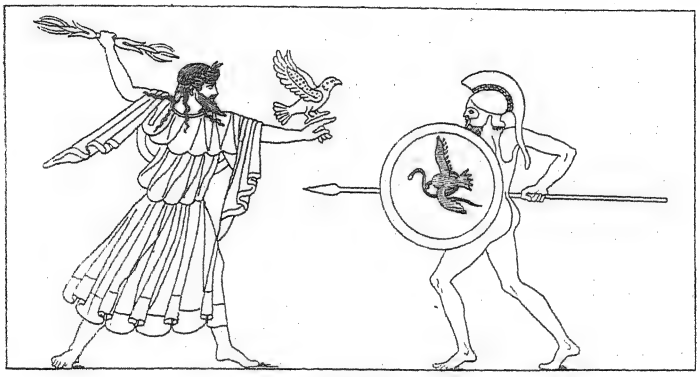


Fig. 683.

A whole group[3] of bronze statuettes, presupposing a famous original statue, represents Zeus standing in an attitude that bespeaks both strength and tranquillity. A large *chlamýs* falling over the left shoulder serves to set off his powerful chest. His right arm, grasping the bolt, has dropped to his side. His left, bent at the elbow, held a long sceptre. The finest extant example of this type, which derives from some great Attic sculptor of the fifth century[4], is in the Uffizi

in Il. p. 599, 32 ff.) and even allegorised (*id. ib.* pp. 600, 3 ff., 719, 21 ff.); but later parallels appear to be lacking.

Greek sculptors rarely represented Zeus in *chitón* and *himátion* (*supra* i. 86 f. fig. 55 a seated statuette in bronze from Mt Lykaion, *c.* 550—500 B.C.). Greek vase-painters, however, often did so: cp. Spartan vases ('Laconian iv') *c.* 550—500 B.C. (*supra* i. 92 f. fig. 65, 782 pl. xlii) and Attic vases both black-figured (*e.g. infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*)) and red-figured (*e.g. supra* i. 707 n. 2 fig. 524, ii. 24 fig. 10, 273 fig. 177, 733 ff. fig. 665 f.). See further Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 32 f., p. 124 ff. nos. 19—21, p. 129 no. 24, p. 181 ff. A—D, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 124, 133.

[1] *E.g.* Zeus Sarapis (*supra* i. 188 f. fig. 137), Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* (i. 570 ff. pl. xxxiii, fig. 440 ff.), the Syrian Zeus (i. 590 fig. 452), Zeus *Dolichaîos* (i. 606 f. fig. 478, cp. p. 611 ff. fig. 480 ff.), Zeus at Maionia (i. 731 f. fig. 540), Zeus *Kataibátes* at Kyrrhos (ii. 16 fig. 3 f.), Zeus *Sabázios* (ii. 282 n. 2 pl. xix, fig. 179 f.), Zeus at Laodikeia (ii. 319 f. fig. 201 ff.), the Carian Zeus (ii. 573 ff. fig. 475 ff., 593 fig. 497, 597 f. pl. xxviii), etc.

[2] De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* i. 25 no. 128 pl. 14 (=my fig. 684), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 1 no. 3. Height: 0·115^{m}.

[3] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 145—147 ('Achte Gruppe') nos. 45—54.

[4] Witness the mild, majestic face with its abundant but not over-abundant tresses, the head turned towards the supporting leg, the correct and clearly-marked musculature of

at Florence (pl. xxxi)[1]. Later modifications of the type made less of



Fig. 684.

the *chlamýs* (fig. 685 and pl. xxxii, 1)[2] or dispensed with it altogether,

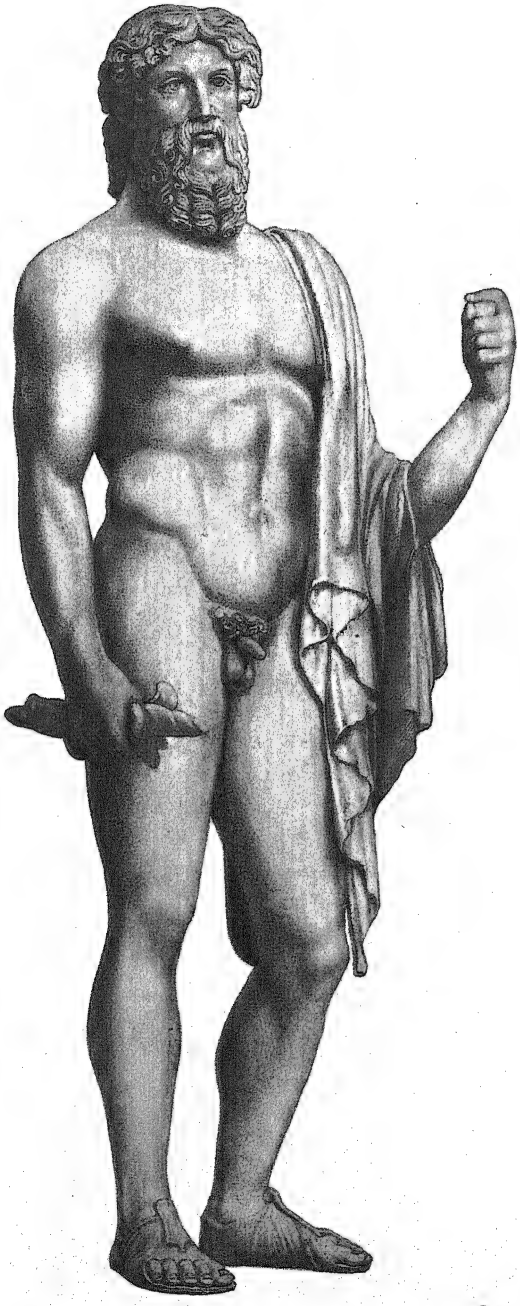
the body, the left leg flexed and turned outwards, the proportion of the head to the whole height, etc. If we may base an opinion on this superb bronze, the original must have been a masterpiece worthy of Pheidias himself.

[1] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 145 f. no. 46 fig. 17 (=my pl. xxxi), A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 2127 f. fig. 2384, W. Amelung *Florentiner Antiken* München 1893 p. 10, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 9 no. 7. Height: 0·28m.

[2] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 147—149 ('Neunte Gruppe') nos. 55—63.

Fig. 685 is a fine bronze from Paramythia, now in the British Museum (H. B. Walters *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 36 no. 275 pl. 7, 1, *id. British Museum: Select Bronzes* London 1915 pl. 20 with text, Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* iii. 48 pl. 403 figs. 687, 687 A= Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 189 no. 3), after a photograph by Mr W. H. Hayles. Height: 7⅝ ins. *Patina*: light green. A. S. Murray *Greek Bronzes* London 1898 p. 81 pl. 3 claimed this statuette as belonging to 'the school of Lysippos.' Cp. with it another from the same locality, preserved at Constantinople and published by M. Collignon in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1885 ix. 42—45 pl. 14.

Pl. xxxii, 1 is a small silver statuette (height: 0·065m, with base 0·1m) found by a vine-grower at Mâcon in 1764 together with other statuettes in the same metal and about 30,000 gold and silver coins, mostly of imperial date, but none later than Gallienus (260—268 A.D.). Nine of the statuettes, including this one, are now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Silver Plate* p. 8 no. 27 pl. 6). The thunderbolt of Zeus has a lotus-bud towards either end. Beside the god is a she-goat (Amaltheia?): cp. *supra* i. 52 fig. 28, 706 fig. 522. Pl. xxxii, 1 is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming.



Bronze statuette of Zeus in the Uffizi at Florence.

See page 745 f.



1



2

1 Silver statuette from Mâcon, now in the British Museum: Zeus standing with a she-goat (Amaltheia?) at his side.

See page 746 n. 2.

2 Silver-gilt statuette from Mâcon, now in the British Museum: Zeus enthroned.

See



but tended to move the right hand from the side and raised the left



Fig. 685.

arm higher in order to obtain a more imposing effect (fig. 686)[1]. The

[1] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 150—152 ('Elfte Gruppe') nos. 66—72 with fig. 18. I illustrate Overbeck's no. 69 from Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 1 f. no. 3 fig. (=my fig. 686). This is a statuette of praiseworthy Roman style. Its eyes were inlaid with silver, its nipples with red copper. Height: 0·166m. *Patina*: brown. It was found in 1763 at Chalon-sur-Saône, in an oaken box along with seventeen other bronzes, by a peasant at work on his vineyard. For other examples of careful Roman art see von Sacken *Ant. Bronzen Wien* i. 9 pl. 7, 6 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 4 no. 3,

result was merely that the grand degenerated into the grandiose. Another sort of degeneracy produced the eclectic type of a Graeco-



Fig. 686.

Roman bronze in the British Museum (fig. 687)[1]. The beardless face

Einzelaufnahmen no. 1452 with Text v. 105 by H. Bulle=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 2 no. 7, etc. The finest figure of the sort is a bronze in the Antiquarium at Munich, which H. Bulle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2884 f. fig. 16 and in his *Der schoene Mensch im Altertum*[2] Muenchen—Leipzig 1912 p. 113 pl. 59 regards as a Greek 'Poseidon' of 400—350 B.C. Fine too is another in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, which Miss G. M. A. Richter in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 1907 ii. 18—20 fig. 4 and in her *Cat. Bronzes New York* p. 67 f. no. 110 fig. likewise takes to be a 'Poseidon (?),' by 'the school of Lysippos.'

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 172 no. 930. Height: $3\frac{7}{8}$ ins. Fig. 687 is from a photograph by Mr W. H. Hayles.

recalls Hageladas' *Paîs*[1]. The pose is that of a Polyclitan *doryphóros*, though the left hand, which should carry the spear, is empty and meaningless. The hip is thrown out *à la* Praxiteles. The proportions are Lysippian. And the action of this tasteless aggregate is



Fig. 687.

as insipid as its composition: the would-be deity holds out his thunderbolt like a shopman offering his wares.

Meantime increasing mansuetude had transferred the bolt from the right hand, which could use it, to the left hand, which could not. That is the case with another small



Fig. 688.

[1] *Supra* p. 742 f. A chalcedony at Berlin (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 246 no. 6714 pl. 48, *id. Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 44 (=my fig. 688: scale ⅔), ii. 207) has a youthful Zeus with a sceptre in his raised right hand, a thunderbolt in his lowered left. Furtwängler justly remarks: 'statuarisches Motiv;...polykletisierende Körperformen.'

group[1] of figures in marble and bronze. Of these the most interesting

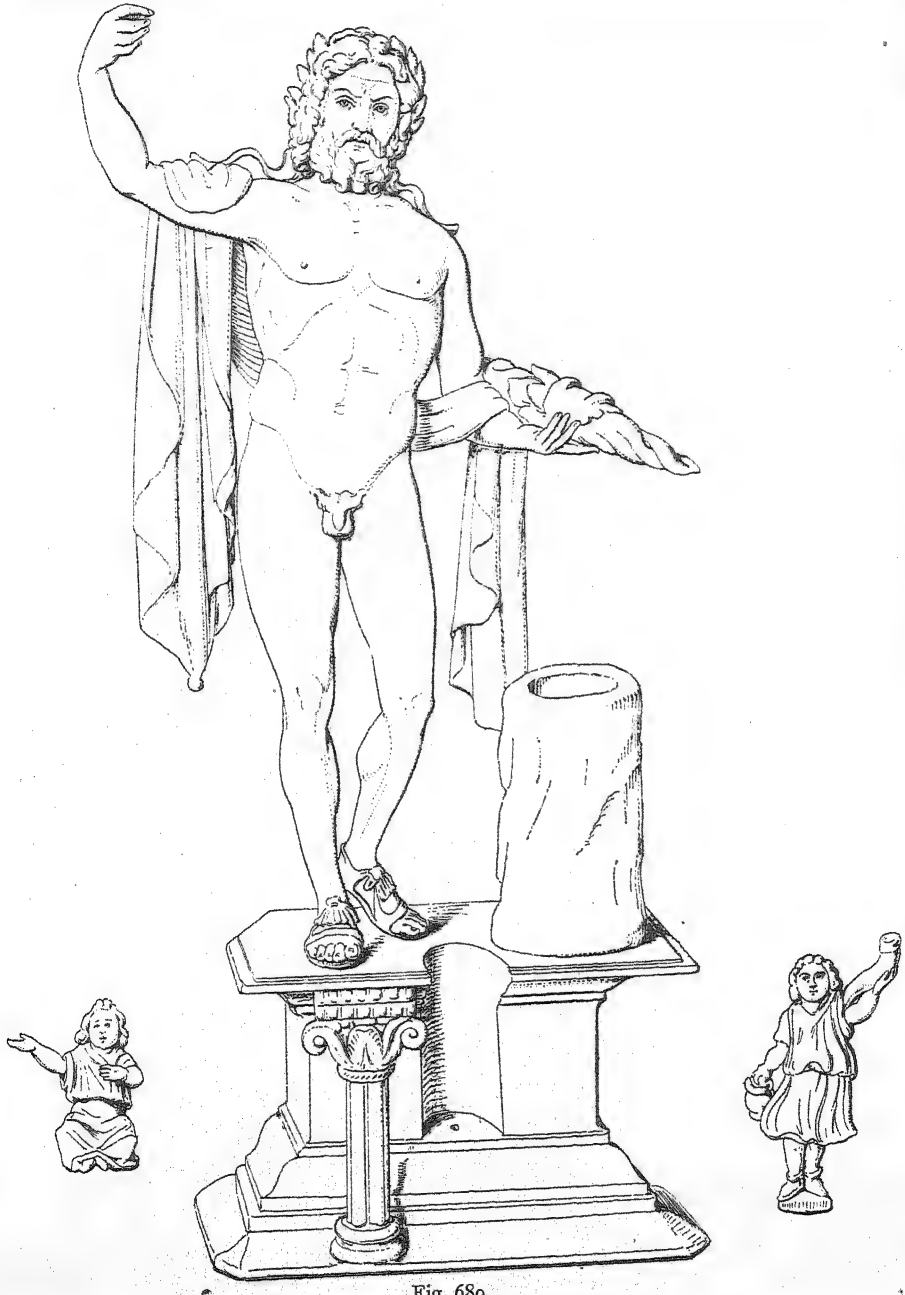


Fig. 689.

[1] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 149 f. ('Zehnte Gruppe') nos. 64 and 65.

is a bronze statuette at Vienna (fig. 689)[1], which shows the god, associated with two little Lares, as the kindly guardian of a Roman house. His thunderbolt, despite its size, is reduced to the veriest symbol, a spiral ornament, a quaint old-fashioned curio.



Fig. 690.

Less formidable than the thunderbolt, but still reminiscent of the thunder, was the eagle[2] sometimes carried on the sky-god's hand. For standing figures as represented in sculpture[3] this type was not common, being confined to late reliefs[4] and bronzes (fig. 690)[5]. But it had

[1] Von Sacken *Ant. Bronzen Wien* i. 6 f. pl. 1 (=my fig. 689), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 9 no. 6. Height: 0·175^{m}. *Patina*: grey-green. This remarkable bronze was found in 1830 beside a spring near Verona together with a seated Hermes (von Sacken *op. cit.* i. 49 f. pl. 20), two water-carriers (*id. ib.* i. 109 f. pl. 44, 2), and two small lamps of acanthus-pattern—the furniture of a *lararium* hardly to be dated earlier than *c.* 150—200 A.D. Iupiter, for so we must call him, stands on a semi-octagonal base or *larophorum* (cp. Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4106, 4 f. with E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 950 fig. 4352), the front of which forms a rounded niche. Beside him a tree-trunk, hollowed at the top, served as a thurible (?) (von Sacken thought it a stoup for holy water). On one side of the niche a short pillar supports the moulding. On the other side, in place of the pillar, was found a little Lar (0·045^{m} high) holding *rhytón* and *situla*. In the niche sits, and doubtless sat, a second Lar stretching his right hand in supplication towards Iupiter.

[2] Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 15 negant umquam solam hanc alitem fulmine exanimatam. ideo armigeram Iovis consuetudo iudicavit (cp. *ib.* 2. 146), interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 394 aut quia nec aquila nec laurus dicitur fulminari ideo Iovis ales aquila, Iovis coronam lauream accepimus. On the eagle as lightning-bearer see D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 pp. 2, 8, O. Keller *Thiere des classischen Alterthums in culturgeschichtlicher Beziehung* Innsbruck 1887 p. 238 ff., *id. Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 p. 2, E. Oder in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 374, H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 24 ff. (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 491 ff.). The most learned account of the eagle in antiquity is still S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1794 ii. 739—770.

[3] As a coin-type, however, it is fairly frequent from the age of Alexander onwards: see the lists in K. Sittl *Der Adler und die Weltkugel als Attribute des Zeus* (*supra* i. 46 n. 2) Leipzig 1884 pp. 22 f., 27 f. Examples in Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus Münztaf. 2, 18—21, 24, 28 f.

[4] *Supra* i. 731 f. fig. 540.

[5] Eagle in the right hand of Zeus: (1) at Vienna (von Sacken *op. cit.* i. 10 pl. 2, 5 (=my fig. 690), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 7 no. 7. Height 0·06^{m}). (2) at Mont Joux (H. Meyer *Die römischen Alpenstrassen in der Schweiz* Zurich 1861 p. 126 pl. 2, 6, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 8 no. 6). (3) in the Pierpont Morgan collection (*Le Musée* 1907 iv. 140, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 7 no. 1). (4) in the P. du Chatellier collection, Cléden in Brittany (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 6 no. 1).

Eagle in the left hand of Zeus: (1) at Cologne (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 1 no. 3 'Zeus?'). (2) Bronze relief from Chalkedon (C. Friederichs *Kleinere Kunst und Industrie im Alterthum* Düsseldorf 1871 no. 1866). Cp. *supra* p. 246 f. fig. 164.

a long ancestry behind it[1] and its hold upon life must be attributed to the obscure persistence of early ideas. From the first the eagle appearing far up in the blue[2] was a visible manifestation, nay an actual embodiment, of Zeus[3]. To the last it remained his animal counterpart, born when he was born[4] and throughout associated with him in a hundred ways[5].



Fig. 691.

In the absence of both thunderbolt and eagle it is often difficult to decide whether an erect bearded god was meant for Zeus or Poseidon. But a magnificent bronze from Paramythia, now in the British Museum (fig. 691)[6], was rightly judged by E. Braun[7], J. Overbeck[8], and K. Wernicke[9] to be a representation of the former

[1] *Supra* i. 84 f. figs. 51, 53.

[2] Cp. the grand picture of an eagle's flight in Apul. *flor.* 2. When Apuleius describes how the great bird swoops down *fulminis vicem*, we are reminded of Tennyson's fragment *The Eagle* 6 'And like a thunderbolt he falls.'

[3] *Supra* p. 186 ff.

[4] Apostol. 8. 28 Ζεὺς ἀετὸν εἵλετο· ἐπὶ τῶν λυσιτελῆ καὶ καλὰ ἐκλεγομένων· λέγεται γὰρ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς γέννησιν τὸν ἀετὸν γενν[ηθ]ῆναι, ἐν δὲ τῇ πρὸς Γίγαντας μάχῃ παραπτῆναι· διόπερ ἐν τῇ διανεμήσει τῶν πτηνῶν Ζεὺς ἀετὸν εἵλετο, ᾧ καὶ προστάσσει καὶ ἀγγέλῳ χρῆται πρὸς ἐκείνους, οὓς ἐπιφανείας ἀξιοῖ (= Arsen. *viol.* p. 260 Walz), schol. *Il.* 8. 247, 24. 293, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1351, 29 ff., *et. Gud.* p. 11, 46 ff. See also pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 30, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 16, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 411, 16 ff. Eyssenhardt.

[5] K. Sittl *op. cit.* pp. 3—42.

[6] H. B. Walters *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* pp. xiv, 36 no. 274 pl. 6, 2. Height: 8⅝ ins., with base (ancient) 10¾ ins. *Patina*: dark green. Fig. 691 is from a photograph by Mr W. H. Hayles.

[7] E. Braun *Vorschule der Kunstmythologie* Gotha 1854 p. 9 pl. 13.

[8] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 153 no. 74.

[9] Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 22 f. pl. 12, 2.

deity[1]. The right hand probably held a long sceptre, the left a *phiále*[2]; and Zeus was conceived as the propitious recipient of his worshipper's oblation. The statuette, which in style is post-Lysippian, may well have been a votive object in the neighbouring precinct at Dodona.

The seated types of Zeus are of interest in relation to the work of Pheidias. That great craftsman never lost touch with the past and knew well how to appeal to local sentiment by taking accepted

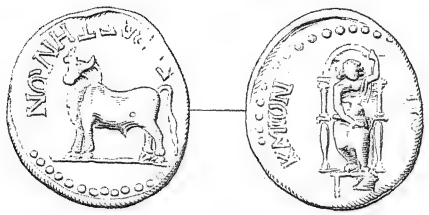


Fig. 692.



Fig. 693.

forms and transmuting them into something higher with a touch of his own genius. A Pheidiac masterpiece is always on the one side the last term of a creative series, on the other the first term of an imitative series. For example, Zeus enthroned with a thunderbolt in his right hand and a sceptre in his left was an old Attic type[3] taken over by Pheidias from the vase-painters[4] and ennobled to serve as the centre-piece of the eastern pediment of the Parthenon (pl. xxxiii)[5].

[1] A. S. Murray *Greek Bronzes* London 1898 p. 76 ff. fig. 32 says 'Poseidon,' H. B. Walters *loc. cit.* and in his *British Museum: Select Bronzes* London 1915 pl. 19 with text 'Poseidon (?),' H. Bulle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2885 'die Beziehung auf Poseidon nicht...sicher... Diese Figur konnte auch für Zeus gehalten werden.'

[2] The fore-finger and the little finger of the left hand, contracted and drawn towards each other, might have held a *phiále*, but could hardly have clasped a model dolphin or tunny. K. Wernicke *loc. cit.* suggests an eagle or a Nike: so far as I can judge from a cast of the statuette, a *phiále* seems more likely.

[3] *E.g.* (1) An early black-figured *amphora* with the birth of Athena (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii 103 ff. no. B 147, W. Henzen in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1842 xiv. 90—103, *Mon. d. Inst.* iii. pl. 44 f. = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 115 f., Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 217 ff. pl. 65 A) gives Zeus both thunderbolt and sceptre (upper part restored). In most vase-paintings of this scene either the bolt or the sceptre is absent, though the hand is held as if its missing attribute were present. (2) A red-figured *amphora* assigned to the Nikoxenos painter, a contemporary of Euthymides (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 137 f. no. 405, Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i. 31 ff. pl. 7 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 21, 7 f., Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 233 no. 6), shows Zeus with thunderbolt and eagle-sceptre seated among an assemblage of deities. (3) A fine red-figured vase from Girgenti, formerly owned by R. Politi (R. Rochette *Choix de peintures de Pompéi* Paris 1848 p. 5 vignette, p. 11 n. 6, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 527 f. no. 66 Atlas pl. 22, 10, *id. Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 28 no. b, Atlas pl. 1, 13 (Zeus only)), had Zeus with winged bolt and sceptre seated between Thetis and Heos, who supplicate him on behalf of their sons. Cp. also *supra* p. 274 fig. 177.

[4] *Infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*).

[5] See pocket at end of vol. ii.

Installed in this unique position it was naturally copied and re-copied by successive generations of artists. Indeed, with sundry slight modifications (the sceptre held higher, the bolt resting in the lap, the throne embellished, the footstool pushed forward) it lasted on



Fig. 694.



Fig. 695.



Fig. 696.

into imperial times, as may be seen, not only from countless coins (*e.g.* fig. 692)[1] and gems (*e.g.* fig. 695)[2], but also from numerous extant marbles and bronzes[3]. The finest of the latter is a statuette at New York (fig. 697)[4], of which Miss G. M. A. Richter well says:

[1] *E.g. supra* i. 44 fig. 13, 69 fig. 44, 90 fig. 62, 124 fig. 91 f., 781 fig. 566, ii. 16 figs. 3—6, etc. I add, on account of their handsome thrones, a couple of coppers issued at Taouion (Tavium) in Galatia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 24 pl. 5, 2 (=my fig. 692) time of Titus to Septimius Severus, p. 27 pl. 5, 12 (=my fig. 693) Caracalla, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 749). Tavium (*Böyuk Nefes Keui*) was the chief town of the Galatian tribe of the Trokmoi, ὅπου ὁ τοῦ Διὸς κολοσσὸς χαλκοῦς καὶ τέμενος αὐτοῦ ἄσυλον (Strab. 567) : see further J. R. S. Sterrett in the *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1883—1884 ii. 310 f. W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. xxiii f. regards the coins here given as figuring the colossal Zeus and suggests that the bull was his victim. He further notes a dedication [Δι]ὶ Ταουιανῷ found at Ankyra (A. von Domaszewski in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1885 ix. 114 f. no. 65), another I.o.m. | Taviano | pro salu. | imp. Anto|nini et M. | Aureli Caes. | Gal[at]ae con|sistentes | municipio | posierunt at Napoca (*Klausenburg*) in Dacia (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 860 with Suppl. p. 1380=Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1285=Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 2449=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4082), and a third I. o. m. | Taviano | et dis deabusque | pro salute (et) victori[a] | domini n(ostri) sanctissi[m(i)] | Avianus Aug. lib. | subpro(curator) auraria[r(um)] | v. s. a(nimo) [l(ibens)] at Apulum (*Karlsburg*) in Dacia (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii. no. 1088=Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1284).

[2] *E.g. supra* i. 42 fig. 12, ii. 318 fig. 200. I illustrate two Graeco-Roman gems of normal and exceptional design. Fig. 694 is a burnt onyx in the British Museum, formerly in the Mertens and Castellani collections (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 90 no. 577. Scale ½), a thoroughly commonplace specimen such as any Roman tradesman might have worn to bring him luck (cp. Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 266 no. 7132 pl. 54). Fig. 695 is a sapphirine chalcedony, which came to me from the Story-Maskeleyne collection (Sale Catalogue London 1921 p. 16 no. 85) and is here shown to the scale ⅔: the corn-ears and *skýphos* set beside the god's throne mark him as the dispenser of food and drink (cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 90 no. 576, and *supra* i. 598 n. 2).

[3] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 115—124 ('Erste Classe') nos. 1—18. Other bronzes are listed by Richter *Cat. Bronzes New York* p. 110 f.

[4] Richter *Cat. Bronzes New York* p. 110 f. no. 200 fig., A. Furtwängler *Neue Denkmäler antiker Kunst* (extr. from the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe) München 1905 iii. 267 f. no. 6 pl. 6, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 8 no. 2. Height: 4⅛ ins. I am indebted to Miss Richter for the photograph from which fig. 697 was made.

'It is of Roman execution but must have been made by an artist thoroughly imbued with the Greek spirit[1].' Another choice example is the small seated Zeus in silver with gilded drapery, thunderbolt,



Fig. 697.



Fig. 698.

etc. (pl. xxxii, 2)[2], which formed part of the Mâcon find mentioned in a foregoing note[3]. But more often the Romans were content with very slipshod reproductions of the type: I give (fig. 698)[4] a sample

[1] The same might be said of De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes de la coll. de Clercq* p. 139 f. no. 215 pl. 36, 1 (height: 0·17^{m}).

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Silver Plate* p. 10 f. no. 35 pl. 6. Height: 0·072^{m}. The thunderbolt on the lap of Zeus is ornamented with two Corinthian capitals. Pl. xxxii, 2 is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming.

[3] *Supra* p. 746 n. 2.

[4] A. C. P. de Tubières Comte de Caylus *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines et gauloises* Paris 1767 vii. 286 f. pl. 82, 1 (reversed), Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 9 f. no. 17 fig. (=my fig. 698), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 13 no. 6, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 116 no. 16, p. 122. The eyes are incrusted with silver. Height: 0·122^{m}. *Patina*: dark green.

now at Paris. An interesting variation is a well-preserved but heavy-looking bronze found in Hungary (pl. xxxiv)[1], which—like sundry coins (fig. 696)[2], gems[3], etc.[4]—reverses the type, putting the sceptre



Fig. 699.

in the god's right hand, the thunderbolt in his left. A second little statuette of silver with gilded *himátion*, which passed from the Castellani collection into the British Museum (fig. 699)[5], makes

[1] H. B. Walters *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 170 no. 909 and in his *British Museum: Select Bronzes* London 1915 pl. 39 with text, Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* iii. 23 f. pl. 398 fig. 668 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 186 no. 4, O. Rayet *Monuments de l'art antique* Paris 1884 i pl. 43 with text p. 4 ff., A. S. Murray *Greek Bronzes* London 1898 p. 61 ff. fig. 25, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 121 f., 127 f. no. 23. Restored: sceptre, end of thunderbolt, and both feet. Zeus is wearing a large bay-wreath with central boss. Height: 7¼ ins. *Patina*: blackish. Pl. xxxiv is from a photograph by Mr W. H. Hales.

[2] *E.g. supra* i. 752 fig. 551. Fig. 696 is from a rare coin of Dokimeion (*Ichje Karahissar*), a Macedonian colony in Phrygia (ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟ ΝΩΝ), struck under Lucilla and now in my collection.

[3] *E.g. supra* i. 235 fig. 172.

[4] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 126—128 ('Dritte Classe') nos. 22 and 23 (*supra* n. 1). Cp. *supra* i 42 f. pl. vii.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Silver Plate* p. 11 no. 36 fig. Height: 0·063^{m}. Fig. 699 is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming.



Bronze statuette found in Hungary, now in the British Museum: Zeus enthroned with a sceptre in his right hand and a thunderbolt in his left.

See page 756 n. 1.

even more of the sceptre and even less of the thunderbolt; for the former is held yet higher, while the latter has simply disappeared.

Another long-established[1] type was that of Zeus seated on a throne with an eagle flying either to him or from him. Laconian cups of *c.* 550–500 B.C.[2] adopted the former pose[3]; Arcadian coins of *s.* V preferred the latter[4]. This federal coinage, probably struck at Heraia in western Arkadia[5], was not unnaturally imitated at Olympia, hardly more than a dozen miles away, where a very

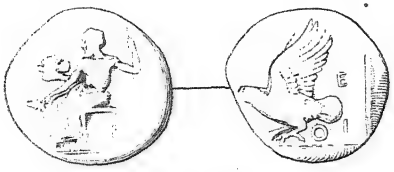


Fig. 700.

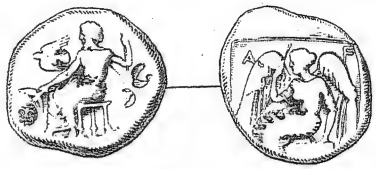


Fig. 701.

similar Zeus appears seated on a throne with a *himátion* about his waist, a sceptre in his left hand, a winged thunderbolt in his right, and an eagle flying before him (figs. 700, 701)[6]. The Olympian coins start the third of four series dated by Mr C. T. Seltman between *c.* 452 and *c.* 432 B.C.[7] It is therefore possible, not to say probable, that Pheidias, who quitted Athens for Olympia after the dedication of Athena *Parthénos* in 438[8], took a hint for his

[1] According to T. Wiegand *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen* Cassel and Leipzig 1904 p. 105 f. figs. 108, 109, the seated Zeus from the eastern pediment of the old Hekatompedon at Athens held an eagle in his left hand (hand holding bird's claws extant). A. Furtwängler too in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1905 p. 447 = his *Aegina* München 1906 i. 317 fig. 253 restores Zeus with an eagle in his left hand, a thunderbolt in his right. But G. Dickins *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* Cambridge 1912 i. 62 ff., 73 no. 25, accepting R. Heberdey's reconstruction of the pediment, first suggests that Zeus had a sceptre in his raised left hand, some object unknown in his lowered right, and then adds: 'The figure may be safely recognized as ZEUS holding a sceptre or a thunderbolt, and, probably, an eagle.' *vix liquet.*

[2] *Supra* p. 744 n. 4.

[3] *Supra* i. 92 f. fig. 65, 782 pl. xlii.

[4] *Supra* i. 68 f. fig. 39 ff.

[5] *Supra* i. 68.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 59 pl. 10, 11, P. Gardner in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1879 xix. 236 pl. 11, ii 2 (London), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 707 ff. no. 1049 pl. 229, 11 (London: rev. only), no. 1050 pl. 229, 12 (Pozzi), C. T. Seltman in *Nomisma* 1913 viii. 48 f. no. 98 pl. 3, *βρ* (London: rev. only), no. 99 pl. 3, AZ *βσ* (Pozzi), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 420. Fig. 700 is from a cast of the British Museum coin (*rev.* [F AA] E IO [N]); fig. 701 is from the Pozzi example, which is now in my collection (*obv.* countermarks: *Gorgóneion*, hind foot of mule to right, and a third. *rev.* F A retrograde). There is no other known specimen of either piece.

[7] C. T. Seltman in *Nomisma* 1913 viii. 43, 57 f.

[8] This at least seems clear from Philochoros *frag.* 97 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 400 Müller) *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *pax* 605, on the text of which see R. Schöll 'Der Prozess des Phidias' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1888 i. 20 ff. J. Nicole *Le procès de Phidias dans les Chroniques d'Apollodore* Genève 1910 pp. 1—50 with fac-

Olympian Zeus[1] from the local coinage. He retained the throne and the sceptre in the god's left hand, but replaced the winged thunderbolt by a winged Victory, and transferred the eagle to the sceptre-top, thereby suggesting not so much the stormy strength of the thunder-god as the tranquil supremacy of the victor.

A little later than the *statêres* illustrated above are others (fig. 702)[2] with an obverse design of Zeus seated on a rock, the sceptre

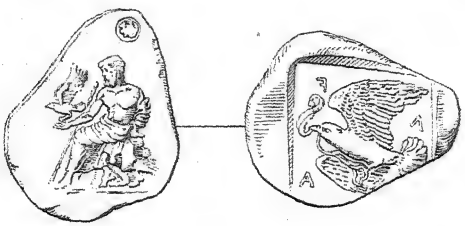


Fig. 702.

leaning against his right shoulder, the eagle about to fly from his right hand, and the thunderbolt omitted. P. Gardner conjectured that the rock was meant for Mount Olympos[3]—Olympos (let us suppose) in the neighbourhood of Olympia[4]. The comparative freedom of the seated figure, the arrangement of the *himátion* over the left upper arm, and the dropping of the thunderbolt were perhaps due to the influence of Pheidias' chryselephantine colossus. If the

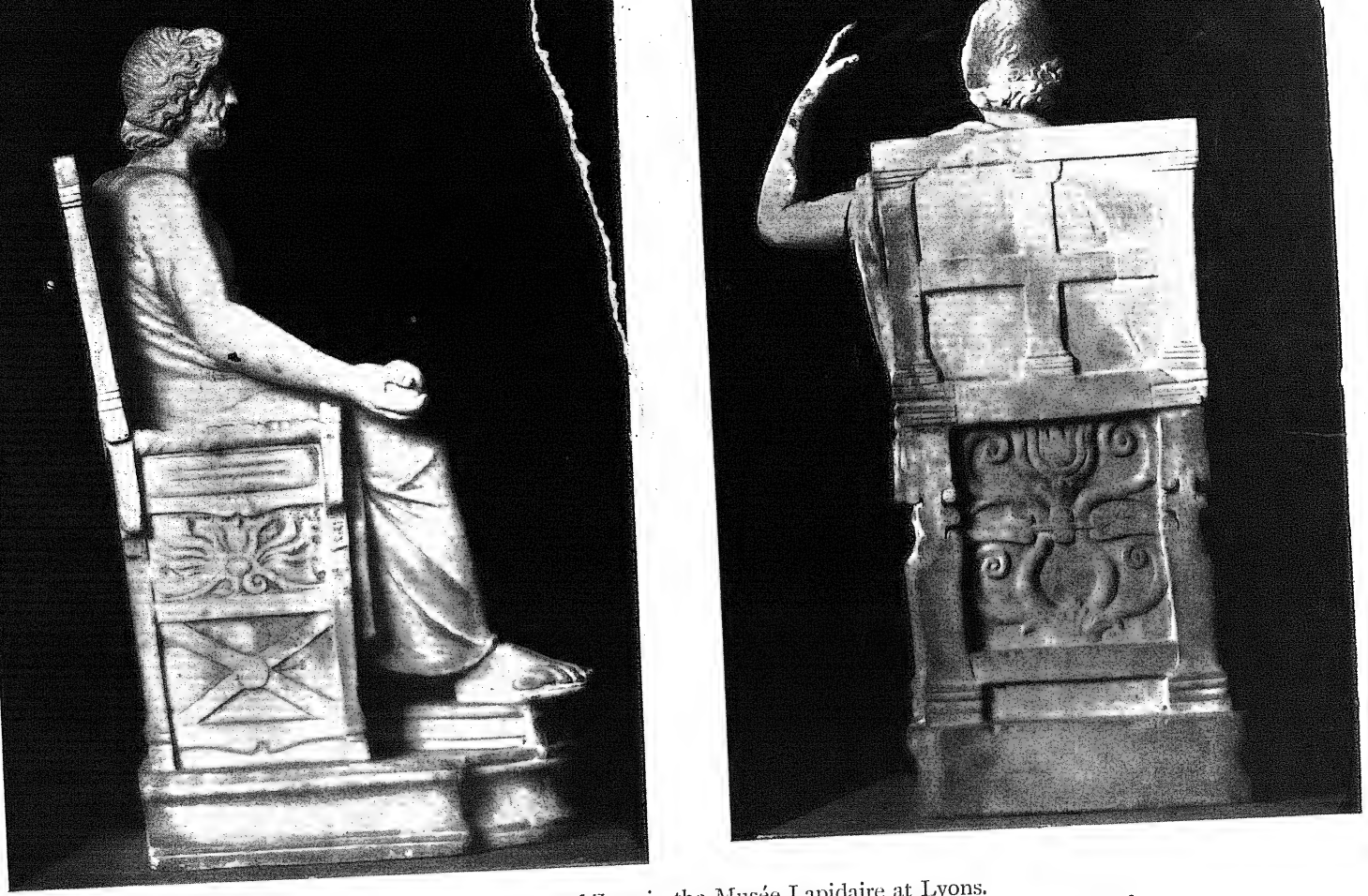
simile published two mutilated columns of papyrus (pap. 263 and 264 of the Geneva collection), which contain portions of a life of Pheidias attributed by him to Apollodoros. According to Nicole's interpretation, Pheidias was accused at Athens of stealing the ivory (as Philochoros *loc. cit.* says), not the gold (as Plout. *v. Per.* 31 says), of the *Parthénos*; was released upon heavy bail, forty talents, paid by the Eleans, who wanted him to carry out their commission of the Zeus *Olýmpios*; and, on being condemned about four years later, was compensated by the Eleans with their citizenship. Immediately after this there is a record of the dedication of the Olympian Zeus. Nicole's reading of the papyrus is attacked by L. Pareti 'Il processo di Fidia ed un papiro di Ginevra' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1909 xxiv. 271—316. But Pareti's own views are refuted by H. Lechat in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1911 xiii. 125 ff. And, though Nicole's interpretations are not all reliable (*e.g.* F. Jacoby in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Sept. 10, 1910 pp. 1148—1156 shows that the papyrus has nothing to do with Apollodoros), yet it is evident that the new biography supports Philochoros as against Plutarch. See further E. A. Gardner in Ξένια Athènes 1912 p. 49 ff., A. J. B. Wace in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1912 p. 37, A. Frickenhaus in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1913 xxviii. 346—352.

[1] *Infra* Append. O.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 59 pl. 10, 12, P. Gardner in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1879 xix. 236 pl. 11, ii 3 (London), *id. Types of Gk. Coins* p. 111 pl. 3, 41 (London: obv. only), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 707 ff. no. 1048 pl. 229, 10 (London), C. T. Seltman in *Nomisma* 1913 viii. 49 no. 100 pl. 3, βρ (Seltman: rev. only), no. 101 pl. 3, BA βτ (London), no. 102 pl. 3, βν (Berlin: rev. only), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 420. Fig. 702 is from a cast of the British Museum coin.

[3] P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 111 ('no doubt mount Olympus').

[4] *Supra* i. 100 n. 3.



Marble statuette of Zeus in the Musée Lapidaire at Lyons. *See page* 759 f.

earlier *statêres* were issued before its erection, these of more advanced style were issued after it.

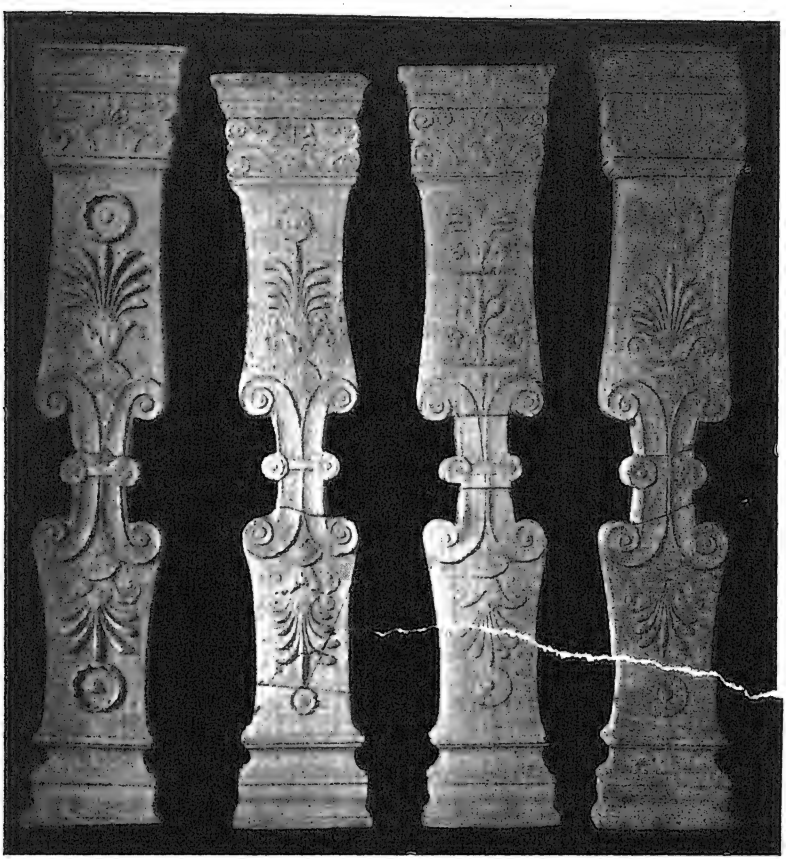


Fig. 703.

Of the temple-statue itself no adequate copies[1] have come down to us. The small marble Zeus in the Musée Lapidaire at Lyons[2],

[1] For the numismatic evidence see R. Weil 'Der Zeus des Pheidias auf elischen Münzen der Kaiserzeit' in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1912 xxx. 363—382 pl. 10, and *infra* Append. O.

[2] Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* iii. 20 pl. 397 fig. 665 (two views) = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 186 no. 1 f., E. Wolff in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 xiii. 52 f. pl. D, O. Benndorf in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1865 xxiii Anz. p. 73*, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 4 pl. 1, 8, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 50 f. pl. 4, 14. Restored: left lower arm from elbow, right lower arm with elbow, nose, neck with some locks of hair, front of right foot, parts of throne-back. Height (with base): 0·62m. On the base is ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 6139), presumably a modern inscription (O. Benndorf *loc. cit.*), since the similarity of marble, style, and proportions makes it practically certain that the bearded head belongs to the body of the work.

cited by J. Overbeck[1] as nearer akin to the Pheidiac original than any other extant figure, can claim, if not the calm of conquest, at least a quiet dignity of its own, and must doubtless be classed as a later representative of the Olympian type. The left hand was raised to hold a sceptre. The right, to which the restorer has given a globe, very possibly, as Overbeck suggests, carried a Victory. And the thunderbolt is nowhere to be seen, unless we may detect a stylised form of it in the throne-legs and in the relief-pattern that connects them behind (pl. xxxv)[2]. The once dreaded missile of the sky-god could hardly undergo further attenuation without vanishing altogether.

When Alexander the Great placed upon his silver coinage the design of a seated Zeus, it might have been expected that he would choose for the purpose the great cult-statue at Olympia—and the more so as Mount Olympos was a prominent feature of his own domain. In point of fact, he did nothing of the sort. He set aside all the improvements introduced by Pheidias and deliberately reverted to the old pre-Pheidiac type. A comparison of his tetradrachms (fig. 704)[3] on the one hand with the federal coins of Arkadia, on the other with the Olympian statue, is instructive:

Arcadian coins	Pheidias' statue	Alexander's coins
Right hand has eagle.	Right hand has Nike.	Right hand has eagle.
Left hand has sceptre held high.	Left hand has sceptre held low.	Left hand has sceptre held high.
Right leg is in advance of left leg.	Left leg is in advance of right leg.	Right leg is in advance of left leg.
Himátion is wrapped about lower limbs only.	*Himátion* covers left upper arm as well.	*Himátion* is wrapped about lower limbs only.
Throne has at first no back.	Throne has high back.	Throne has at first no back.

[1] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 123 f. no. 18.

[2] Pl. xxxv is from a couple of photographs kindly procured for me by Mr S. C. Cockerell. I add, for comparison, four throne-legs of white marble formerly in the collection at Deepdene (*Hope Sale Catalogue* 1917 p. 32 no. 205) and now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (fig. 703 from a photograph by Mr W. H. Hayles). Greatest height: 36½ ins. They are of similar design, but vary in detail and workmanship, and here and there have been patched by a modern restorer. Such legs are frequent in representations of ancient couches and thrones (L. Heuzey—H. Daumet *Mission Archéologique de Macédoine* Paris 1876 Texte p. 261 fig. (eight examples), C. L. Ransome *Studies in Ancient Furniture* Chicago 1905 pp. 20 ff., 44 ff., 72 ff., 90 ff. (with numerous figs.)), and their resemblance to a thunderbolt, though fortuitous in origin, would make them peculiarly suitable to a throne of Zeus (cp. the marble throne-leg at Palermo in Durm *Baukunst der Griechen*[2] p. 253 fig. 175, *ib.*[3] p. 239 fig. 209). The closest parallel to the Cambridge legs is afforded by *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 429 f. no. 1092 a. b., a marble leg which shows traces of red colour and gilding.

[3] From a specimen in my collection.

The inference is clear. Alexander, ignoring the idealised ruler at Olympia, harked back to the more ancient and popular type of Zeus *Lýkaios*. After all, Mount Lykaion too was called Olympos[1]. Yet so immense was the fame of the Pheidiac figure that tetradrachms issued later in the name and with the types of Alexander are increasingly influenced by it. The left leg is advanced instead of the right (figs. 705—707), and the throne is manifestly assimilated to that of Zeus *Olýmpios* (figs. 705, 707)[2]. Coins of the Syrian kings from Seleukos i Nikator to Antiochos ii Theos, and again from Antiochos iv Epiphanes onwards[3], exchange the eagle for Nike and



Fig. 704.



Fig. 705.



Fig. 706.



Fig. 707.

proceed to drape the *himátion* over the left shoulder—in short, frankly adopt the whole Pheidiac design.

So even Alexander failed to arrest the moral evolution of Zeus. What motive led him to make the attempt? Why did he select for his world-wide coinage the old eagle-bearer of Arkadia rather than the newer and nobler creation of Pheidias? Just here an interesting suggestion has been made by Mr C. T. Seltman. He points out to me (Aug. 27, 1921) that on some of the coins struck at Tarsos by Mazaios before 333 B.C.[4] *Ba'al-tars* precisely resembles the

[1] *Supra* i. 68.

[2] Figs. 705, 706 are from specimens in my collection. Fig. 707 is from one in the British Museum (Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 63 pl. 31, 14, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 186 pl. 12, 23), of which I possess a duplicate, formerly in the Pozzi collection.

[3] E. Babelon *Les Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène* Paris 1890 p. xcv. The coins of Antiochos iv are discussed and illustrated *infra* Append. N *sub fin.*

[4] For the dating [see an important monograph by E. T. Newell 'Myriandros—Alex-

eagle-bearing Zeus of Alexander[1], seated as he is on a throne without a back, with an eagle in his right hand, a sceptre in his left, the right leg in advance, and the *himátion* wrapped about his lower limbs. Mr Seltman hazards[2] the brilliant conjecture that Alexander intentionally combined an obverse type, which in the west would represent Herakles, in the east Melqarth, with a reverse type, which in the west would represent Zeus, in the east *Ba'al-tars*, thereby pursuing his usual policy of welding together his Hellenic and barbarian subjects.



Fig. 708.

Lastly Greek art produced on Italian soil a fresh type of seated Zeus, in which the right hand held neither thunderbolt, nor eagle, nor even Victory, but was simply raised to the head in an attitude suggestive of thought. We have already seen that a wall-painting from Pompeii[3] and a well-mouth at Naples[4] presuppose a common exemplar of this type, not impossibly the great statue made by Lysippos for the market-place of the Tarentines. Here for the first time the sculptor endeavours

To bring the invisible full into play!



Fig. 709.

andria Kat'isson' in the *American Journal of Numismatics* 1919 liii. 2. 1—42 with 28 figs. and 2 pls. Babelon's chronology (*supra* i. 596 n. 2) must be revised accordingly.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 172 nos. 57 and 58 pl. 31, 2, E. T. Newell *loc. cit.* p. 9 fig. 9.

[2] This conjecture is hardly to be reconciled with the contention of E. T. Newell 'Alexander Hoards' in *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* 1921 iii. 15 pl. 1, 16, 19, pl. 2, 25 that the first issue of tetradrachms under Alexander at Amphipolis together with the last issue under Philip at the same mint 'probably covered the years 336 to 334 B.C.'

[3] *Supra* i. 34 pl. i and Frontispiece.

[4] *Supra* i. 34 ff. pl. ii.

The sceptre (for both painting and relief postulate a sceptre in the god's left hand) as before symbolises outward sovereignty[1]. But a new note is struck by the gesture betokening inward reflexion. Henceforward omnipotence connotes omniscience, the Almighty

[1] I would here call attention to a very remarkable gold sceptre from Tarentum, formerly in the Castellani collection and now in the British Museum (F. H. Marshall *Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 232 f. no. 2070 fig. 65. Length: 0·52^{m}). It consists of a gold tube, covered by a network of gold wire with dots of dark blue or white enamel at each point of contact. The tube ends below in a disk decorated with a flower of fourteen petals, above in a Corinthian capital with leaves, volutes, and flowers all complete. Above the *abacus* is a large quince of opaque, greenish glass, surrounded by eight oak-leaves (F. H. Marshall, apparently misled by the foliage of the capital, takes them to be acanthus-leaves) and surmounted by a small flower of four leaves in gold. Figs. 708 and 709 are from photographs by Mr R. B. Fleming.

This would seem to be the only ancient Greek sceptre in existence (A. Sorlin-Dorigny in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 1115 knows of none). Tarentum in the time of Dareios son of Hystaspes had its kings (Hdt. 3. 136 Aristophilides). But the forms of the Corinthian capital point to a much later period, and F. H. Marshall *loc. cit.* says '3rd cent. B.C. (?).' If, as seems probable, the surrounding leaves are really meant for oak, closer identification may be attempted. They suggest that the sceptre belonged originally to some king of Epeiros, who stood for the worship of the Dodonaean Zeus. Now Alexander i of Epeiros, when he invaded Italy to assist the Tarentines against the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Messapians, struck at Tarentum between 334 and 330 B.C. certain exquisite gold *statêres* with *obv.* head of Zeus *Náios*



Fig. 710.



Fig. 711.

of Dodona wearing a wreath of oak, *rev.* ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΥ thunderbolt and spear-head (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 110 pl. 20, 1 (=my fig. 710), Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 66 pl. 33, 11, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 149 f. pl. 5, 37, M. P. Vlasto in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 315 pl. ΙΕ′, 16). And the Tarentines, when Pyrrhos i of Epeiros had been called in to champion their cause against Rome, issued *c.* 281 B.C. other gold *statêres* with *obv.* laureate head of Zeus *Eleuthérios* to left, or right, and monogram $\overline{\text{NIK}}$, *rev.* ΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ eagle on thunderbolt, usually with symbol and magistrate's name (Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 66 pl. 33, 12 and *Hist. num.*[2] p. 58, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 68 no. 22 pl. 5, 6, M. P. Vlasto in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 331 ff. pl. ΙΖ′, 1—15. My fig. 711 is from a specimen formerly belonging to W. R. Hamilton, of which there is an electrotype in the Leake collection, Cambridge). It is permissible, therefore, to conjecture that the sceptre preserved in the British Museum was a votive offering either of Alexander or, more probably, of Pyrrhos to some Tarentine deity, presumably Zeus *Eleuthérios* (Hesych. *s.v.* 'Ελευθέριος Ζεύς·... *τῶν Μήδων ἐκφυγόντες ἱδρύσαντο τὸν* 'Ελευθέριον Δία. *τοῦτον δὲ ἔνιοι καὶ Σωτῆρά φασι. τιμᾶται δὲ καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις καὶ παρὰ Ταραντίνοις καὶ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς καὶ ἐν Καρίᾳ ὁ* 'Ελευθέριος Ζεύς). Be that as it may, the quince or apple enclosed by the leaves is a frequent decoration of sceptres (A. Sorlin-Dorigny *loc. cit.* p. 1116), which, at least in many cases, are to be regarded as the conventionalised form of a branch with golden apples (*supra* i. 87 n. 6 and *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 158 ff.).

must needs be the All-wise. And what of the All-terrible? His eagle is relegated to a position near to, yet apart from, himself: it is retained for suitable service. But the thunderbolt, once the outstanding feature in the Zeus-cult of Tarentum[1], has wholly vanished. In its stead we discern, however darkly, the workings of divine Providence.

(β) Modifications in the shape of the thunderbolt.

Modifications may be noted, not only in the use of the thunderbolt, but also in its shape. P. Jacobsthal[2] in a monograph devoted to the subject distinguishes two varieties of ancient oriental repre-



Fig. 712.



Fig. 714.



Fig. 713.



Fig. 715.

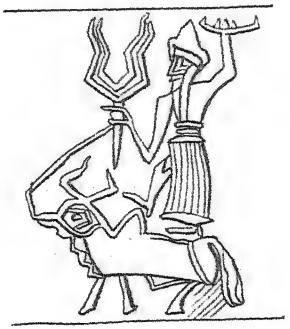


Fig. 716.

sentation. Lightning in Mesopotamian art is either bipartite or tripartite. The bipartite sort, which is the commoner and probably the

[1] *Supra* p. 29 ff.

[2] P. Jacobsthal *Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst* Berlin 1906 pp. 1—60 with 4 pls. R. Engelmann, reviewing this work in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Juli 13, 1907 p. 877 f., draws attention to an unpublished collection of lightning-shapes in a Vatican manuscript (cod. Ottobon. 3100 fol. 135—173 Raccolta. di. varij. fulmini || delineati. da. gioie. marmi || e. medaglie).

earlier, appears as a fork composed of zig-zags (figs. 712—716)[1]

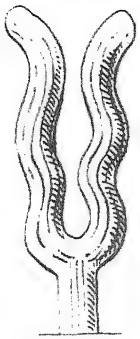


Fig. 717.



Fig. 718.

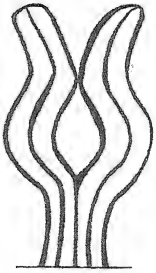


Fig. 719.



Fig. 720.

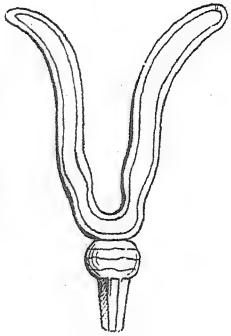


Fig. 721.

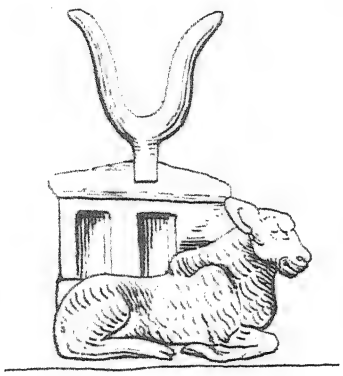


Fig. 722.



Fig. 723.

or curved lines (figs. 717—723)[2]; the tripartite, which is found

[1] Fig. 712 from a haematite cylinder at New York (W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* Washington 1910 p. 128 f. fig. 368 *b* and in M. Jastrow *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1912 p. 105 pl. 51, no. 190).

Fig. 713 from a re-cut cylinder (W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders* etc. p. 174 fig. 469).

Fig. 714 from a haematite cylinder in my possession: Ramman seated with the lightning fork in his hand.

Fig. 715 from a cylinder (W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders* etc. p. 171 fig. 456 and in M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 105 pl. 51, no. 189): Ramman standing on a bull with a lightning-fork in either hand.

Fig. 716 from a cylinder (W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders* etc. p. 172 fig. 461): Ramman standing on a humped bull with a lightning-fork in one hand, a scimitar (?) in the other.

[2] Fig. 717 from a *kudurru* or boundary-stone of the time of Meli-Shipak (*c.* 1204—1189 B.C.) in the British Museum no. 90827 (L. W. King *Babylonian Boundary-stones and Memorial-tablets in the British Museum* London 1912 p. 7 ff. pl. 21, M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 14 f. pl. 9, no. 30).

Fig. 718 from a *kudurru* of the time of Nebuchadrezzar i (*c.* 1140—1123) found at Nippur (W. J. Hinke *A new boundary stone of Nebuchadrezzar i. from Nippur* (The

first under the Kassite kings, is formed of curves (figs. 724, 725)[1]



Fig. 724.

Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania Series D vol. iv) Philadelphia 1907 p. 120 fig. 47, 16, M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 22 f. pl. 12, no. 40).

Fig. 719 from the *kudurru* of Gula-Eresh of about the time of Enlil-nadin-aplu (*c.* 1123—1117) in the British Museum no. 102485 (L. W. King *op. cit.* p. 76 ff. pl. 3).

Fig. 720 from a *kudurru* of the time of Marduk-nadin-akhé (*c.* 1117—1105) in the British Museum no. 90840 (L. W. King *op. cit.* p. 42 ff. pls. 44 and 50, W. J. Hinke *op. cit.* p. 30 fig. 12, 15).

Fig. 721 from an alabaster tablet of Shamshi-Adad iv (825—812 B.C.) in the British Museum (A. H. Layard *A second series of the Monuments of Nineveh* London 1853 pl. 4, M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 68 pl. 32, no. 96).

Fig. 722 from a black limestone tablet of Meli-Shipak (*c.* 1204—1189 B.C.) found at Sousa and now in the Louvre (W. J. Hinke *op. cit.* p. 28 fig. 11, 16, W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders* etc. pp. 391 fig. 1286, 399, M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 13 f. pl. 8, no. 29): lightning-fork on a shrine borne by a crouching ox.

Fig. 723 from a limestone tablet of the time of Nebuchadrezzar i (*c.* 1140—1123) found at or near Abu-Habba and now in the British Museum no. 90858 (L. W. King *op. cit.* p. 29 ff. pl. 91, W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders* etc. pp. 391 fig. 1287, 399, M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 22 pl. 12, no. 39): lightning-fork on a crouching ox. Cp. other examples of the same type in W. J. Hinke *op. cit.* p. 25 fig. 10, 14 = M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 20 f. pl. 11, no. 37; W. J. Hinke *op. cit.* p. 91 fig. 28, 16 = W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders* etc. p. 390 fig. 1285 *a* = M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 13 pl. 8, no. 28.

[1] First on a fragmentary *kudurru* of the Kassite dynasty (M. J. de Morgan *Délégation en Perse* Mémoires Paris 1900 i. 176 fig. 382, W. J. Hinke *op. cit.* pp. 41 fig. 18, 82); Ramman standing on a humped bull with a lightning-fork in his hand.

Fig. 724 from a Hittite *stéle* of dolerite (height 1·28m), found in Babylon and referred by R. Koldewey to *s.* x B.C. (R. Koldewey 'Die hettitische Inschrift' in the *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* Leipzig 1900 i. 1 ff. pls. 1—3, L. Messerschmidt *Corpus inscriptionum Hettiticarum* Berlin 1900 p. 3 f. pl. 1, 5, *id.*

or straightish lines (figs. 726, 727)[1]. From *s.* ix B.C. onwards there is a tendency to duplicate[2] these forks by giving them prongs at either end (figs. 728—730)[3]. And under the Sargonid dynasty



Fig. 725.

Die Hettiter Leipzig 1903 p. 24 f. fig. 25, A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 53 fig. 12 f., E. Meyer *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* Berlin 1914 p. 66 ff. fig. 56, R. Koldewey *The Excavations at Babylon* trans. A. S. Johns London 1914 p. 164 f. fig. 103 f.): Tešub standing with axe and lightning-fork.

Fig. 725 from a somewhat later Hittite relief in dolerite (height 1·27[m]), found at Sinjerli (F. von Luschan *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* Berlin 1902 iii. 218 f. fig. 114 and pl. 41, a (=my fig. 725), A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 53 fig. 14, J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 291 pl. 77, 1, E. Meyer *op. cit.* p. 67 fig. 57): Tešub standing with axe and lightning-fork.

[1] Fig. 726 from a cylinder (W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders* etc. pp. 174 fig. 468, 399): lightning-fork on a bull.

Fig. 727 from a northern cylinder (*id. ib.* p. 383 fig. [48 *a*]): Adad seated with the lightning-fork in his hand.

[2] P. E. Newberry 'The Egyptian cult-object ⟷ and the "Thunderbolt"' in the *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1910 iii. 50—52 pl. 19, 1—17 argues that the cult-object, which appears as a double-headed daît on prehistoric vases etc. and in shapes comparable with the Greek thunderbolt on monuments of the Middle Kingdom and later, was 'always used in hieroglyphic inscriptions as a symbol of the god Min.... the original form of Amon... Lord of Heaven and God of Thunder"' and presumably represents the thunderbolt in types derived from flint arrow-heads, stone celts, and belemnites.

[3] Fig. 728 from an alabaster relief found in the N.W. palace of Ashur-naṣir-pal iii



Fig. 728.



Fig. 727.



Fig. 726.



Fig. 729.



Fig. 730.

(*c.* 700 B.C.) the fork, whether single (fig. 731)[1] or double (figs. 732, 733)[2], is stylised into a shape resembling a lotos-flower.

The forms thus evolved in the near east made their way westward through Asia Minor into Ionia, and thence into the mainlands of Greece and Italy, borne on the broad tide of oriental influence, which during the Early Iron Age swept the Mediterranean from



Fig. 731.



Fig. 732.



Fig. 733.

(884—860 B.C.) and now in the British Museum nos. 28, 29 (A. H. Layard *A second series of the Monuments of Nineveh* London 1853 pl. 5, W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders* etc. p. 197 fig. 564, M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 87 f. pl. 39, no. 120) : fight of a storm-god (Marduk ?), holding two double forks, with a lion-headed monster (Tiamat ?).

Fig. 729 from the rock-carving of Sennacherib (*c.* 705—682 B.C.) at Bavian north of Mosul (A. H. Layard *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* London 1853 pp. 208—217 fig., W. J. Hinke *op. cit.* p. 88 fig. 25, M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 28 pl. 14, no. 46) : symbol of Adad.

Fig. 730 from the dolerite *stéle* of Esar-haddon (682—669 B.C.) found at Sinjerli and now at Berlin (F. von Luschan *op. cit.* 1893 i. 11—43 fig. 4 and pl. i, Sir G. Maspero *The Passing of the Empires* London 1900 p. 375 fig., W. J. Hinke *op. cit.* p. 89 fig. 26, M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 30 pl. 14, no. 48) : Adad standing on an ox with the double fork in his hand. Cp. the Susian god with bovine horns, axe, and double fork (*supra* i. 578 fig. 447).

[1] Fig. 731 from a cylindrical bar of lapis lazuli (0·2^{m} long) found at Babylon. It was dedicated by Esar-haddon (682—669 B.C.) to Marduk, but is inscribed as 'the seal of the god Adad in the temple of Esagila, belonging to the treasure of the god Marduk.' Adad, who is here conceived as a form of Marduk, holds a lightning-fork in either hand. One of these forks is double, the other treble—approximating at its tip to the shape of a lotos-bud. The god holds also by a couple of cords an ox (the beast of Adad) and a dragon (the beast of Marduk) (M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 7 f. pl. 5, no. 15, R. Koldewey *The Excavations at Babylon* trans. A. S. Johns London 1914 p. 221 fig. 134).

[2] Figs. 732, 733 from a rock-cut relief of the Sargonid dynasty (*c.* 700 B.C.) at

end to end. Between 650 and 550 B.C. it brought the potter, for example, a profusion of possible *motifs*—sphinxes, griffins, lions, panthers, the lotos, the palmette, even the Assyrian 'tree of life.' Thus when a 'Caeretan' *hydría* in the Louvre[1] figures a stag-hunt on one side, a pair of winged bulls on the other, we must not jump to the conclusion that its painter had witnessed the chase on the

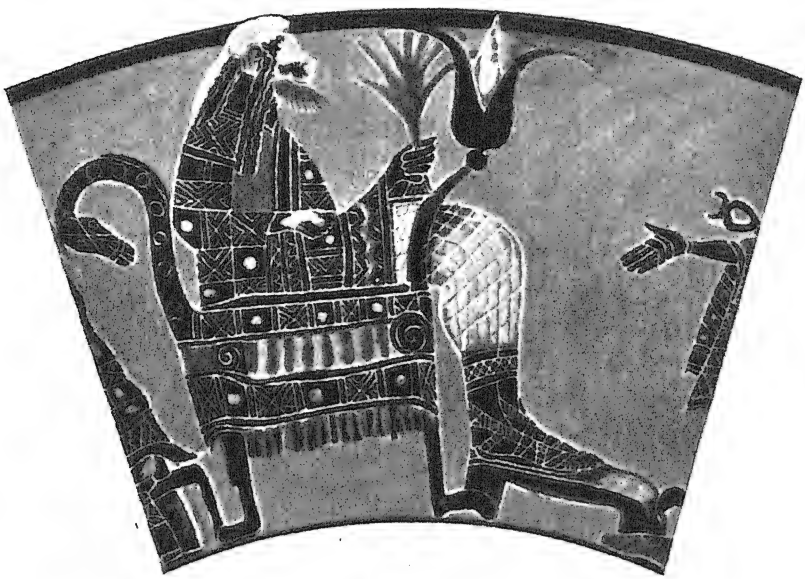


Fig. 734.

plains of Mesopotamia or passed through the ruined portals of Nineveh: he was but repeating, for the sake of their decorative effect, designs that had been transmitted to him along the caravan-routes of anterior Asia. Accordingly it is not surprising to find that the lotiform lightning-fork of late Assyrian art makes its first[2] appearance as the Greek thunderbolt on the vases of Ionia. An

Malthayiah, 60 miles or so north of Mosul (A. H. Layard *Nineveh and its Remains* London 1849 i. 229—231, V. Place *Ninive et l'Assyrie* Paris 1867—1870 ii. 153—160 pl. 45, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* ii. 642—647 fig. 313): two out of a procession of deities confronting the king; they are characterised as deities (Adad? and Marduk?) by the stars above their heads and the animals (ox? and dragon?) beneath their feet.

[1] E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 2me Série Paris 1901 p. 65 no. E 697, *id.* in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892 xvi. 257 ff. figs. 7—9, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* ix. 518 ff. figs. 250—252.

[2] F. Poulsen *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* Leipzig—Berlin 1912 p. 81 notes that on one of the *týmpana* from the Idaean Cave, referable to *s.* viii B.C., 'Ashur' is holding in either hand objects which may be meant for lightnings (F. Halbherr—P. Orsi *Antichità dell' Antro di Zeus Ideo in Creta* (= *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* ii)

early *kylix* of 'Chalcidian' style[1] from *Siana* (Mnasyrion?) in Rhodes shows the introduction of Herakles to Olympos, where Zeus and Hera are seated on richly embellished thrones. Zeus (fig. 734) holds in his left hand a thunderbolt looking like a bunch of leaves or petals, while from the upper rail of his throne rises a lotos-bloom of absurdly large dimensions. Another 'Chalcidian' vase-painting already discussed (*supra* p. 731 fig. 663) treats the bolt in the god's hand as itself an unmistakable lotos.

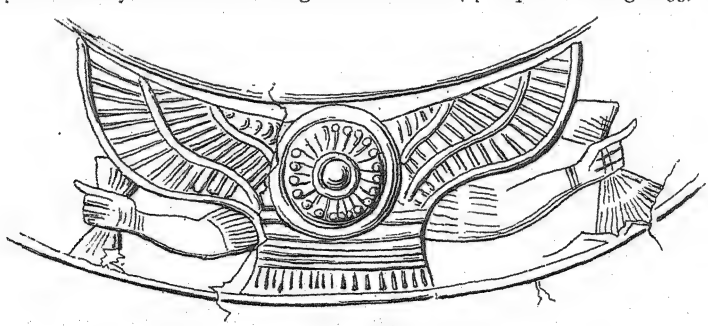


Fig. 735.

And this floriform fashion once started had a considerable vogue throughout the Hellenic world. It lingered on even into imperial times. Indeed, a rare copper of Kibyra in Phrygia, struck by Diadumenianus (217—218 A.D.), actually represents Zeus enthroned with a simple lotos-flower, instead of a thunderbolt, in his right hand (fig. 735)[2].

The popularity of the lotos in this connexion was due in part, no doubt, to its obvious ornamental qualities, but in part also to long-standing significance. Fire in general, as P. Jacobsthal points out, was sometimes regarded by the ancients as a flower[3]. And the

pl. 5 (=my fig. 736)). If so, these are the earliest known lightnings of Greek art. But I suspect that they are rather to be regarded as flowers (cp. *supra* i. 208 figs. 153, 154).


Fig. 736.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 210 ff. no. B 379, Sir Cecil Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884 v. 220 ff. pls. 40—42, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* ix. 532 n. 1.

[2] Fig. 735 is from a specimen, which came to me from the Rhousopoulos collection.

[3] P. Jacobsthal *op. cit.* p. 10 ff. quotes *Il.* 9. 212 *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πυρὸς ἄνθος ἀπέπταto παύσατο δὲ φλόξ* (so Aristarchos in schol. LTV *ad loc.*, cp. schol. A *ib.*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 748, 41 ff., Plout. *de fac. in orb. lun.* 21, schol. Aisch. *P. v.* 7), Aisch. *P. v.* 7 *τὸ σὸν γὰρ ἄνθος, παντέχνου πυρὸς σέλας, | θνητοῖσι κλέψας ὤπασεν*, Orph. *frag.* 291 Abel *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 451, 20 Diehl *ἔνθεν συρόμενος πρηστὴρ ἀμυδροῖ πυρὸς ἄνθος | κόσμων ἐνθρώσκων κοιλώμασι* [=G. Kroll *De oraculis Chaldaicis* Vratislaviae 1894 p. 20. Add Prokl. *in* Plat. *Parm.* iii (p. 622 Stallbaum)=Kroll *op. cit.* p. 24 *ἔννοιαι νοεραί, πηγῆς πατρικῆς ἄπο, πουλὺ | δραττόμεναι* (G. Thilo cj. *δρεπτόμεναι*) *πυρὸς ἄνθος ἀκοιμήτου χρόνου*

sun in particular was associated with the lotos in Egyptian[1], if not

ἀκμῇ, Prokl. *in* Plat. *Parm.* ii (p. 596 f. Stallbaum)=Kroll *op. cit.* p. 25 δεσμῷ Ἔρωτος ἀγητοῦ, ὃς ἐκ νόου ἔκθορε πρῶτος | ἐσσάμενος πέρι (so Kroll for πυρὶ) πῦρ συνδέσμιον, ὄφρα κεράσσῃ | πηγαίους κρατῆρας ἐοῦ πυρὸς ἄνθος ἐπισχών, Paulus Silentiarius ἔκφρασις τοῦ ἄμβωνος 195 f. Friedländer ἧς ἔπι πυρσοκόρυμβα πεπηγότα δένδρεα δήεις, | ἀργυρέων στράπτοντα χύδην πυρὸς ἄνθος ὁράμνων], Lucr. 1. 900 flammai fulserunt flore coorto, 4. 450 lucernarum florentia lumina flammis, Stat. *Theb.* 2. 276 arcano florentes igne zmaragdos, Apul. *met.* 8. 15 sole florido, Tertull. *apol.* 11 vani erunt homines, nisi certi sint a primordio et pluvias de caelo ruisse et sidera radiasse et lumina floruisse et tonitrua mugisse et ipsum Iovem quae in manu eius inponitis fulmina timuisse, *de patient.* 2 qui florem lucis huius super iustos et iniustos aequaliter spargit, *adv. Marcion.* 4. 42 caelum luminibus floruisset magis sol radiis insultasset, Mart. Cap. 206 his diutissime florem ignis atque illam existentem ex non existentibus veritatem toto pectore deprecata tum visa se cernere apotheosin sacraque meruisse, [571 glaucam dant volucrem quod lumina concolor igni es, | tuque ignis flos es cluis et γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη].

Primitive belief and, its first cousin, poetic imagination still share the same idea. A. du Bois-Reymond in Jacobsthal *op. cit.* p. 10 n. 6 adduces Rudyard Kipling *The Jungle Book* London 1898 p. 21 '"Get the Red Flower." By Red Flower Bagheera meant fire, only no creature in the jungle will call fire by its proper name.' So A. C. Swinburne *Atalanta in Calydon* London 1896 p. 13 'I dreamt, and saw the black brand burst on fire | As a branch bursts in flower, and saw the flame | Fade flower-wise,' R. Browning *The Heretic's Tragedy* 9 'Ha ha, John plucketh now at his rose | To rid himself of a sorrow at heart! | Lo,—petal on petal, fierce rays unclose ; | Anther on anther, sharp spikes outstart ; | And with blood for dew, the bosom boils ; | And a gust of sulphur is all its smell ; | And lo, he is horribly in the toils | Of a coal-black giant flower of hell!'

[1] On the lotos in its various aspects see the collections of A. de Gubernatis *La mythologie des plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 202—211, 255, R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 pp. 418—422, 463, J. Murr *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* Innsbruck 1890 pp. 281—283, and especially W. H. Goodyear *The Grammar of the Lotus* London 1891.

The religious significance of the plant was immediately derived from its habits. According to Theophrastos, the white lotos closes its bell and sinks at sunset, but reopens and comes up again at sunrise (Theophr. *hist. plant.* 4. 8. 9, *caus. plant.* 2. 19. 1, cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 13. 108, Dioskor. 4. 112 (114) p. 601 f. Sprengel), and Proklos suggests that in so doing it is virtually adoring the sun (Prokl. *de sacrificio et magia* ed. M. Ficinus Leyden 1607 p. 276). In point of fact, the white lotos (*nymphaea lotus*) appears to be night-blooming, since it is said to open just after sunset and to close on the following morning about ten o'clock ; whereas the rose lotos (*nelumbium speciosum*) opens at dawn and closes soon after mid-day, and the blue lotos (*nymphaea caerulea*) opens soon after sunrise and closes an hour or two before sunset : see Goodyear *op. cit.* p. 18 n. 81. The lotos therefore naturally stood for reproduction, resurrection, and rebirth.

As a symbol of reproductive power it surmounts the shrine of the ithyphallic Khem (Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 945 f. pl. 333, 2 ; p. 946 f. pl. 334, Goodyear *op. cit.* p. 10 pls. 1, 10 ; 4, 13, 16) and of Âmen-Râ in his ithyphallic form (Lanzone *op. cit.* p. 40 f. pl. 20, 1). Androgynous figures depicting the two Niles, Hapi Kema and Hapi Mehit, have lotos-plants springing from their heads (Lanzone *op. cit.* p. 521 ff. pls. 198 and 199, A. Erman *Life in Ancient Egypt* trans. H. M. Tirard London 1894 p. 425 fig.). A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* ii. 211 says : 'En Égypte, on trouve le lotus dans les parties sexuelles des momies de femmes.'

Again, the lotos symbolised resurrection. It is constantly associated with the mummy (Goodyear *op. cit.* p. 10 pls. 2, 12 ; 4, 14, E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii pl. 26) and with the guardians of its *viscera* (Lanzone *op. cit.* pl. 295, 1, Goodyear *op. cit.* p. 10 pls. 2, 3 ; 5, 1, 4, E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* ii pl. 27). In the *Book of the Dead* cap. 81 A the deceased says : 'I am the pure lotus, which

springeth up from the divine splendour that belongeth to the nostrils of *Ra*,' and *ib.* 81 B: 'Hail, thou lotus, thou type of the god *Nefer-Tem*! I am he who knoweth you, and I know your names among the gods, the lords of the Underworld, and I am one of you.' The vignette of version A is a lotos: that of version B is a lotos-plant with a flower and buds growing out of a pool of water, while from the flower springs a human head, the head of the deceased (Goodyear *op. cit.* pl. 2, 9, E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* i. 521 f.). Lotos-flowers and -buds are represented as rising out of the mummy Osiris at Philai (Goodyear *op. cit.* p. 19 fig. 1) and as connected in various ways with him at Denderah (Lanzone *op. cit.* pls. 268, 292, E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* ii. 131 ff. nos. 1, 23). Karystios of Pergamon *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 357 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 684 E quotes from Nikandros the statement that the flower called *ambrosía* sprang from the head of a statue of Alexander in Kos: the flower in question was a species of lily (Nik. *ap.* Athen. 681 B, 683 D: see further *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 377). Various divinities, divinised mortals, etc. appear on coins with head surmounted by a lotos-flower (list in Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 1825), *e.g.* Zeus Sarapis (H. P. Weitz in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 366 f.) on a bronze coin of Perinthos in Thrace (Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. ii. 397 no. 1161. Fig. 737 is from a specimen of mine, formerly in the Prowe collection) and Antinoos on a bronze coin of Alexandreia struck by Hadrian in 135 A.D. (Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 94 pl. 70, 387 = my fig. 738, L. Dietrichson *Antinoos* Christiania 1884 p. 289 ff., G. Blum 'Numismatique d'Antinoos' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1914 xvi. 53, 68 pl. 5,



Fig. 737.



Fig. 738.



Fig. 739.

1 (Berlin). Cp. the lotos-wreath of Antinoos on a relief in the Villa Albani (L. Dietrichson *op. cit.* p. 189 no. 21 pl. 5, 12, L. Julius in Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 85 fig. 89, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 672 f. no. 1663, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* Leipzig 1913 ii. 424 f. no. 1872)). Gold and silver pieces bearing the legend and types of the apotheosized Arsinoe ii Philadelphos represent the reigning queen in a manner calculated to appeal alike to Egyptians and to Greeks. The former would note the horn of Ammon curling round her ear and the lotos-flower rising from her head. The latter would see but a braided tress of hair and the tip of the royal sceptre! (for examples *vide* J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 183 ff. pls. 8—11, 1900 iii. 73 ff. pls. 2, 4, 5. Fig. 739 is from a decadrachm in my collection).

Thirdly, the lotos was associated with the sun and solar deities. Horos is depicted as a young child seated upon an opening lotos (E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* i pl. 34, A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 26 fig. 33). 'When he rises in brilliance from the lotos, the whole world comes to life' (H. Brugsch *Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter* Leipzig 1885 i. 104, citing C. R. Lepsius *Ueber die Götter der 4 Elemente* pl. 1, 1). Egyptian paintings of the infant sun thus rising from the lotos are mentioned by Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 11, *de Pyth. or.* 12. At Denderah a king offers Horos the lotos with the words: 'I offer thee the flower, which was in the beginning, the glorious lily of the great water. Thou comest forth from the midst of its leaves in the town of Chmun (Hermopolis magna) and didst lighten the earth,

also in Indian[1] religion. The Greeks, therefore, who took lightning to be made of the same fiery substance as the sun[2], might well acquiesce in a lotiform thunderbolt. Moreover, the sky-god's older weapon, the double axe of immemorial sanctity, had been combined in most intimate union with the three-petalled lily[3]. Small wonder that its successor, the classical *keraunós*, retained at least a trace of the former affinity[4].

which was still wrapped in darkness' (H. Brugsch *op. cit.* i. 121, citing A. E. Mariette *Denderah* Paris 1880 i, 55, a). Another text at Denderah says: 'The sun, which was from the beginning, rises like a hawk from the midst of its lotos-bud. When the doors of its leaves open in sapphire-coloured brilliance, it has divided the night from the day' (H. Brugsch *op. cit.* i. 103, citing his *Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler* Leipzig 1884 p. 764 no. 55). Many monuments show the hawk, the embodiment of Horos (*supra* i. 241, 341), supported on a lotos (Goodyear *op. cit.* p. 6 f. pls. 1, 5; 5, 5—7; 43, 3, 9; cp. 44, 2, 6), Thothmes iii is portrayed presenting lotos-flowers and geese to a hawk-headed Râ at Amada (Goodyear *op. cit.* p. 6 pl. 1, 8). Amenophis iii similarly presents lotos-flowers to Âmen (*supra* i. 347) at Thebes (Goodyear *op. cit.* p. 6 pl. 1, 6). The third member of the Memphitic triad, Nefer-Tem, a god of the rising sun, was from the earliest times connected with the lotos. In the text of Unâs, a king of the fifth dynasty, the dead ruler is compared (392 ff. ed. Maspero) to a lotos at the nostrils of the Great Sekhem, and it is said: 'Unâs hath risen like *Nefer-Tem* from the lotus to the nostrils of *Ra*, and he goeth forth from the horizon on every day, and the gods are sanctified by the sight of him' (E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* i. 52). Nefer-Tem is commonly represented with a lotos-flower on his head (Lanzone *op. cit.* 385 ff. pls. 147 and 148, A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* p. 76 fig. 52).

[1] In India the lotos seems to have borne much the same character as in Egypt, though its significance is less readily perceived (on its decorative usage see A. Grünwedel *Buddhist Art in India* trans. A. C. Gibson, rev. J. Burgess London 1901 p. 19 f.).

While Vishnu was musing on his mission, a lotos with the brilliance of a thousand suns sprang from his navel, and in the midst of this lotos appeared Brahmâ (*Bhâgavata-Purâṇa* 3. 20. 16). Hence Brahmâ is enthroned on a lotos and holds a lotos in his hand (*Vishṇu-Purâṇa* 4. 1). Vishna too has a lotos in one of his four hands (W. J. Wilkins *Hindu Mythology* Calcutta 1882 p. 102); and the rosary of the Vishnu-devotee may be made of lotos-seeds (E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 p. 502 n. 3). Krishna had the mark of a lotos beneath each foot: he decorated himself with the flower, waving a rose lotos in his hand and having a blue lotos attached to his ear (*Bhâgavata-Purâṇa* 10. 23. 22, 10. 30. 25, 10. 32. 2, 10. 35. 16). Sarasvatî, the wife of Brahmâ or—according to the Vishnuites in Bengal—of Vishnu, sits upon a lotos (E. W. Hopkins *op. cit.* p. 451) or appears in the middle of a lotos-wreath (W. J. Wilkins *op. cit.* p. 92). Çrî or Lakshmî, the bride of Vishnu, first emerged from the troubled waters of ocean and landed with a lotos in her hand: since that time the lotos has been one of her attributes (C. Joret *Les Plantes dans l'antiquité et au moyen âge* Paris 1904 i. 2. 527 f.). The blue lotos is one of the arrows of Kâma, god of love (*id. ib.* p. 528).

Vishnu is commonly regarded as a solar god. But this is doubtful (H. Oldenberg *La Religion du Véda* trans. V. Henry Paris 1903 p. 190 ff.). With his solarity stands or falls that of Brahmâ, and that of Vishnu's *avatar* Krishna.

[2] *Supra* i. 578 n. 3, 777 n. 4, ii. 11.

[3] *Supra* p. 524 ff.

[4] Cp. the relation of Perun to the iris (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 183: 'The South Slavs call the iris *perunik*, Perun's flower,' etc.).

J. Grimm *op. cit.* 1882 i. 183, 1883 iii. 1191, 1888 iv. 1346, 1672, 1790 n. 1, and H.

Friend *Flowers and Flower Lore* London 1883 i. 72 f., 164 ff., 343 collect the names of flowers associated in the Germanic area with thunder or thunder-gods: *e.g.* in Germany the orpine is *Donnerkraut*, the ground-ivy *Donnerrebe*, the stonecrop or houseleek *Donnerbart* (cp. English *Jo-barbe*, *Jubard*, *Jupiter's Beard* (J. Britten—R. Holland *A Dictionary of English Plant-names* London 1879 ii. 280, 281, 282), French *Joubarbe* (P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 472, 495, 507)), the fumitory *Donnerflug*, the field eryngo *Donnerdistel*, and a tangled vegetable growth *Donnerbesen* (*supra* p. 642 f.); in Denmark the burdock is *tordenskreppe*; in Norway the aconite is *Thor-hat* and *Thor-hjalm*; on Dartmoor the *Potentilla Tormentilla*, a plant used as a febrifuge, was *Thor-mantel* (a corruption of *tormentil*); 'in Somerset the ox-eye daisy is *dun-daisy* or *thunder-daisy*. P. Sébillot *op. cit.* iii. 472 adds French parallels: in the Walloon district the wild poppy is called *fleur du tôni* (at Liège), *fleur di tônir*, *tonir*, *tonoire* and placed in the timbers of the roof, while on the festival of the Assumption (Aug. 15) bunches of St-John's-wort called *Djèn fleur du tônir* are blest and sprigs of it thrown on the fire to keep off lightning; in Béarn a plant with a yellow flower named *periglade*, 'lightning,' is treated in the same way; etc.

The reason for such names is sometimes obscure, but often turns on a fancied resemblance in colour, sound, shape, etc. H. Friend *op. cit.* i. 72 says: 'The Thistle again was sacred to Thor, its blossom being supposed to receive its bright colour from the lightning, from which it consequently protected the person or building placed under its guardianship.' J. Britten—R. Holland *A Dictionary of English Plant-names* London 1884 iii. 468 note that *Silene inflata* is called *Thunderbolts* at Higham in Kent, 'where the children snap the calyxes, which explode with a slight report.' *Eid. ib.* adopt a similar explanation of the fact that in west Cumberland the *Stellaria Holostea* is known as the *Thunnerflower*. *Eid. op. cit.* 1879 ii. 305: '*Papaver Rhœas*...''About Wooler [in Northumberland] it was wont to be called the Thunder-flower or *Lightnings*; and children were afraid to pluck the flower, for if, perchance, the petals fell off in the act, the gatherer became more liable to be struck with lightning; nor was the risk small, for the deciduousness of the petals is almost proverbial." Bot. E. Bord., p. 31.'

Various plants were named after Zeus or Iupiter. Διὸς ἄνθος = some sort of pink, perhaps *Dianthus inodorus*, 'carnation' (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 6. 1. 1, 6. 6. 2, 6. 6. 11, 6. 8. 3 and *ap.* Athen. 680 E, Nik. *ap.* Athen. 684 B, Hesych. and Souid. *s.v.*, Plin. *nat. hist.* 21. 59 and 67 Iovis flos). Διὸς βάλανος usually = *Castanea vesca*, 'chestnut' (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 1. 12. 1, 3. 3. 1, 3. 3. 8, 3. 10. 1, Dioskor. 1. 145 p. 137 Sprengel: see also Hermippos φορμοφόροι *frag.* 1. 20 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 407 ff. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 28 A as glossed by Hesych. *s.v.*, Athen. 53 D, Mnesitheos *ap.* Athen. 54 C), though the Latin equivalent, *iuglans* for *Iovis glans*, means 'walnut' (Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 102, Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 86—91, Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 18. 2 ff., *alib.*); but the Greek name was sometimes given to a Pontic variety of nut (Hermonax and Timachidas *ap.* Athen. 53 B—C, cp. Hesych. *loc. cit.*), or applied to nuts in general (Zonar. *lex. s.v.* βαλάνους Διός· τὰ κάρυα· τοῦ Ψελλοῦ· Διὸς βαλάνους λέγουσι τὰ κάρυα οἱ πλείους, cp. Serv. in Verg. *ecl.* 8. 30 nam nuces in tutela sunt Iovis; unde et iuglandes vocantur, quasi Iovis glandes). Διὸς ἠλακάτη = vervain (*supra* p. 397 n. 0: but English *Jupiter's Distaff* is yellow wild clary, and *Jupiter's Staff* is great mullein (J. Britten—R. Holland *op. cit.* ii. 282, H. Friend *op. cit.* i. 164)). Διὸς ὄφρυα = *Chrysanthemum coronarium*, 'ox-eye' (anon. *carmen Graecum de herbis* 132, an Ionic poem of *s.* iii A.D. printed in F. S. Lehrs' ed. of Oppian and Nikandros Parisiis 1846 p. 172, equates it with βούφθαλμον and stresses its virtues as a prophylactic etc.). Διόσπυρον = *Diospyros Lotus*, a species of cherry (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 13. 3, Galen *de alimentorum facultatibus* 2. 38 (vi. 621 Kühn)). *Iovis barba* = *Anthyllis Barba-Jovis*, the silver-bush, commonly called 'Jupiter's beard' (Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 76). *Iovis flamma* = a flower with red stalks (Plin. *nat. hist.* 27. 44). See further J. Murr *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* Innsbruck 1890 p. 268 f. ('Heilige Blumen des Zeus') and F. Olck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1082 f., M. C. P. Schmidt *ib.* v. 1144.

Note also κεραύνιον = *Tuber aestivum*, 'thunder-truffle' (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 1. 6. 5, where κεραύνιον is F. Wimmer's correction of κράνιον codd. The word is quoted by

The lotiform bolt was, however, differently treated in different parts of the Graeco-Italic world. Ionian art in the east and Etruscan art in the west commonly joined lotos-flower to lotos-bud[1]. The Greeks of Greece proper, during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.,



Fig. 740.

preferred to add flower to flower or bud to bud[2]: the former scheme was a favourite with their vase-painters (fig. 740)[3], the latter was more convenient for their sculptors (fig. 669)[4].

The lightning-lotos on Greek soil underwent three distinct modifications. In the first place its petals, stylised into rays (fig. 740),

Athen. 61 F, 62 A as γεράνειον, cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1017, 19). It was believed that autumn rains, and thunder-peals in particular, hardened these tubers (Theophr. *frag.* 167 *ap.* Athen. 62 B and *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 19. 37, Iuv. 5. 116 ff.)—a notion which Plutarch is at pains to disprove (Plout. *symp.* 4. 2. 2).

[1] Jacobsthal *op. cit.* p. 13 ff.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 23 ff.

[3] Fig. 740 is from a black-figured *kylix*, found at Corneto, now at Berlin, which has inside a *Gorgóneion* on red ground, outside an assembly of gods on white ground (E. Gerhard *Griechische und etruskische Trinkschalen des königlichen Museums zu Berlin* Berlin 1843 p. 5 ff. pl. 4—5, Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 449 f. no. 2060): the excerpt shows Zeus and Hera.

For red-figured examples see *e.g. supra* p. 25 pl. i, p. 26 f. fig. 13, p. 732 fig. 664.

[4] *Supra* p. 740 fig. 669.

were soon transformed into naturalistic flames issuing from the floral (fig. 665)[1] or *quasi*-floral calyx (fig. 741)[2]. The vases render such flames in red, and it may be presumed that this variation on the lotos was introduced by some painter with an eye to effective colouring. It spread to other arts because of its obvious suitability. After all, lightning-flashes are more like flames than flowers.

Secondly, the sepals of the calyx developed into wings. At first the calyx itself was feathered. This might happen either to the single calyx, as *e.g.* on the bronze reliefs of the chariot at Perugia[3], or to the double calyx, as *e.g.* on a red-figured *kotýle* signed by the potter Hieron[4]. Later, a pair of wings was detached from the calyx, as on many vase-paintings of the fifth century (figs. 10, 666)[5]. And ultimately a second pair of wings was added to balance the first, as on the coins[6] and vases of south Italy (*supra* i. 337 fig. 269)[7]. There can be little doubt that the winged thunderbolt, repeatedly mentioned or implied in Attic poetry[8], was originally modelled on the eagle, the recognised lightning-bird of the Greeks[9]. Aischylos in an extant fragment of his *Niobe* makes Zeus himself declare:

'Yea, Amphion's house
Will I burn down with eagles bearing fire[10].'

[1] *Supra* p. 733 fig. 665.

[2] From a red-figured *kýlix* at Berlin (E. Gerhard *Griechische und etruskische Trinkschalen des königlichen Museums zu Berlin* Berlin 1843 p. 14 ff. pl. 8, 2 (interior: Selene), p. 20 ff. pl. 10—11 (exterior: *Gigantomachía*, part of which = my fig. 741), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 361 f. no. 14 Atlas pl. 4, 12 a, 12 b, Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 589 ff. no. 2293) attributed to 'the Brygos painter' (J. D. Beazley *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 94, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 124 no. 19), who was at work during the first third of *s.* v B.C. Zeus, in *chitón* and *chlamýs*, steps on to his four-horse chariot and quits Olympos (pillar), escorted by Herakles, with *tricot*-costume, *chitón*, lion-skin, bow, etc., and by Athena, who already spears Enkelados.

[3] E. Petersen 'Bronzen von Perugia' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1894 ix. 274 ff. fig. 3 and in *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 2. 3 pl. 14, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pls. 588, 589 with text by A. Furtwängler, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 102 no. 1. Date: *s.* vi B.C.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 137 ff. no. E 140, R. Kekulé in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1872 xliv. 226 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 43, *Wien. Vorlegebl.* A pl. 7, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 1856 f. fig. 1958, J. D. Beazley *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 102, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 60 f. no. 13 fig. Date: first third of *s.* v B.C.

[5] *Supra* p. 24 fig. 10, p. 735 fig. 666 (with which cp. the *stámnos* in the Louvre (G 370) noted *supra* p. 735 n. 4).

[6] P. Jacobsthal *op. cit.* p. 37 n. 1.

[7] *Id. ib.*

[8] Soph. *O.C.* 1460 f., Eur. *suppl.* 860, *H.f.* 177 ff., *Bacch.* 90, Aristoph. *av.* 1714 with schol. *ad loc.*, cp. Lucr. 6. 383, Verg. *Aen.* 5. 319 with Serv. *ad loc.*, Val. Flacc. 6. 55 f., Claud. *de raptu Proserpinae* 2. 228 f.

[9] *Supra*, p. 751 n. 2.

[10] Aisch. *Niob. frag.* 160 Nauck[2] *ap.* Aristoph. *av.* 1247 f. with schol. *ad loc.*

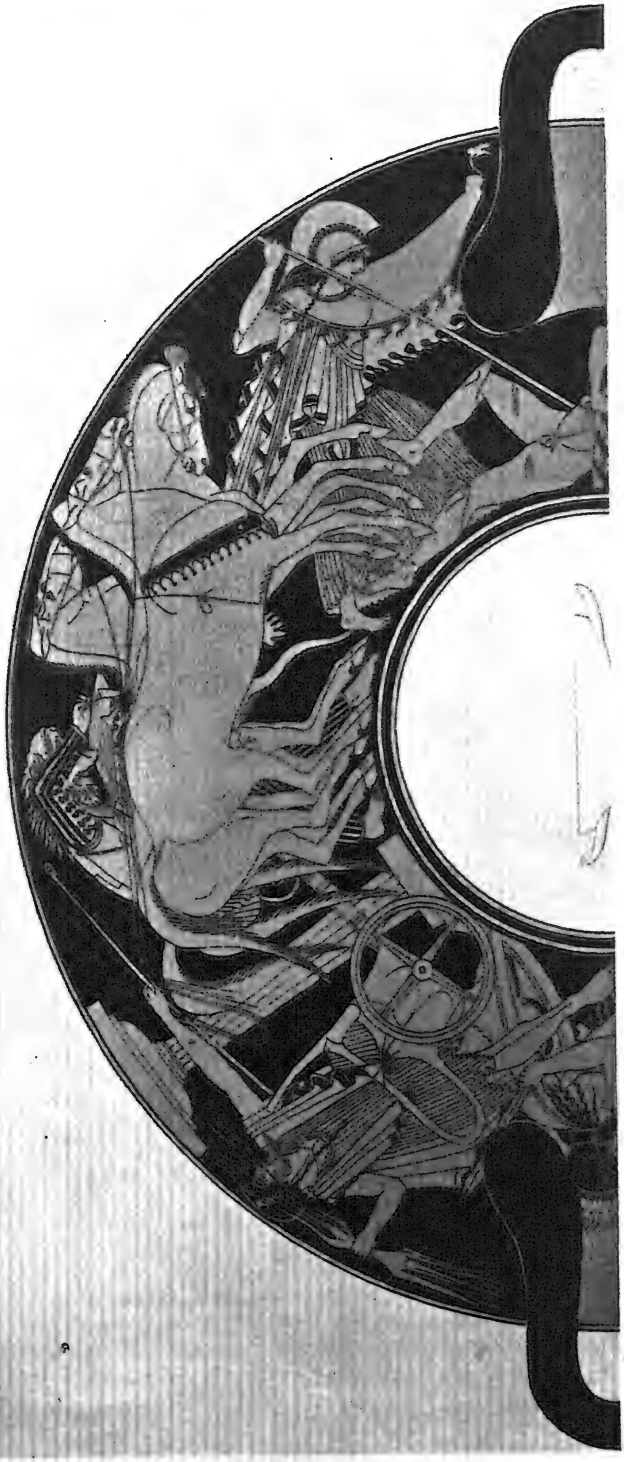


Fig. 741.

And H. Usener[1] rightly insisted that the phrase attests a long-standing popular belief. Those who regarded the eagle as the natural bringer of the lightning would of course take the wings of the thunderbolt to be eagle's pinions[2].

Thirdly, the central spike of the lotos came to be spirally twisted —a variation in shape which has been diversely explained. T. H. Martin[3], followed by G. Fougères[4], recalls the twist of tow wound round incendiary arrows. A. Conze and P. Jacobsthal[5] suggest a rendering of curled flames. P. Sarasin[6] contends that lightning in particular was often symbolised by a spiral line. Personally I suspect that lightning was from of old believed to strike with a screw-like or helical movement. This, as R. F. Crook[7] argues, is really implied by the Homeric epithet of Zeus, *terpikéraunos*[8], 'who twisteth the thunderbolt[9],' and its Virgilian equivalent, *cum fulmina torques*[10], 'when thou twistest thy bolt.' Such a belief might be strengthened by the occasional appearance of lightning in spiral form. As to this, Aischylos is explicit:

> Forth flash
> The lightning's fiery spirals[11].

And Mr C. T. R. Wilson, our first authority on the subject of electrical meteorology, tells me (Nov. 4, 1921) that he has himself seen lightning 'quite spiral.' But, be the explanation what it may, the spiral twine with its suggestion of rotatory, penetrating flight

[1] H. Usener 'Keraunos' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 26 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 493).

[2] We need not, however, imagine with A. H. Sayce 'The winged thunderbolt' in *The Academy* (*quando*?) that the winged bolt on the coins of Elis is derived from the double eagle of the Hittites.

[3] T. H. Martin *La foudre l'électricité et le magnétisme chez les anciens* Paris 1866 p. 389 ff.

[4] G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1358 f.

[5] P. Jacobsthal *op. cit.* p. 23.

[6] P. Sarasin in the *Festschrift für Fritz Sarasin* Basel 1919 cited by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 ii. 203 f. Cp. *e.g. supra* i. 289 fig. 209.

[7] R. F. Crook 'Did the ancient Greeks and Romans understand the importance of the effect produced by rifling in modern guns?' in the *Class. Rev.* 1916 xxx. 46 ff.

[8] Eight times in the *Iliad* (1. 419, 2. 478, 781, 8. 2, 11. 773, 12. 252, 16. 232, 24. 529), seven in the *Odyssey* (7. 164, 180, 14. 268, 17. 437, 19. 365, 20. 75, 24. 24); five times in the *hymns* (*h. Dion.* 4, *h. Dem.* 485, *h. Ap.* 5, *h. Aphr.* 36, *h. Her.* 5), thrice in Hesiod (*o.d.* 52, 273 (*v.l.*), *frag.* 5. 1 Rzach), and sporadically later (Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 141).

[9] So G. Meyer in G. Curtius *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik* 1875 vii. 181 ff., Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 456. But F. Bechtel in *Glotta* 1907 i. 74 f. and in his *Lexilogus zu Homer* Halle a. d. S. 1914 p. 312, followed by Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 958, still renders 'whose joy is the thunderbolt.'

[10] Verg. *Aen.* 4. 208, cp. 6. 592 f., 9. 705 f., *alib.*

[11] Aisch. *P. v.* 1083 f. ἕλικες δ' ἐκλάμπουσι | στεροπῆς ζάπυροι.

became extremely popular in Hellenistic[1] and Roman times (*supra* i. 607 fig. 478, ii. 750 fig. 689, pl. xxxiv).

These three modifications of the lotos—flames, wings, and spiral twist—are all to be found on the wonderful series of silver coins struck by the temple-mints at Olympia (pl. xxxvi)[2]. The coins in question form the subject of an important monograph by C. T. Seltman, who has devoted a special section to their treatment of the thunderbolt[3]. It appears that the basis of the Olympian design was, from first to last, the duplicated lotos. Flame-lines, commencing as a detail on coins issued from *c.* 510 B.C. by the mint of Zeus (pl. xxxvi, 1 ff.), end by becoming the principal feature on coins issued from *c.* 421 B.C. by the mint of Hera (pl. xxxvi, 11 f.). Wings, which begin as a mere feathering of the calyx (pl. xxxvi, 1), develop into pinions of various shapes and sizes. The thunderbolt is, in fact, transformed before our eyes into a winged creature instinct with a life of its own. Now it spreads its glorious vanes like a

[1] *E.g.* on an Apulian *kratér* at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 591 ff. no. 3256, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1836 viii. 99 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pls. 30—32, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 182 ff. (8), Atlas pl. 1, 26 (Zeus only), C. Robert *Die Marathonschlacht in der Poikile und weiteres über Polygnot* Halle 1895 p. 36 ff. (omitting restorations), Reinach *Rép.* Vases i. 98—100).

[2] The arrangement of the coins on pl. xxxvi is not primarily chronological, but typological: nos. 1—4 = flower + flame + wings; nos. 5, 6 = two exceptional forms; nos. 7, 8 = closing wings; no. 9 = flower + flame, without wings; no. 10 = flower + wings, with flame reduced to a *minimum*; nos. 11, 12 = flames increased to a *maximum*. The specimens figured are the following:

1 McLean collection = Seltman no. 14, a pl. 1, K μ of Series ii (*c.* 510—*c.* 471 B.C.).
2 McLean collection = Seltman no. 131, a pl. 4, BK $\gamma\delta$ of Series xiii (*c.* 432—*c.* 421 B.C.).
3 McLean collection = Seltman no. 124, c pl. 4, BH $\beta\chi$ of Series xii (*c.* 452—*c.* 432 B.C.).
4 McLean collection, cp. Seltman p. 57 pl. 8, 7 of Series x (*c.* 452—*c.* 432 B.C.).
5 McLean collection = Seltman no. 143, a pl. 5, BP $\gamma\nu$ of Series xv (*c.* 421—*c.* 365 B.C.).
6 McLean collection, cp. Seltman p. 32 f. pl. 8, 35 of Series xxv (*c.* 191 B.C. —).
7 McLean collection = Seltman no. 154, c pl. 5, BT^2 $\gamma\phi$ of Series xvii (*c.* 421—*c.* 365 B.C.).
8 British Museum = Seltman no. 172, e pl. 5, BX $\delta\theta$ of Series xviii (*c.* 421—*c.* 365 B.C.).
9 McLean collection = Seltman no. 164, a pl. 5, BV $\delta\zeta$ of Series xviii (*c.* 421—*c.* 365 B.C.).
10 McLean electrotype of specimen at Vienna = Seltman no. 141, c pl. 5, BO $\gamma\lambda$ of Series xv (*c.* 421—*c.* 365 B.C.).
11 Leake collection = Seltman no. 242, a pl. 9, EA $\eta\alpha$ of Series xxvi (*c.* 421—*c.* 385 B.C.).
12 McLean collection = Seltman no. 266, a pl. 9, EH $\eta\pi$ of Series xxvii (*c.* 421—*c.* 385 B.C.).

[3] C. T. Seltman 'The Temple Coins of Olympia' in *Nomisma* 1913 viii. 23—65 pls. 1—4, *ib.* 1914 ix. 1—33 pls. 5—8, *ib.* 1921 xi. 75—117 pls. 9—12.



Silver coins struck by the temple-mints at Olympia, showing various types of Thunderbolt.

See page

butterfly in the sunlight (pl. xxxvi, 3). Now it half-closes them (pl. xxxvi, 7). Now again it furls them completely and relapses into rest (pl. xxxvi, 8). The wings, according to Seltman, are either those of Nike or those of a bird, usually of an eagle the lightning-bird, but sometimes perhaps of a swallow (pl. xxxvi, 2) the harbinger of rain[1]. The spiral twist is introduced soon after the middle of *s.* v B.C. It first affects the central spike of the lotos (pl. xxxvi, 3), but early in *s.* iv involves the wings and sepals as well (fig. 742), 'so that the thunderbolt may be thought of as spinning while it hurtles through the air[2].'

Two curious types discovered by Mr Seltman call for separate notice. A *statér* issued by the mint of Zeus between *c.* 471 and *c.* 452 B.C. makes the sepals on the upper half of the bolt curl over to form serpent-heads (fig. 743)[3]. These must be regarded as an



Fig. 742.



Fig. 743.

arbitrary, but not altogether inappropriate, variation of the tendrils, which on many specimens occupy a like position. If Aischylos could describe the arrow of Apollon as 'a winged glistering snake[4],' an artist contemporary with the poet might well conceive the thunderbolt of Zeus as in part serpentiform. The lord of the *aigís* had snakes enough and to spare.

Another *statér*, issued by the mint of Zeus *c.* 421 B.C., is of greater interest. The lower half of the bolt is here an unmistakable fly with head, eyes, body, wings, and legs complete (pl. xxxvi, 5). This is rightly, I think, interpreted by Mr Seltman[5] as an allusion to the local cult of Zeus *Apómyios*. Since the said cult has often been misunderstood, it is worth while to state the main facts concerning it. When animal sacrifices were offered in hot weather, flies of course arrived in swarms and fastened on the carcases. This

[1] After P. Jacobsthal *op. cit.* p. 25 ('Schwalbenflügel'), cp. D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 192 [add Geopon. 1. 3. 8].

[2] C. T. Seltman *loc. cit.* 1921 xi. 108 with no. 157 pl. 5, BT[3] γω (=my fig. 742) and no. 158 pl. 5, BT[3] δα.

[3] C. T. Seltman *loc. cit.* 1913 viii. 36 f. no. 42 pl. 2, AF αν (=my fig. 743), 1921 xi. 107.

[4] Aisch. *Eum.* 181 πτηνὸν ἀργηστὴν ὄφιν.

[5] C. T. Seltman *loc. cit.* 1914 ix. 10, 1921 xi. 107.

tended to disturb the ritual and was therefore undesirable. But to the superstitious Greek the buzzing myriads that claimed their share in the sacred feast seemed something of a divine visitation. If not the god himself[1], they might at least be his emissaries[2]. Biting flies meant coming storm[3]—and who could tell? The safest course was to placate the little pests. Accordingly the Leucadians, before celebrating the festival of Apollon *Áktios*, first sacrificed an ox to the flies[4]—an almost unique example of direct sacrifice to living animals on Greek soil[5]. Aelian tells us that the flies, when gorged with the blood of the ox, took themselves off, and contrasts their mercenary conduct with that of the flies at Olympia, which did the right thing through sheer respect for the god[6]. Olympic flies, it would seem, though countless victims were offered, blood poured out, and flesh hung up, yet retired discreetly across the Alpheios, returning only when the festival was over[7]. Aelian, being a pious priest, is fond of edifying conclusions[8]. Unfortunately Antiphanes the comedian, who lived five centuries and more before Aelian, had long since spoilt the moral: parasites—he says—ought to be treated like the uninvited flies at Olympia, for which an ox is cut up by way of preliminary sacrifice[9]. We gather, then, that in *s.* iv B.C. the Olympians, like the Leucadians, slew an ox for the special benefit of the flies. As time passed and men ceased to believe in the divinity of flies, their expulsion would be attributed to some local hero or god. Thus Pausanias informs us that the inhabitants of Aliphera in Arkadia, before keeping their festival of Athena (?), sacrificed to a hero *Myiagros*, the 'Fly-catcher[10].' Simi-

[1] I have suggested that Zeus became a fly in pursuit of Io (*supra* i. 532). Parallels are cited by J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 iii. 998 f. ('*Fly-shape*'), 1888 iv. 1604 f., G. Weicker *Der Seelenvogel* Leipzig 1902 p. 30 n. 3, M. Wellmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 2745 f.

[2] In some parts of South Germany the stag-beetle is called *donnergugg*, *donnerguge*, *donnerpuppe*, perhaps because he likes to live in oak-trees, and it is believed that lightning will strike a house into which he is carried (J. Grimm *op. cit.* 1882 i. 183, 1883 ii. 692).

[3] Theophr. *de signis tempestatum* 23 καὶ τὸ δημόσιον τὸ περὶ τὰς μυίας λεγόμενον ἀληθές· ὅταν γὰρ δάκνωσι σφόδρα, ὕδατος σημεῖον, Geopon. 1. 3. 9 καὶ μυῖαι ἐπὶ πλέον δάκνουσαι (*sc.* ὄμβρον σημαίνουσι).

[4] Herakleides Pontikos κτίσεις ἱερῶν *frag.* 1 Tresp (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 197 Müller) *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 39. 8 p. 30, 7 ff. Stählin Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ἐν Κτίσεσιν ἱερῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν φησίν, ἔνθα τὸ Ἄκτιόν ἐστιν ἀκρωτήριον καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἀκτίου τὸ ἱερόν, ταῖς μυίαις προθύεσθαι βοῦν.

[5] Cp. the Praisian sacrifice to a pig (*supra* i. 653 n. 3).

[6] Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 8 (θύουσι βοῦν ταῖς μυίαις, αἱ δὲ ἐμπλησθεῖσαι τοῦ αἵματος ἀφανίζονται).

[7] Ail. *de nat. an.* 5. 17.

[8] Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*[2] Cambridge 1906 i. 336 f.

[9] Antiphanes *fab. incert. frag.* 5 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 134 f. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 4 F—5 A.

[10] Paus. 8. 26. 7, cp. Souid. *s.v.* μυίαγρος· ὁ μυιοθήρας.

larly Pliny states that at the Olympic festival a bull was immolated to a god named Myiodes, after which clouds of flies departed from the locality[1]. Elsewhere he says that, when swarms of flies bring disease, the Eleans invoke a god called Myiacores and that, if he accepts their offering, the flies forthwith perish[2]. At Rome neither fly nor dog would enter the temple of Hercules in the Forum Boarium[3]; for the hero, on distributing the flesh of the sacrifice, had summoned the god Myiagrus, who kept the flies away, and had left his club in the porch, which frightened the dogs[4]. We are further told that the Romans sacrificed to Herakles *Apómyios*,



Fig. 744.

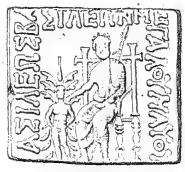


Fig. 745.

'Averter of Flies,' the Eleans to Zeus *Apómyios*[5]. Both Herakles and Zeus figure in the version preserved by Pausanias[6]:

'They say that Herakles the son of Alkmene, when sacrificing at Olympia, was worried by the flies. Thereupon it occurred to him, or perhaps somebody suggested to him, that he should sacrifice to Zeus *Apómyios*. And so the flies were sent packing across the Alpheios. The Eleans too are said to sacrifice in the same way to Zeus *Apómyios*, when they drive the flies out of Olympia.'

Thus by a strange, yet wholly understandable, *peripéteia* the sacrifice originally paid to the flies came ultimately to be paid to Zeus who drove them out[7].

Theriomorphism in the long run gives place to anthropomorphism, and the winged thunderbolts of Greek art lead up to a *quasi*-human form. Square bronze coins struck by Maues, a Scythic

[1] Plin. *nat. hist.* 29. 106.

[2] *Id. ib.* 10. 75.

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 79, Solin. 1. 11. The source may be Varro, cp. Plout. *quaestt. Rom.* 90. Did *κύων* suggest *κυνόμυια*? Similarly flies kept away from the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos (Andron of Halikarnassos *frag.* 16 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 352 Müller) *ap.* Apollon. *hist. mir.* 8), and from Mt Carina (*v.l.* Carma) in Crete (Plin. *nat. hist.* 21. 79).

[4] Solin. 1. 11.

[5] Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 38. 4 p. 28, 25 f. Stählin *ἐνταῦθα* (*sc.* *ἐν* Ἤλιδι) Ἀπομυίῳ *Διὶ θύουσιν* Ἠλεῖοι· Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Ἀπομυίῳ Ἡρακλεῖ.

[6] Paus. 5. 14. 1. Cp. *et. mag.* p. 131, 23 f. Ἀπόμυιος· *οὕτως ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ τοῖς* Ἠλείοις *τιμᾶται,* Ἡρακλέους *ἱδρυσαμένου ἐπὶ ἀποτροπῇ τῶν μυιῶν*, Schöll-Studemund *anecd.* i. 266 Ἐπίθετα Διός 10 ἀπομυίου.

[7] H. K. E. Köhler's attempt to identify '*Jupiter Apomyos*' on an engraved gem of the Orleans collection (Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 138 no. 59 pl. 126, E. Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1153) was wholly misleading.

conqueror of the Greeks in northern India (? *c.* 130 B.C.), have for obverse design Zeus enthroned, holding a sceptre in his left hand and extending his right towards a small male figure, who seems to be an embodiment of the thunderbolt (figs. 744, 745)[1]. This humanised missile we may venture to name Keraunos[2].

Flames, wings, and spiral twist remained as characteristic traits of the thunderbolt throughout the classical period. Virgil[3] works all three into his description of Volcanus' smithy:

> Iron the Cyclops forged in that great cave—
> Brontes and Steropes and bare-limbed Pyracmon.
> Thereof their hands had wrought a thunderbolt
> Of such sort as the Sire oft hurls from heaven
> To earth, part burnished—part was yet to make.
> Three rays of twisted rain, three more of cloud,
> Three of red fire and the winged southern wind,
> They blent with flashes fell and sound and fear
> And fury with its still pursuing flames.

The Virgilian Cyclopes were fashioning their thunderbolt like armourers at work on some complicated engine of destruction. It was indeed natural that the sky-god's bolt should borrow some at least of its features from weapons wielded by human hands. In Italy and Sicily, as Jacobsthal[4] observed, the central spike of the lotos, and likewise the lotos-bud, developed into a dagger-blade (fig. 746)[5] or an arrow-head (fig. 747)[6]. Also in the same region half arrow-heads or hooks came to be added on the side spikes of the bolt (fig. 748)[7]. The earliest examples of such treatment are,

[1] P. Gardner in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings pp. lviii, 70 pl. 16, 9, *id. Types of Gk. Coins* p. 210 pl. 14, 24 (=my fig. 744). In his description of both plates Prof. Gardner speaks of a 'female figure'; but in *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 210 he tacitly corrects his own blunder and says: 'we see a male figure, evidently an impersonation of the thunderbolt which is indeed not entirely transmuted into his form, but partly appears over his head and at his sides. This is a very interesting invention of the Indo-Greeks.' Fig. 745 is from another specimen in the British Museum.

[2] *Supra* p. 11 ff. Whether the naked boy with a torch, who on the Naples Prometheus-*sarcophagus* (Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* i. 304 ff. pl. 61, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 286 ff. pl. 14, K. Bapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3108 f.) appears to be leaping down from the head of Zeus towards Hephaistos, is rightly regarded as the thunderbolt personified (so E. Petersen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv. 126) is very doubtful.

[3] Verg. *Aen.* 8. 424 ff.

[4] P. Jacobsthal *op. cit.* p. 21 f.

[5] From Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iv. 10 f. pl. 282.

[6] From Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 75 ff. pl. 74.

[7] P. Jacobsthal *op. cit.* pp. 22, 43 n. 2. I figure the reverse of a bronze coin of Kentoripai dating from the latter half of *s.* iii B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 55 nos. 3—6, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 177 nos. 2, 3 pl. 13, 2, 4—6, G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 219 pl. 14, 21, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 135).

however, to be found on Attic black-figured vases belonging to the close of *s.* vi B.C. A *kýlix* from Vulci signed by the potter Phrynos shows the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus[1]: the thunderbolt

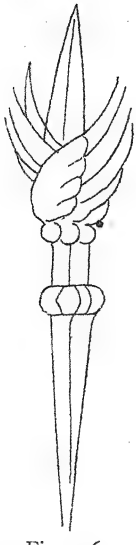


Fig. 746.



Fig. 748.

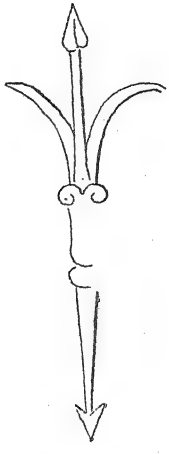


Fig. 747.

in the god's right hand has a heart-shaped pistil, probably meant for an arrow-head, starting from the centre of its lotos-flower. And a similar *kýlix* from Vulci signed by the potter Xenokles represents the three sons of Kronos standing side by side between two winged



Fig. 749.

horses (fig. 749)[2]. Poseidon, the central figure, carries a large trident; Zeus, a thunderbolt with hooked prongs; Hades, an uncertain object, perhaps a horn[3].

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 223 no. B 424, figured *infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*).

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 223 f. no. B 425, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 43 ff. pl. 24 A (=my fig. 749), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 28 ff. (S), C. Scherer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1797 ff.

[3] I have not reproduced the red-figured *stámnos* of 'strong' style from Chiusi usually compared with this vase (T. Panofka in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1851 ix. 305 ff. pl. 27, C. von Paucker *ib.* p. 376 ff., T. Panofka in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1854* Phil.-hist. Classe

(γ) The thunderbolt of Zeus and the trident of Poseidon.

The vase-painting just described raises a problem of considerable interest. Was the trident of Poseidon originally identical with the thunderbolt of Zeus?

It is commonly supposed that the trident was what Aischylos calls it—the 'fish-striking device' of a sea-god[1]. Indeed it can hardly be doubted that classical antiquity as a whole viewed the trident in this way[2]. But the point is not, what the Greeks and Romans of the classical age took the trident to be, but what it originally was. And here there is room for divergence of opinion.

In the middle of last century F. G. Welcker[3] argued that the trident, properly considered, was not a mere fish-spear, but rather a sign and symbol that Poseidon was lord over a third portion of the world. Welcker, who usually took a sane view of facts, has here been deserted by his better judgment. He is following the erroneous guidance of Plutarch and other allegorists of Graeco-Roman times[4].

H. B. Walters[5] in 1893 struck out a new line of investigation. Observing that Poseidon's trident, as represented on votive *pinakes* or terra-cotta tablets found at Penteskuphia near Corinth and referable to the period 650—550 B.C.[6], was often, especially on the earlier examples, shaped like a lotos, he inferred that the art-type of the trident had been developed out of the art-type of a lotiform sceptre. Poseidon—he suggested—was at first simply Zeus in his maritime aspect. Both deities were then entitled to bear the sceptre. But by a gradual process of differentiation Poseidon's sceptre was transformed into a trident, this transformation being prompted by another of the god's attributes, namely his tunny-fish. Thus the

p. 579 ff. pl. 3, 16, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 373, 2, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 260 ff.), because it appears to have been, not merely extensively restored, but fundamentally transformed. According to K. Wernicke (Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 40 f. pl. 4, 1), its reverse showed originally three bearded men with long thorn-sticks: this commonplace *genre* scene the forger altered into a mythological group of deep significance, by giving each man a lotiform thunderbolt with dagger-blade ends, two of them a very suspicious lightning-flash, and the third a trident! Unfortunately the vase itself has disappeared, so that Wernicke's contention cannot be proved: still, it is all too probable, and the vase-painting must remain suspect.

[1] Aisch. *s. c. Th.* 130 f. ὅ θ' ἵππιος ποντομέδων ἄναξ | ἰχθυβόλῳ μαχανᾷ Ποσειδάν.

[2] See *e.g.* Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 570, F. Durrbach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 60.

[3] Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 628 ff.

[4] Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 76, schol. Aisch. *P. v.* 922, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 1. 133, Myth. Vat. 3. 5. 1, 3. 6. 22.

[5] H. B. Walters 'Poseidon's Trident' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1893 xiii. 13 ff.

[6] Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 47 ff. nos. 347—955, Fränkel in the *Ant. Denkm.* i. 3 f. pls. 7, 8.

evolution of Poseidon from Zeus was followed by the evolution of the trident from the sceptre. Two thorny questions are here intertwined—the relation of Poseidon to Zeus and that of the trident to

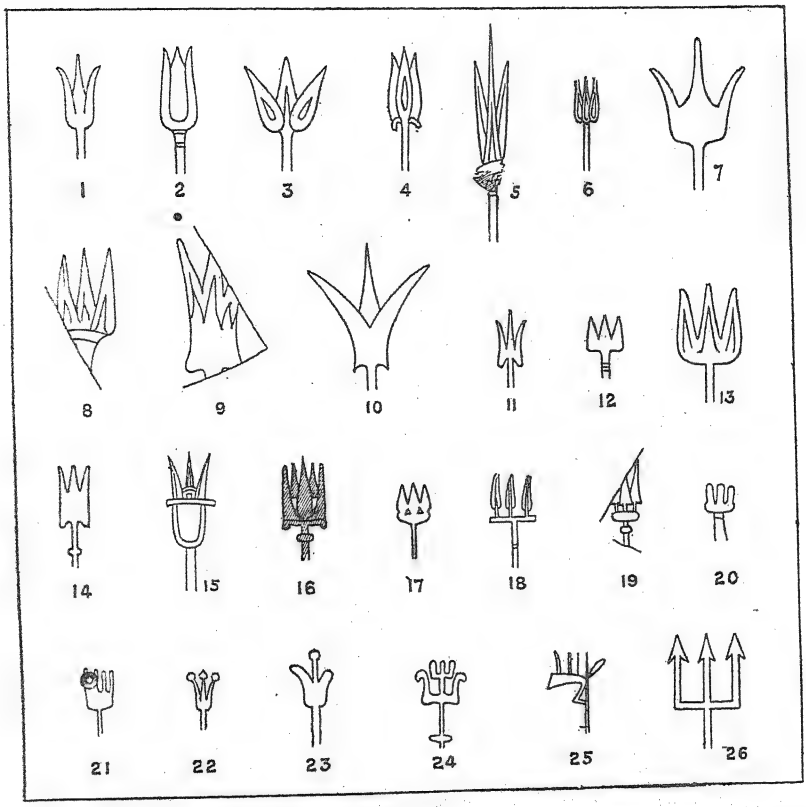


Fig. 750.

the sceptre. On the former and larger question I have already touched[1]. On the latter Mr Walters has got together a considerable array of evidence (fig. 750)[2]. But his facts, it seems to me, are

[1] *Supra* p. 582 ff.

[2] I reprint the illustration given by Mr Walters in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1893 xiii. 17. Nos. 1—21 are taken from the Penteskuphia *pínakes* at Berlin, nos. 22—26 from vases in the British Museum:

No. 1 = Furtwängler *Vasens. Berlin* i. 85 f. no. 802.
2 = ,, ,, ,, i. 52 no. 384.
3 = ,, ,, ,, i. 49 no. 348.
4 = ,, ,, ,, i. 50 no. 368, Fränkel in *Ant. Denkm.* i. 3 pl. 7, 28.
5 = ,, ,, ,, i. 58 no. 471, ,, ,, ,, i. 3 pl. 7, 3.
6 = ,, ,, ,, i. 59 f. no. 485, ,, ,, ,, i. 3 pl. 7, 11.
7 = ,, ,, ,, i. 92 no. 843.
8 = ,, ,, ,, i. 55 no. 453.

susceptible of a different interpretation. Trident and sceptre alike were lotiform. Why? Possibly because the lotos was a prevalent *motif* of decoration[1]. The thunderbolt too, as we have seen[2], was lotiform, and largely for the same reason. There is therefore, so far

9 = Furtwängler *Vasens. Berlin* i. 91 no. 838.
10 = ,, ,, ,, i. 52 no. 387. Fränkel in *Ant. Denkm.* i. 3 pl. 7, 18.
11 = ,, ,, ,, i. 65 f. no. 539, ,, ,, ,, i. 3 pl. 7, 21.
12 = ,, ,, ,, i. 81 no. 780, ,, ,, ,, i. 3 pl. 7, 26.
13 = ,, ,, ,, i. 51 no. 371.
14 = ,, ,, ,, i. 86 no. 803.
15 = ,, ,, ,, i. 55 no. 450.
16 = ,, ,, ,, i. 56 no. 460, ,, ,, ,, i. 3 pl. 7, 24.
17 = ,, ,, ,, i. 61 no. 489, ,, ,, ,, i. 3 pl. 7, 20.
18 = ,, ,, ,, i. 100 no. 899, ,, ,, ,, i. 3 pl. 7, 27.
19 = ,, ,, ,, i. 58 no. 475, ,, ,, ,, i. 3 pl. 7, 17.
20 = ,, ,, ,, i. 58 no. 474, ,, ,, ,, i. 3 pl. 7, 19.
21 = ,, ,, ,, i. 57 no. 464, ,, ,, ,, i. 3 pl. 7, 2.
22 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 66 f. no. B 57 (Ionic *amphora*) trident held by Poseidon.
23 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 156 no. B 246 (black-figured *amphora*) sceptre held by Ariadne (?).
24 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 24 fig. 32, 117 no. B 166 (black-figured *amphora*) sceptre held by Zeus.
25 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 223 no. B 424 (black-figured *kylix*) sceptre held by Zeus.
26 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 227 no. B 428 (later black-figured *kylix*) trident held by Nereus.

Of the forms here tabulated the most abnormal is no. 25, which occurs on the *kylix* by Phrynos cited above (Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 192 f. pl. 56, B = my fig. 751: introduction of Herakles to Olympos). The four-pronged trident, no. 21, can be



Fig. 751.

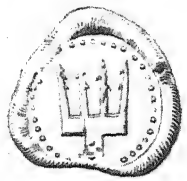


Fig. 752.

paralleled from a fifth-century *statér* of Melos (R. Jameson in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1909 xiii. 192 pl. 5, 16 = my fig. 752, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 892).

[1] W. H. Goodyear *The Grammar of the Lotus* London 1891 *passim*, A. Riegl *Stilfragen* Berlin 1893 p. 154 ff., O. Montelius *Die älteren Kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa* Stockholm 1903 i. 77 ff.

L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1914 xxix. 191 n. 2 says: 'Ursprünglich führt Poseidon das Feuersymbol in Blumenform..., ein Residuum davon z.B. noch auf den korinthischen Pinakes..., wo die florale Bildung der Poseidonwaffe nicht sekundäre Ornamentalisierung ist, sondern Rest der alten Blumenbildung.'

[2] *Supra* p. 769 ff.

as the lotos is concerned, no more cause to connect the trident with the sceptre than to connect it with the thunderbolt.

In 1898 O. Gilbert, undeterred by an emphatic protest on the part of C. Robert[1], announced that Poseidon's trident 'must be essentially identical with the lightning[2].' He pointed out that the *Iliad* describes Poseidon as—

> Holding in his stout hand a dread long-edged
> Sword like the lightning[3]—

and that the mark of Poseidon's trident to be seen on the Akropolis at Athens[4] is comparable with the *elýsia* or *enelýsia* caused by the lightning of Zeus[5]. H. Usener in 1905 likewise declared for the 'original identity of the Poseidonian trident with the thunderbolt[6].' He too quoted the lines from the *Iliad* and laid stress on the resemblance of the hypaethral[7] trident-mark at Athens to the hypaethral[8] *bidental* or lightning-monument of the Romans. Lastly he stated, on the authority of G. Loeschcke, that the weapon of Zeus is sometimes tridentiform[9]. Similar views were expressed in 1907 by the mythologist E. H. Meyer[10] and in 1909 by the historian E. Meyer[11].

[1] Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 570.

[2] Gilbert *Gr. Götterl.* p. 170.

[3] *Il.* 14. 384 ff. ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφι Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων, | δεινὸν ἄορ ταμύηκες ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ παχείῃ, | εἰκελον ἀστεροπῇ with schol. T.V. *ad loc.* τινὲς τὴν τρίαιναν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ πᾶν ὅπλον "ἄορ" καλοῦσιν· κ.τ.λ.

[4] Hegesias *frag.* 7 (*Script. hist. Alex. Mag.* p. 143 Müller) *ap.* Strab. 396, Apollod. 3. 14. 1, Paus. 1. 26. 5. See W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 250, M. L. D'Ooge *The Acropolis of Athens* New York 1908 p. 208.

[5] *Supra* p. 21 f.

[6] H. Usener 'Keraunos' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 23 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 490 f.).

[7] Not only was the pavement of the north porch of the Erechtheion left open so as to show the trident-mark in the rock beneath it, but there was a corresponding hole contrived in the roof above it (W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1903 xxviii. 466 ff., M. L. D'Ooge *The Acropolis of Athens* New York 1908 p. 208 f.).

M. P. Nilsson 'The Σχῆμα Τριαίνης in the Erechtheion' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 325—333 places the trident-mark in the north-west corner of the crypt of the west *cella*: but his view has not found acceptance (W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 250 n. 9).

[8] Fest. p. 333 *b* 30 ff. Müller, p. 450, 2 ff. Lindsay, Vitr. 1. 2. 5; cp. Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 66, *Catus vel de liberis educandis ap.* Non. Marc. p. 793, 23 ff. Lindsay, Ov. *fast.* 2. 671 f., Plout. *quaestt. Rom.* 28. *Supra* i. 53, *infra* § 3 (c) iv (α).

[9] I suppose that Loeschcke had in mind the *kýlix* signed by Xenokles (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 223 f. no. B 425, *supra* p. 785 fig. 749). H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 27 n. 92 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 494 n. 92) observes that on a coin of Taouion (Tavium) in Galatia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia etc. p. 27 pl. 5, 12, figured *infra* § 3 (c) iv (α)) Zeus holds 'dreizackigen Donnerkeil.'

[10] E. H. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2797 ('Dann fasst er (*sc.* Poseidon) seinen Dreisack, ein Sinnbild...des dreizackigen in eine Thunfischergabel umgestalteten Blitzes oder Sturmgeschosses').

[11] E. Meyer *Geschichte des Altertums*[2] Stuttgart—Berlin 1909 i. 2. 638 ('Als Attribut

In 1911 C. Blinkenberg[1] devoted a chapter to the subject and concluded that Poseidon's trident 'is an adaptation of the Hittite and Babylonian thunderweapon[2],' which entered Greece shortly after the Mycenaean age, that it was soon supplanted by the double form

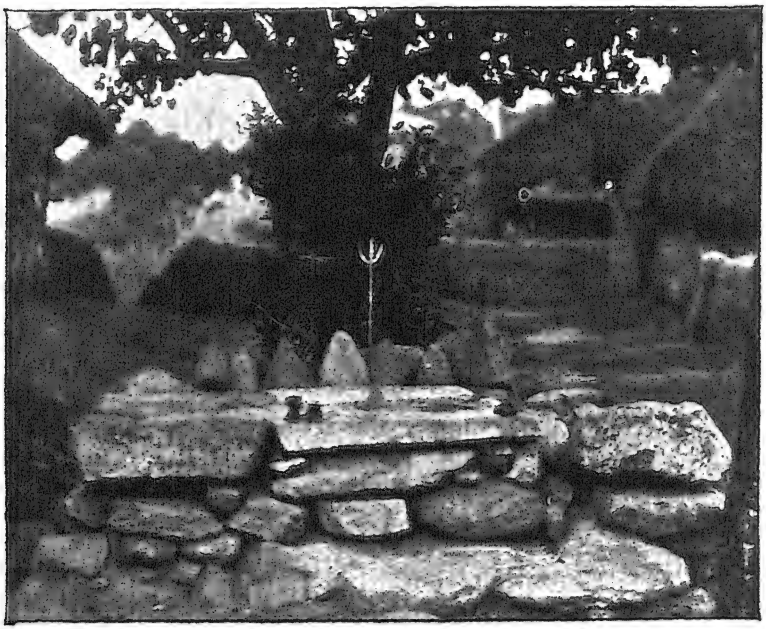


Fig. 753.

brought in from Assyria, and that it was therefore interpreted afresh as a fishing spear. He further draws attention to the iron tridents worshipped along with stone axes ('thunderstones') by the pariahs of southern India (fig. 753)[3], and compares them with the *trisula* or trident of Çiva, the post-Vedic successor of the Vedic

trägt er (*sc.* Zeus Osogô) den Dreizack, vielleicht erst unter griechischem Einfluss—oder ist etwa der Dreizack des Poseidon als sein Attribut nur aus dem Blitz umgedeutet?').

[1] C. Blinkenberg *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* Cambridge 1911 pp. 50—57.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 55, cp. *ib.* p. 57: 'Briefly, then, the development was as follows:—from the old Babylonian representation of the lightning, *i.e.* two or three zigzag lines representing flames, a tripartite thunderweapon was evolved and was carried east and west from that ancient seat of civilization. Together with the axe (in western Asia Minor the double-edged and towards the centre of Asia the single-edged axe) it became a regular attribute of the Asiatic thundergods. The extreme limits of its extension are India in the east and Greece in the west. The Indian trisula and the Greek triaina are both its descendants.'

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 8 ff. figs. 1, 2 (=my fig. 753), 3, p. 55 f. The figure here reproduced shows an 'earth-temple' in a pariah quarter belonging to the village of Agrāvaram near Vellore. Dr Blinkenberg says: 'The actual altar is 2½ feet high, its surface 7½ × 9½ feet. On the altar are seen seven thunderstones... The trisula owes its white colour to the remains of

storm-god Rudra, as represented on coins of the Indo-Bactrian kings[1] (fig. 754)[2] and—I may add—as still to be seen in Çiva-shrines (fig. 755)[3]. That the trident of Poseidon was originally a lightning-fork, later re-interpreted as a fish-spear, is an opinion which has commended itself to an increasing number of scholars. C. Fries in 1911[4], Miss J. E. Harrison in 1912[5], L. Malten in 1914[6], O. Gruppe in 1918[7] and 1921[8], all accept this hypothesis, which—despite the efforts of reactionary criticism—continues to gain ground.

The arguments advanced in its support are not all equally valid. For instance, we must not, I think, attach importance to the passage cited from Homer; for it may refer to a sword of the usual pattern, not to a trident at all. More to the

the holy ashes (burnt cow-dung), of which something has been left from the last occasion of worship.'



Fig. 754.

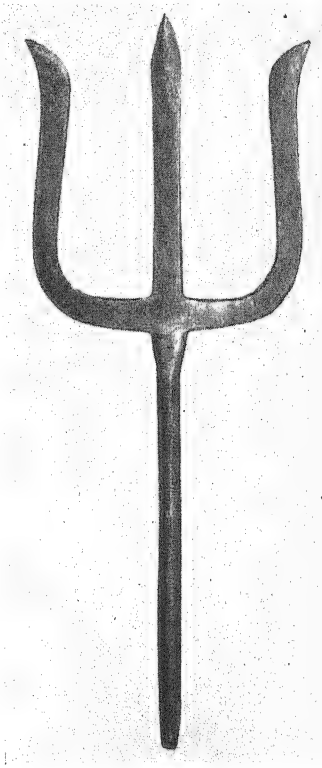


Fig. 755.

[1] *Id. ib.* p. 55 f. figs. 28—30.

[2] I figure the reverse of a gold coin of Huvishka (*c.* 111—129 A.D.) in my collection. Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 159 f. pl. 29, 10. Çiva, with three faces and two arms, stands beside his bull Nandi (*supra* i. 637), holding a wreath and a trident. The legend OHÞO=*oēsho*, which may be a Prakrit **havesa* representing the Sanskrit *bhaveśa*, 'the Lord of being,'—a title of Çiva (E. J. Rapson in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1897 p. 322 ff.).

[3] The iron trident (*tālah*) here shown was obtained for me by Mr H. B. Thompson of Queens' College, Cambridge, who stated that it 'belongs to the worship of Siva,' but held that it was of phallic origin. Height: 8⅛ ins.

[4] C. Fries *Die griechischen Götter und Heroen vom astralmythologischen Standpunkte aus betrachtet* Berlin 1911 p. 163 ff.

[5] J. E. Harrison in the *Class. Rev.* 1912 xxvi. 197.

[6] L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1914 xxix. 191.

[7] O. Gruppe in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1918 xli. 297.

[8] Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 157.

point are the parallels adduced from the Indian area, where the association of iron tridents with 'thunderstones' is a very noteworthy fact. But most cogent of all is the analogy of the hypaethral trident-mark to the hypaethral *bidental*, and indeed the whole history of the Athenian Erechtheion.

The marks beneath its northern porch (fig. 756)[1] comprise

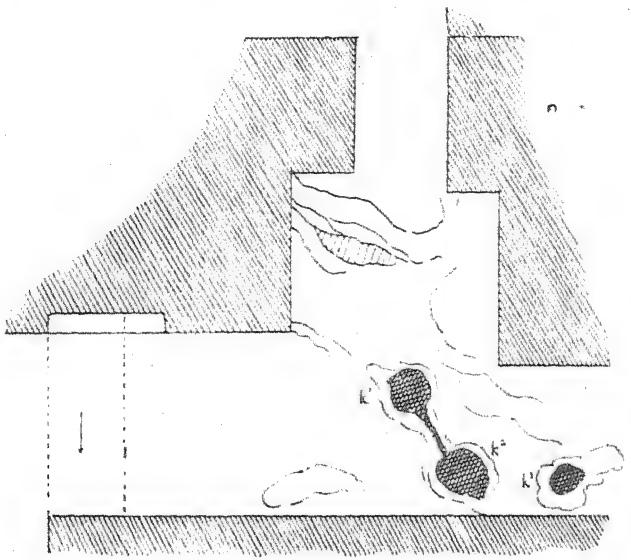


Fig. 756.

three small holes lying on a curve together with a fourth, larger and more irregular, at a little distance from them. These marks—I am disposed to conjecture—were originally a series of neolithic 'cup-marks[2].' If so, they are of peculiar interest as being the oldest traces of cult on the Athenian Akropolis. The exact significance of 'cup-marks' is unknown[3]; but it is noticeable that, wherever

[1] The plan given in the Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐρεχθείου ἐπιτροπῆς Athens 1853 pl. 3 is improved and completed by A. Michaelis in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 19 fig. 5 (=my fig. 756). Of the three trident-holes k^1 is 1·25^m deep, k^3 is 2·79^m, while k^2 is plugged at a depth of 0·70^m. These dimensions imply that the original 'cup-marks' had at some later time been bored much deeper to suit the trident-story. The Athenians were not above a γενναῖον ψεῦδος.

[2] Bibliography in J. Schlemm *Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1908 pp. 500–504 figs a–d, J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1908 i. 618 n. 2. See also T. Rice Holmes *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar* Oxford 1907 p. 205 n. 4.

[3] The Abbé Breuil suggested to me once in conversation that concentric circles with a prolonged radius may be highly stylised human figures, such as are met with in the neolithic and aeneolithic art of Spain (M. C. Burkitt *Prehistory* Cambridge 1921 pl. 38).

they occur, there is a tendency to explain them as the imprint of this, that, or the other superhuman power. P. Sébillot[1] has collected many cases of such popular interpretations. For example, at Pont-d'Aisy a 'cup-marked' stone is known as 'the Fairy's Kettle' or 'the Kettle of Giant Galaffre[2]'; and at Faux-la-Montagne the impress of the Devil's spoon and fork is yet visible on a dolmen where he dined[3]. Similarly the Greeks regarded these mysterious marks beneath the Erechtheion as the traces left by the trident of Poseidon, when he struck the Akropolis-rock and thereby created his 'sea[4].'

But Poseidon was not the first occupant of the Erechtheion. Before him, as H. Usener[5] showed, came Erechtheus, the true lord and owner of the building. And who was Erechtheus? Lykophron in one passage probably[6], in another certainly[7], uses *Erechtheús* as a synonym of Zeus. More than that, a learned *schólion* on the second passage states quite definitely that both at Athens and in Arkadia Zeus was called *Erechtheús*[8]. There is therefore much to be said for E. Petersen's contention[9] that *Erechtheús*, the 'Cleaver[10],' was in fact a lightning-god like Zeus *Kataibátes*[11], who during the fifth century B.C., if not earlier, was identified with Poseidon[12]. Two

[1] P. Sébillot *Le Folklore de France* Paris 1904 i. 395 ff.

[2] *Id. ib.* i. 396.

[3] *Id. ib.* i. 398.

[4] A good parallel is furnished by the sacred rock that juts up in the centre of the *Ḳubbet eṣ-Ṣachra* in Jerusalem. Certain round holes, apparently 'cup-marks,' on its west side are said to be the finger-prints of the angel Gabriel: others of a like sort in the south-west corner are explained as the foot-prints of the prophet Muhammed (R. Kittel *Studien zur hebräischen Archäologie und Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1908 p. 19).

[5] H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 139 ff.

[6] Lyk. *Al.* 156 ff. ὃν (*sc.* Pelops) δὴ δὶς ἠβήσαντα, καὶ βαρὺν πόθον | φυγόντα Ναυμέδοντος (*sc.* Poseidon) ἁρπακτήριον, | ἔστειλ' Ἐρεχθεὺς (*sc.* Zeus) εἰς Λετριναίους γύας | κ.τ.λ. with scholl. *ad loc.* and C. von Holzinger's note.

[7] Lyk. *Al.* 431 τὸν δ' αὖ, τέταρτον ἐγγόνων Ἐρεχθέως (*sc.* Idomeneus, son of Deukalion, son of Minos, son of Zeus).

[8] Schol. Lyk. *Al.* 431 Ἐρεχθεὺς γὰρ καλεῖται ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἢ διὰ τὸ ὀρέξαι τὴν Ῥέαν τῷ Κρόνῳ λίθον ἀντὶ Διός, ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἐρέχθω τὸ κινῶ· δι' αὐτοῦ γὰρ οἱ σεισμοί. The association of Athens with Arkadia is noteworthy and points perhaps to a joint Pelasgian usage.

[9] E. Petersen *Die Burgtempel der Athenaia* Berlin 1907 pp. 61—93.

[10] H. Usener *op. cit.* p. 140 f. took the name to mean the 'Breaker' in the agricultural sense of a clod-'breaker': E. Petersen *op. cit.* understands it as the 'Render' or 'Cleaver' used of a lightning-god. In either case Ἐρεχθεύς is to be connected with ἐρέχθω (Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 155, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 277 f.).

[11] *Supra* p. 13 ff.

[12] See the inscriptions and texts cited by O. Jahn—A. Michaelis *Arx Athenarum* Bonnae 1901 p. 66 f. on Paus. 1. 26. 5. Erechtheus is already replaced by Poseidon in Hes. *frag.* 40 Flach, 101 Rzach[3] *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 13, 44 f. ἦν δέ, φασι, Βούτης υἱὸς

versions were current concerning Erechtheus' death. According to Euripides, he was slain by a blow of Poseidon's trident and hidden in a chasm of earth[1]. According to Hyginus, he was slain by a thunderbolt from Zeus at the request of Poseidon[2]. Hence Petersen concludes that Erechtheus was a figure essentially resembling 'Zeus-Amphiaraos, Zeus-Asklepios, Zeus-Trophonios[3]'; that the hypaethral opening in the Erechtheion floor was the chasm where he, the lightning-god, had entered the earth; and that this same chasm, on the advent of Poseidon, had been re-interpreted as his trident-mark[4]. The whole story thus becomes coherent, and I for one accept Petersen's reading of it—though I should stipulate that

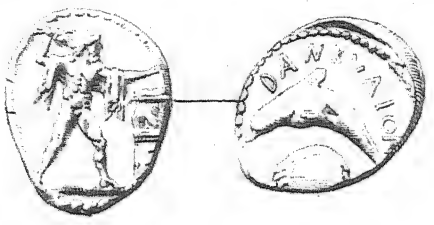


Fig. 757.

the epic Erechtheus was not a lightning-god, but a human king regarded as the lightning-god incarnate.

Now the transition from the cult of Erechtheus to that of Poseidon is much facilitated, if we may suppose that the latter, like the former, wielded the lightning,—that his trident, in short, was originally the thunderbolt.

So far, however, we have not met with any direct proof that Poseidon was a lightning-god. Once, and once only, in the extant remains of Greek art is he represented brandishing a bolt as though he were Zeus. A remarkable tetradrachm of Messana, formerly in the Hirsch collection and now at Brussels (fig. 757)[5], has for its obverse design a god wearing a *chlamýs* over his upper arms in the

Ποσειδῶνος, ὡς Ἡσίοδος ἐν Καταλόγῳ = Favorin. *ecl.* in W. Dindorf *Grammatici Graeci* Lipsiae 1823 i. 361, 8 f. The oldest monumental evidence is that of a black-figured *amphora* by Amasis (*c.* 550—530 B.C.), now at Paris (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 129 ff. no. 222. Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 254 ff. pl. 78), which shows Athena with her lance and Poseidon with his trident standing opposite to each other in peaceful attitudes. E. Petersen *op. cit.* p. 65 observes that the scene presupposes reconciliation after the contest at the Erechtheion—'also Poseidon statt des Erechtheus.'

[1] Eur. *Ion* 281 f. [2] Hyg. *fab.* 46. *Supra* p. 24.

[3] E. Petersen *op. cit.* p. 73 ff. [4] *Id. ib.* p. 68 ff.

[5] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1896 xvi. 109 ff. pl. 8, 7 (=my fig. 757), G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 70 pl. 4, 8, *id. Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 32 n. 1 ('Poseidon'), G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 143 f. pl. 5, 12 ('Poseidon'), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 154 fig. 82 ('Poseidon (?)').

manner of Poseidon and striding forward to a decorated altar with uplifted thunderbolt in the attitude of Zeus. Since the great god of Messana was Poseidon, not Zeus, we should interpret this unique type as Poseidon fulminant—an interpretation confirmed by the dolphin and scallop-shell of the reverse side. On grounds of style and *motif* the coin has been assigned to the middle of the fifth century B.C. Sir A. J. Evans[1] justly inferred from its legend *Dank-laion* that, about the year 450, the old Zanclaean elements in the



Fig. 758.



Fig. 759.



Fig. 760.



Fig. 761.

population of Messana must have succeeded in regaining for a while their predominance: naturally they restored the earliest name of the town and, along with it, their former coin-types of the dolphin and the scallop. Now Zankle was an ancient foundation of the Sikels[2]. Here then, if anywhere, we should look to find Poseidon in his earliest form. And here we do find him with a thunderbolt, not a trident, in his hand—a god who bears a significant resemblance to Zeus[3].

[1] Sir A. J. Evans *loc. cit.*

[2] Thouk. 6. 4, Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ζάγκλη.

[3] Coins of Poseidonia (*e.g.* Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 178 pl. 121, 29, 30, 31 = my figs. 762—764) show Poseidon brandishing his trident and Zeus brandishing his thunderbolt in precisely the same attitude. The resemblance is suggestive, though not of course conclusive.



Fig. 762.

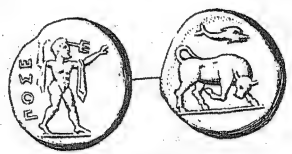


Fig. 763.



Fig. 764.

Garrucci says of the last piece: 'Nettuno qual Giove fulminante a d. dinanzi un delfino, a sin. ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑ.' *Id. ib.* p. 176 f. pl. 120, 8 wrongly infers from an early drachm

Different in character from this early representation are the attempts made occasionally throughout the classical period to equip

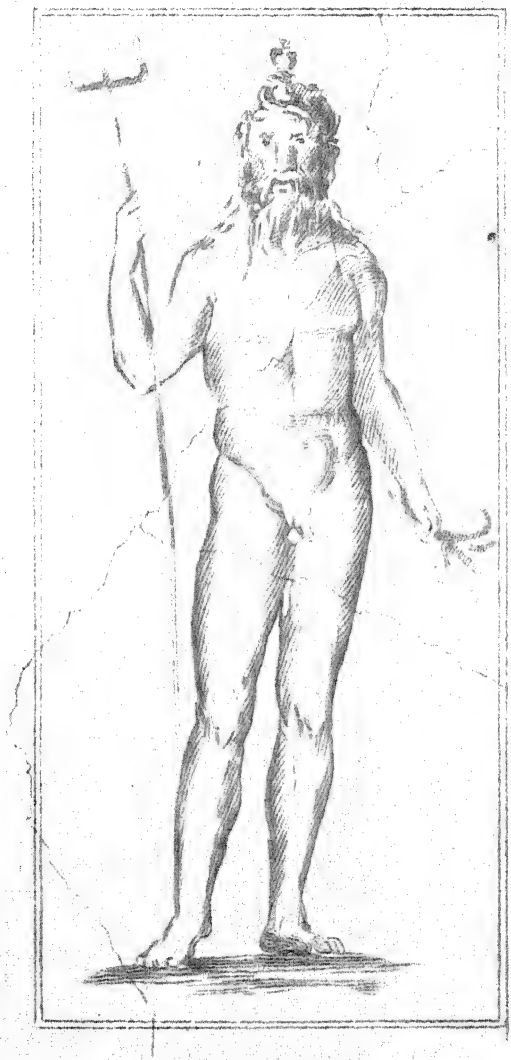


Fig. 765.

Poseidon with the attributes of Zeus, attempts possibly prompted by the lingering belief that the former was fundamentally akin to

inscribed ΠΟΜ ΟΣΔ that Poseidon is actually dubbed Διὸ(s) (ἄγαλμα). Why not read Ποσοιδ(ᾶν)? Cp. Babelon *Mnn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1431 f. no. 2132 with n. 3, and F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Dialekte* Berlin 1921 i. 350 f.

the latter. Thus silver coins of Troizen, struck *c.* 400—322 B.C., duplicate the trident-head so that it looks much like a thunderbolt

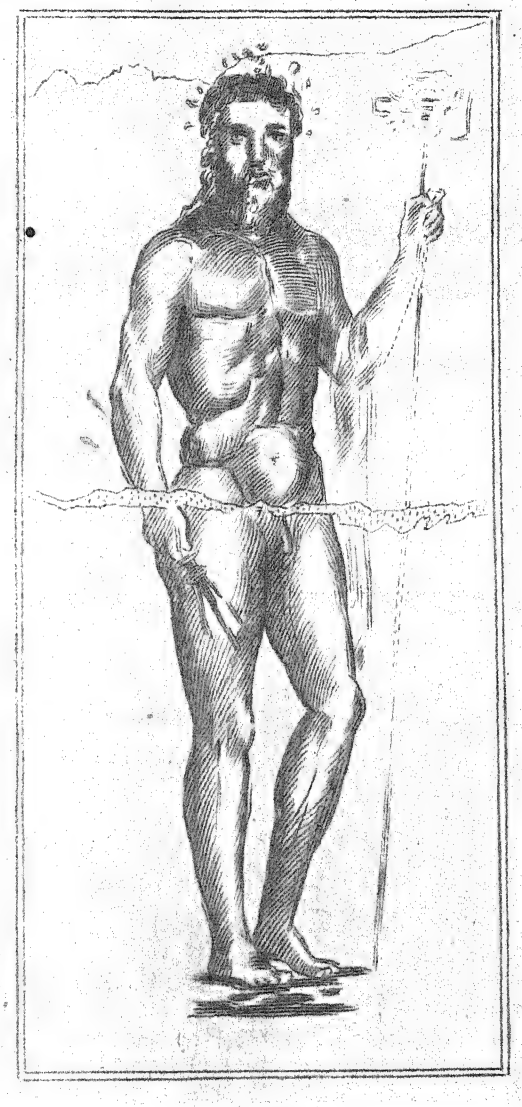


Fig. 766.

(fig. 758)[1]. The duplication was, however, presumably intended *in primis* to show that the coins were diobols. Certain rare coppers of

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 166 pl. 30, 21 (=my fig. 758) and 22, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 443.

Byzantion, issued *c.* 221 B.C., figure Poseidon erect with a trident in his left hand, but Nike crowning the magistrate's name in his right (fig. 759)[1]. A chalcedony scarab of late Etruscan style, formerly in the Dehn collection (fig. 760)[2], portrays an unbearded god, with a *himátion* over his left arm, in the act of stepping into a chariot. He grasps a thunderbolt in his right hand, and a trident in his left, while at his feet is a small sea-monster. The fusion of Poseidon with Zeus is complete. Similarly on a brown paste at Berlin (fig. 761)[3] we see the equivocal Zeus-Poseidon holding the thunderbolt in his right hand, the trident in his left, with an eagle perched before him. Finally, two deities painted in the Augustan house near the *Villa Farnesina* are—if we may trust Mau's publication (figs. 765, 766)[4]—perhaps to be described as Poseidon with the thunderbolt of Zeus (?) and Zeus with the trident of Poseidon (??)[5].

(δ) The thunderbolt of Zeus and the fork of Hades.

Zeus had a thunderbolt, and Poseidon a trident. It is sometimes contended that Hades, as his corresponding weapon, had a fork or two-pronged spear. But neither the existence nor the significance of this attribute is free from serious doubt, and some of our more cautious mythologists are inclined to dismiss it as altogether fictitious[6]. The evidence therefore must be scrutinized with care.

In the first place it may be conceded that weapons of the sort were not unknown in the Mediterranean area. Apart from mere

[1] Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1638, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 394 pl. 26, 16, *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 148 no. 57. Fig. 759 is from a specimen in my collection: ΒΥΣΑΝΤ[ΙΩΝ] Ε[ΠΙ] ΑΣΩΠ[ΙΟΥ] with two countermarks (*obv.* Γ and helmet, *rev.* ear of corn).

[2] G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti* Roma 1821 i. 3 no. 3, T. Panofka 'Über verlegene Mythen' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1839* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 35 pl. 1, 5, F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig and Darmstadt 1841 iii. 1. 204 pl. 6, 27, Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 162 n. 5, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1866 p. 93 n. 6, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 259 Gemmentaf. 3, 7, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 18, 6 (=my fig. 760), ii. 87, *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 361 fig. 1 ('the threefold Pelasgian god'—a view which I here recant), Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 60 pl. 2, *b*.

A similar scarab of brown sard cited by most authorities (Panofka *loc. cit.* p. 33 ff. pl. 1, 4, Creuzer *op. cit.* iii. 1. 204 pl. 6, 26, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 259 Gemmentaf. 3, 8, Farnell *op. cit.* iv. 60 pl. 2, *b*) is a modern forgery (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 332 no. 9330, *id. Ant. Gemmen* ii. 87).

[3] Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 150 no. 3447 pl. 28 (=my fig. 761: scale 2/1).

[4] A. Mau in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1884 lvi. 320, *Mon. d. Inst.* xii pl. 7, 3 and 5 (=my figs. 765 and 766). The paintings are now in the Terme Museum at Rome.

[5] A. Mau *loc. cit.*: 'Nelle due figure di Nettuno (3) e di Giove (5) non è chiaro nè l'oggetto che Nettuno regge nella sin., nè ciò che sta in cima allo scettro di Giove.'

[6] *E.g.* Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1182 n. 2.

forks of bone[1] or bronze[2], and from forked spear-butts of bronze[3], a double-pointed spear-head of copper was found in the sepulchral deposit of Hagios Onuphrios near Phaistos[4], and a double-pointed lance is held by a Lycaonian warrior carved on the *stéle* of Ikonion[5].

Again, a weapon of this type figures in Greek mythology. Lesches the Lesbian, who wrote the *Little Iliad* about the middle of *s.* vii B.C., described the spear of Achilles as of similar make:

> The ring of gold
> Flashed lightning round, and o'er it the forked blade[6].

Aischylos in his *Nereids* said of the same weapon:

> The shaft, the shaft with its double tongue, will come[7].

And Sophokles mentioned it in his *Lovers of Achilles*:

> Or the two-mouthed striker, the spear;
> For it rent him—the twofold pang
> Of the spear that Achilles bore[8].

The hero had been taught to use this engine by Peleus, and Peleus in turn by Cheiron[9],—a pedigree which points to Thessaly as its home. It is then not inappropriate that Kastor, depicted on a black-figured *amphora* from Corneto as advancing side by side with Peleus against the Calydonian boar, plunges a two-pronged spear into the monster's head[10].

[1] R. Munro *The Lake Dwellings of Europe* London, Paris, and Melbourne 1890 p. 157 fig. 39, 12, L. Savignoni in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1903 xiii. 93 f. fig. 6 (from a pile-dwelling on the Mondsee, Austria).

[2] C. A. de Bode in *Archaeologia* 1844 xxx. 250 pl. 16, 11, L. Savignoni *loc. cit.* p. 93 fig. 5 (from a *tumulus* near Asterabad at the S.E. corner of the Caspian Sea).

[3] Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 273 ('spear-heads...of the forked form' from graves at Nebesheh dated *c.* 650—500 B.C. and regarded as those of the Carian mercenaries of Psammetichos), *id. Tools and Weapons* London 1917 p. 33 pl. 39 f., 182 ff. ('forked butts'). An example in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, described on the label by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie as a two-pronged spear, is almost certainly a spear-butt.

[4] Sir A. J. Evans *Cretan Pictographs and prae-Phoenician Script* London—New York 1895 p. 135 f. fig. 139, L. Savignoni *loc. cit.* p. 99 fig. 7 ('più accurato'), Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 100 f. fig. 72.

[5] C. F. M. Texier *Description de l'Asie Mineure* Paris 1849 ii. 148 f. pl. 103, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 741 f. fig. 359, Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities of St. Paul* London 1907 p. 333 f. fig. 43.

The διβολία of the Cimbri (Plout. *v. Mar.* 25) probably involved a pair of lances (cp. Aristoph. *frag.* 401 *ap.* Poll. 7. 157, Herodian. 2. 13. 4).

[6] *Ilias parva frag.* 5 Kinkel *ap.* schol. Pind. *Nem.* 6. 85 and schol. *Il.* 16. 142 ἀμφὶ δὲ πόρκης | χρύσεος ἀστράπτει καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δίκροος ἄρδις.

[7] Aisch. *Nereides frag.* 152 Nauck[2] κάμακος εἶσι κάμακος γλώσσημα διπλάσιον.

[8] Soph. *Achilleos erastai frag.* 156 Nauck[2], 152 Jebb ἢ δορὸς διχόστομον πλᾶκτρον· | δίπτυχοι γὰρ ὀδύναι μιν ἤρικον | Ἀχιλλήιου δόρατος. On the text see A. C. Pearson's note.

[9] Schol. *Il.* 16. 142.

[10] E. Petersen in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1884 lvi. 284 f. ('un bidente'), *Mon. d. Inst.* xii pl. 10, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 230, 3 ('une fourche').

But neither Achilles nor Kastor spells Hades, and the only evidence adduced for the forked spear as an attribute of this deity will not bear inspection. A *kylix* signed by the potter Brygos, found at Vulci, and now preserved in the Städel'sches Kunstinstitut at Frankfurt, has for its central design a bearded male



Fig. 767.

figure with a two-pronged spear or fork pursuing a woman (fig. 767)[1]. F. G. Welcker took the pair to be Plouton and Persephone[2]. But in point of fact they are Poseidon and Aithra (or Amymone). For later and more careful investigation[3] has shown that essential parts of the design are due to some modern restorer, who has *inter*

[1] E. Gerhard *Trinkschalen und Gefässe des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin und anderer Sammlungen* Berlin 1848 i. 20 ff. pl. A—B (=my fig. 767). Bibliography in Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 108 f. no. 3* fig.

[2] F. T. Welcker 'Le nozze di Plutone e Proserpina' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1850 xxii. 109—118 pl. G, *id. Alt. Denkm.* iii. 93—104 ('Der Ehebund der Persephone mit dem Pluton') pl. 12, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 286, 1.

[3] *Wien. Vorlegebl.* viii pl. 2 (=my fig. 768), Hoppin *op. cit.* i. 109 fig.

alia supplied Aithra's face and painted out half of Poseidon's trident-head! In view of this shameless tampering we cannot put much trust in an early publication of a bronze coin struck by Domitian at Nysa in Lydia, which purports to show Plouton, fork in hand, carrying off Persephone upon a four-horse chariot (fig. 769)[1].



Fig. 768.

The type is common enough on the coinage of Lydia[2]; but Plouton, where his attribute can be made out, regularly carries a sceptre, not a fork. I do not doubt that the specimen figured below has been tooled by some unscrupulous hand.

On Greek soil, then, there is no relevant evidence. It remains to enquire whether Italy is equally barren.

E. Braun in 1837 drew attention to the fact that Rafael and

[1] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 485 ('Neptunus...rapiens Nympham Amymonem') pl. 21, 28.

[2] See *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 393 Index, F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* Genf—Leipzig 1897 p. 209 Index.

other painters represented Pluto with a two-pronged fork in his hand, and conjectured that this detail must have been taken from ancient monuments since lost[1]. F. G. Welcker in 1851[2], and again in 1857[3], confirmed his opinion, citing definite works of renaissance art in which Pluto is so portrayed[4]. These scholars and others following in their steps were also able to name a certain number of would-be classical monuments in support of their contention. But a more rigorous criticism would have curtailed or cancelled the list. Thus a statuette of Italian marble in the Pio-Clementino collection shows Pluto enthroned: he wears on his head a *modius* decorated with oak-leaves and acorns; he has at his right side a three-headed Cerberus, and in his left hand a two-pronged fork. But, as Visconti indicates, the fork together with the hand that holds it is a modern restoration[5]. Again, a desk-shaped terra cotta at Woburn Abbey has its slanting surface adorned with three bearded heads wearing the *modius*: they are characterised as Poseidon, Zeus, and Plouton by the attributes added below on the front—a trident, a thunderbolt, and a two-pronged fork. Beneath the thunderbolt is an inscription in raised letters:



Fig. 769.

Diis propi-	To the propitious gods
M· Herennii	of Marcus Herennius.
vivatis	Long life to you[6].

Replicas of this curious monument have been reported from Vienna[7], Paris[8], and Würzburg[9]. Unfortunately their genuineness is far from established[10]. Finally, a two-pronged fork figures among the amulets on a Tarentine cake-mould in the British Museum[11]. O. Jahn, who published this mould in 1855, thought that the fork might be a symbol of Hades, but regarded it as doubtful[12].

[1] E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1837 ix. 274.

[2] Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iii. 95.

[3] Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 630 f. n. 28.

[4] See also J. Addison *Classic Myths in Art* London 1905 pp. 25, 29.

[5] Visconti *Mus. Pie-Clem.* ii. 17 ff. pl. 1, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 440 no. 1.

[6] A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 745 Woburn Abbey no. 182.

[7] Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 630 n. 28.

[8] F. Wieseler in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1859 xvii Anz. p. 115* f. Pourtalès—Gorgier collection no. 826.

[9] A. Michaelis *op. cit.* p. 745.

[10] Michaelis described the Woburn Abbey specimen as 'new': Dubois, Wieseler, and Gerhard doubted the antiquity of those from Paris and Würzburg.

[11] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 446 no. E 129, *supra* p. 131 n. 1 no. (1).

[12] O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1854 p. 52 n. 93 pl. 5, 3.

The failure of the proofs so far considered throws into relief the one valid piece of evidence that has been adduced[1]. At Urbs Salvia (*Urbisaglia*) in Picenum there came to light in 1853 portions of an ancient Roman aqueduct. Near it the year after were found four *tegulae mammatae*, which seem to have been used as covering tiles for the channel. When placed in position they had been painted, apparently by some encaustic process, with a series of figures representing, from left to right, Iuno (?), Iupiter, Minerva, and Victoria. To judge from the style, these deities were referable to early imperial times. And there can be little doubt that they were intended to protect the water of the aqueduct against all contamination. We are concerned only with the central figure of the Capitoline triad (fig. 770). Iupiter, with a violet mantle draped over his ochre body, confronts us fairly bristling with weapons: he has a thunderbolt and a trident in his left hand, and a two-pronged fork in his right, while a dolphin appears at his side. Clearly he is conceived as sky-god (thunderbolt), sea-god (trident, dolphin), and earth-god (fork) rolled into one—a deity competent to keep all evil at a distance. He is accompanied by the inscription IOVE · IVTOR ·, 'to Iupiter *the Helper*[2].'

J. Schmidt, to whom we are indebted for the first publication of this interesting tile, thinks[3] that Iupiter as earth-god got his fork from the Etruscan Charon[4]. But O. Waser in his monograph on Charon recognises no such attribute[5]. We cannot even admit the contention of J. A. Ambrosch that at least one Etruscan sepulchral relief equips a demon of the Underworld with a pitch-fork[6]. The ecclesiastical paintings of the middle ages did so[7]. But the alleged Etruscan example is illusory: the supposed fork is merely a flaming torch[8]. Again, we shall hardly venture to connect

[1] G. Schmidt 'Tre mattoni dipinti di Urbisaglia' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880 lii. 59—73, *Mon. d. Inst.* xi pl. 17, 1—3, *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 374 fig. 6. Length 0.47^{m}; breadth 0.31^{m}; thickness 0.05^{m} (nos. 1, 2), 0.045^{m} (no. 3).

[2] Th. Mommsen in *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ix no. 5531, followed by Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3031, reads *Iove Iutori*. But Schmidt *loc. cit.* p. 63 n. 2 is positive that he has transcribed the lettering with absolute accuracy. In any case *Iove Iutor(i)* must be taken as a dative case: cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi no. 4766, 11 f. = Dessau *op. cit.* no. 4911, 11 f. (near Spoletium) *Iove bovid* | *piaclum datod*, *ib.* 15 f. *Iovei bovid piaclum* | *datod*.

[3] Schmidt *loc. cit.* p. 67 f.

[4] E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1837 ix. 256, 257, 274, G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*[3] London 1883 ii. 192.

[5] O. Waser *Charon, Charun, Charos* Berlin 1898 p. 80 ff.

[6] J. A. Ambrosch *De Charonte Etrusco* Vratislaviae 1837 pp. 15, 18.

[7] *Supra* p. 136 n. 4 pl. viii.

[8] F. Inghirami *Monumenti etruschi o di etrusco nome* Poligrafia Fiesolana 1821 i. 284 ff. pl. 32, O. Waser *op. cit.* p. 142 no. 32, G. Dennis *op. cit.*[3] ii. 183 f. Similarly the bearded personage, who wears a large hat inscribed ICTO and carries 'un bastone bifor-



Fig. 770.

cuto in cima,' on a red-figured *kratêr* noted by G. Henzen in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1856 p. 41 f. is not Plouton with a forked sceptre (*id. ib.* p. 42 n. 1, F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 632), but Hermes with his *caduceus*, perhaps wrongly inscribed [ΗΦΑ]ΙCΤΟ[C].

Iupiter with the Getic Gebeleizis, whose name conceivably meant 'the god with a Fork[1].' Still less shall we maintain that he took over this implement from the fork-bearing figures of early Sardinia[2]. For most of these little bronzes are demonstrable forgeries[3].

Brushing aside such inadequate hypotheses, we approach the problem along other lines. The Etruscans believed in lightnings that sprang from the ground (*fulgura inferna*[4], *fulmina infera* or *terrena*[5]), wielded presumably by some chthonian deity[6]. And C. O. Thulin, the chief modern exponent of their lightning-lore, argues that the Etruscan word for 'lightning' was rendered by the Latin *bidens*[7]. Antecedently that is probable enough. 'Forked lightning,' as we call it, might well be represented by a lightning-fork. Moreover, the Romans, who in all matters of divination relied upon the wisdom of Etruria, habitually spoke of a place struck by lightning as *bidental*[8]. Hence H. Usener infers that they must have symbolised the flash as a *bidens* or 'two-pronged

[1] *Supra* p. 227 n. 4. For a better reading and rendering of the Getic name see *infra* p. 822 f.

[2] Le Cte A. de La Marmora *Voyage en Sardaigne*[2] Paris 1839—1857 Atlas pl. 17 ff., E. Gerhard *Über die Kunst der Phönicier* Berlin 1848 p. 38 f. pl. 5, 1 and 7.

[3] Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 65.

[4] A. Caecina *ap.* Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 2. 49. 3. *Supra* p. 641 n. 3.

[5] A. Caecina *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 138.

[6] C. O. Thulin *Die etruskische Disciplin* i *Die Blitzlehre* Göteborg 1906 p. 47.

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[8] G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 429 ff.



Fig. 770.

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fork[1].' True, several of the ancient grammarians expressly derive the term *bidental* from the fact that sheep (*bidentes*) were sacrificed on the spot[2]. But that explanation is rejected by Pomponius Porphyrio[3] (*s.* iii A.D.); and the learned scholiast on Persius couples it with another, namely, that the thunderbolt itself had two teeth[4]. Probably sheep with their two prominent fore-teeth[5] were sacrificed at the *bidental* just because their peculiarity connected them in the sacerdotal mind with the two-toothed lightning.

In short, it would appear that Iupiter on the Picentine tile has borrowed his *bidens* from an Etruscan god of the Underworld—the Etruscan bident being the exact counterpart of the Greek trident[6] in its original character of lightning-fork. If we may assume, as we are almost certainly entitled to do, that the Etruscans themselves hailed from Lydia, it becomes highly probable that the bident of Italy and the trident of Greece were respectively descended from the bipartite and tripartite forms of Mesopotamian lightning[7].

(ε) Zeus *Keraunobólos, Keraúnios; Astrapaîos, Astrápton.*

As lord of the lightning Zeus was saluted by the poets with a variety of sounding epithets, which need not here detain us[8].

[1] H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 22 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 490).

A Greek parallel perhaps underlies Aristoph. *av.* 1239 f. ὅπως μή σου γένος παν-ώλεθρον | Διὸς μακέλλῃ πᾶν ἀναστρέψῃ Δίκη with schol. *ad loc.* τοῦτό φησι παρὰ τὸ Σοφόκλειον "χρυσῇ μακέλλῃ Ζηνὸς ἐξαναστραφῇ," where Fritzsche's ingenious cj. ἐν Χρύσῃ is accepted by A. Nauck (Soph. *frag.* 659) and A. C. Pearson (Soph. *frag.* 727 Jebb). Retaining the text with W. Dindorf (Soph. *frag.* 767), we may adopt the suggestion of F. Ellendt *Lexicon Sophocleum* Regimontii Prussorum 1835 ii. 48 '*fulmen* intellexit coruscum cum ligonis dentibus comparatum.' Mr A. D. Nock suggests to me (Dec. 15, 1921) that Aristophanes was thinking rather of Aisch. *Ag.* 525 f. Τροίαν κατασκάψαντα τοῦ δικηφόρου | Διὸς μακέλλῃ, τῇ κατείργασται πέδον, or possibly of both the Aeschylean and the Sophoclean passages. As to the shape of a μάκελλα opinion varied: Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 109, 33 μάκελλαν δίκελλαν, κακῶς· ἔστι γὰρ τὸ πλατὺ σκαφεῖον, Hesych. *s.v.* μακέλλη· δίκελλα. πλατὺ σκαφίον..., Phot. *lex. s.v.* μάκελλα· δίκελλα, Souid. *s.v.* μάκελλα· δίκελλα, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 7 μάκελλα δὲ ἡ μονόθεν κέλλουσα ἤγουν τέμνουσα, δίκελλα δὲ ἡ διχόθεν=Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1235, 56 f.

[2] Paul. ex Fest. p. 33, 10 f. Müller, p. 30, 17 ff. Lindsay, P. Nigidius Figulus *de extis frag.* 39[a] Funaioli *ap.* Non. Marc. p. 75, 23 f. Lindsay, Fronto *de diff. vocab.* p. 523, 24 f. Keil.

[3] Porphyr. *in* Hor. *art. poet.* 471, cp. Acron *ib.*

[4] Schol. Pers. *sat.* 2. 27.

[5] F. Olck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 427.

[6] Bident and trident are sometimes exchanged. Sen. *H. f.* 564 ff. makes Hades attack Herakles with a trident (*telum tergemina cuspide praeferens*). *En revanche* the late schol. Augustan. *in* Eur. *Phoen.* 188 arms Poseidon with a bident (τριαινά ἐστι τὸ δόρυ < οὐ (ins. L. C. Valckenaer)> τὸ ἓν σίδηρον ὀρθόν, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον στρεβλόν).

[7] *Supra* p. 764 ff.

[8] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1111 n. 3 has collected examples of the following: ἀργικέραυνος, κεραύνιος, κερανοβρόντης, τερπικέραυνος; ἀστεροπήτης, ἀστράπιος, στεροπηγερέτα, φοινικοστερόπας.

Of greater moment are the titles of similar meaning sanctioned by actual cult; for these afford proof that the zoïstic conception of Zeus as the downward-flashing bolt passed into the anthropomorphic conception of him as hurler of the same. Thus Mantineia in Greek times worshipped Zeus *Keraunós*, 'the Thunderbolt[1].' But Tegea in Roman times worshipped Zeus *Keraunobólos*, 'the Hurler of the Thunderbolt[2].'

As the somewhat vaguer[3] god 'of the Thunderbolt' (*Keraúnios*) Zeus was recognised in literature[4] and had numerous cults from Palmyra in the east to Rome in the west[5].

[1] *Supra* p. 12 f.

[2] *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 37 [οἵδε νικήσαντες ἐν Τεγέᾳ] | ἐν ἀγ(ῶ)σι τοῖς Ὀλυμπιακοῖς | τῷ Μεγίστῳ καὶ Κεραυνοβόλῳ Διὶ | ἀνατε(τ)θειμένοις | ἐκομίσαντο τοὺς στεφάν(ο)υς, which together with no. 36=C. T. Newton in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1883 ii. 11 ff. no. 156=F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 351 ff. no. 1231=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 888. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 4 f. would identify the Tegeate Zeus Κεραυνοβόλος with Zeus Κλάριος (*infra* Append. B Arkadia). Cp. Loukian. *philopatr.* 4 ὁ βροντοποιὸς καὶ κεραυνοβόλος σου Ζεύς.

[3] (1) A tomb-inscription from Kition in Kypros associates Κεραύνιος with Κεραυνία (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii no. 2739 Explic. p. 635 κ]εχολωμένου τύχοι τοῦ Κεραυνίου. ἂν τις αὐτὴν ἄψῃ, κ[ε]χ[ο]λωμένης τύχοι· ἂν τι[ς] βάλῃ κόπρια, κεχολωμένης τύχοι τῆς Κεραυνίας). O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1116 takes Κεραύνιος to be Zeus, Κεραυνία an unknown goddess. W. Drexler *ib.* ii. 1117 detects Rešef Ḥeṣ and Anat. H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 14 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 482) recognises 'den Sondergott...mit dem weiblichen Seitenstück.'

(2) A fragmentary inscription at *El-Mâlikîye* (*El-Malka*) in Syria mentions Κεραύνιος only (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* etc. iii no. 2195 Explic. p. 511 [....]ον | Μαλέ|χου ἐπ|όησε|ν Κερ|αυνίῳ on a small *stèle* broken at the top).

(3) A dedication built into the fortress-wall of Mytilene runs: Ζωσίμη Διευνόρου (?) | Θεῶ Κεραυνίω Ὑψίστω | εὐχὴν ἀνέθηκεν (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 126). Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 267 infers from the use of Ὕψιστος that this was an oriental cult.

[4] Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 17, Orph. *h. Zeus* 15. 9 (cp. *supra* p. 12 n. 3), Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 Ἐπίθετα Διός (52) κεραυνίου, 266 Ἐπίθετα Διός (47) κεραυνίου, 274 Ἐπίθετα Διός·...κεραύνιος, 281 Ἐπίθετα τοῦ Διός...κεραύνιος. Cp. *Anth. Pal.* 7. 49. 2 (Bianor) Ζανὶ κεραυνείῳ (*supra* p. 9).

[5] (1) Palmyra (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4501=Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 631 a dedication of Hadrianic date Διὶ Μεγίστῳ Κεραυ|νίῳ κ.τ.λ.).

(2) Damaskos (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4520, 3 ff. ἱερεὺ[ς] | Διὸς Κεραυ|νίο[υ] ἑαυτῷ | τὸ μνῆμα inscription of a rock-cut tomb).

(3) Seleukeia Pieria (*infra* p. 809 n. 6 f.).

(4) Kition in Kypros (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2641, 2 ff. Διὶ Κεραυνίωι---| Ἀφροδίτηι, πόλει, | δήμωι, ὁμονοίαι, | κ.τ.λ. on a marble base of Roman date. See also *supra* n. 3 no. (1)).

(5) Phrygia (G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884 viii. 503 publishes an astragalomantic inscription on a marble block at Ormelle (*Tefeny*), of which face iii, 7 reads [Διὸς Κ]εραυνίου).

(6) Lydia (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3446=Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii no. 1674, 3 ff. Διὶ Κεραυνίῳ ἀθλ.|βο(λ)ηθέντων σω|μάτων δύο κ.τ.λ., where K. Keil in *Philologus* 1863 Suppl. ii. 609 ff. proposes ἀστροβοληθέντων in the sense of 'struck by lightning' and H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 15 n. 1 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 483 n. 44) would read ἀσβοληθέντων, 'scorched.' In any case Keil *loc. cit.* saw

rightly that this votive altar, at *Ghieuldiz* near *Kula*, was dedicated to Zeus Κεραύνιος by a master who had escaped when two of his slaves were struck: cp. Suet. *Aug.* 29. M. Clerc in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886 x. 401 no. 4 Διὸς | Κερανν[ί]ου | δύναμις a stone at Thyateira bearing this inscription with a thunderbolt carved above it. The stone probably marks a spot struck by lightning, which, as being a power proceeding from Zeus, is here called his δύναμις. G. Radet *ib.* 1887 xi. 469 f. no. 36 Διὶ Κερανν[ί]ῳ | Τειμόθεος | ὑπὲρ τοῦ θρέψαντος | εὐχήν on a small marble pillar at *Yaguerdi* near Thyateira. J. Keil—A. von Premerstein in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1911 ii Abh. p. 17 no. 24 [Σω]κράτης Διὶ Κεραυ[νί]ῳ εὐχήν on a broken block of bluish marble at *Sümetdji* near Thyateira, in lettering of *s.* ii A.D., *cid. ib.* 1914 i Abh. p. 12 no. 11 Ϛ ἔτους τη', μη(νὸς) Γορ[πιαίου] δ ἀ(πίοντος). Διὶ [illegible] Ἀερίῳ Ἀμμιανὸς σαλτουάριος εὐχαριστήριον Ϛ at *Topalar*, below a relief representing an eagle (the appellative Ἀερίῳ is on an erasure of Κε ραυνίῳ), p. 13 no. 13 [-----] | [--Δ]ὶ Κερανν[ί]ῳ at *Oraklar*, two hours S. of *Borlu*).

(7) Priene (F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Inschriften von Priene* Berlin 1906 no. 113, 80 ff. [τ]οῦ τε μηνὸς τοῦ | Ἀρτεμισιῶνος τῆι δ[ω]δεκάτηι παραστήσας τὴν εἰθισμένη[ν] γείνεσθαι τῶι Διὶ | τῶι Κερανν[ί]ωι θυσίαν μετέδωκεν μὲν τῶν ἱερῶν τοί[ς] τε πολίταις καὶ παροίκοις καὶ κατοίκοις καὶ ξένοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ δούλοις, τοὺς δὲ β[ο]ηλειτὰς καὶ τὰς συναρχί[α]ς καὶ ἐδείπνισεν ἐν τῶ[ι] [τ]οῦ θεοῦ τόπωι after 84 B.C.).

(8) Pergamon (M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* Berlin 1890 i. 134 no. 232 Διὶ Κερα[υ]νίῳ | --- on a marble base with oak-wreath and fillets. *ib.* ii. 243 no. 329 Δ[ιὶ] | Κερανν[ι]ῳ | Γ. Ἰούλιος | Δῶρος on a small altar of white marble).

(9) Nikopolis on the Danube, in Moesia Inferior (A. von Domaszewski in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1886 x. 242 no. 7, 2 ff. Διὶ Κερανν[ί]ῳ | εὐχαριστοῦ (*sic*) | ἡ πόλις ἀνέστησεν | κ.τ.λ. on an altar of 233 A.D. at *Jeni-Nikup*).

(10) Thasos (E. L. Hicks in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1887 viii. 425 no. 29 = S. Reinach *Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 256 = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* viii no. 362 Διὸς Κεραυνίου followed by a carved thunderbolt).

(11) Kalymna (C. T. Newton in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1883 ii. 99 f. no. 321, 8 ff. τὸν πάντων | [καρ]πῶν τ[ὸν δ]ηνεκῆ σωτῆρα Δί[α] | [Κ]εραύνιον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς θε[οὺς] κ.τ.λ. on a marble *stele* found in the temple of Apollon; lettering crowded and late).

(12) Melos (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. no. 3544 p. 1846 cited by K. Keil in *Philologus* 1863 Suppl. ii. 611 f. Νέρωνι (Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ) Σεβασ[τ]ῷ | Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος [Γ]λαῦκος | ἱερεὺς Διὸς Κερανν[ί]ου καὶ θεῶν οὐρανίων ὑπηρέτης περιοδονίκης Διὶ καὶ θεοῖς οὐρανίοις | ἰδίαις δαπάναις ἱερὸν καὶ ἄσυλον Σεβαστῆον).

(13) Elasson in Thessaly (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1275, A. S. Arvanitopoullos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1913 p. 162 fig. 16).

(14) Argos (P. Roussel—J. Hatzfeld in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1909 xxxiii. 510 no. 27 a small round altar of marble inscribed in late lettering Διὸς | Κερα[υ]νίου).

(15) Olympia (Paus. 5. 14. 7 ἔνθα δὲ τῆς οἰκίας τὰ θεμέλιά ἐστι τῆς Οἰνομάου, δύο ἐνταῦθά εἰσι βωμοί, Διός τε Ἐρκείου—τοῦτον ὁ Οἰνόμαος ἐφαίνετο αὐτὸς οἰκοδομήσασθαι—, τῷ δὲ Κερανν[ί]ῳ Διὶ ὕστερον ἐποιήσαντο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν βωμόν, ὅτ' ἐς τοῦ Οἰνομάου τὴν οἰκίαν κατέσκηψεν ὁ κεραυνός).

(16) Alban Mt (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1118 Διὶ Κερανν[ί]ωι on a rude altar found at the foot of the mountain).

(17) Rome (P. Gauckler in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1907 p. 148 ff. records an altar in white marble (height 0·92^{m}), found in the grove of Furrina on the east slope of the Ianiculum, adorned with two eagles, two Ammon-masks, two *bucrania*, festoons, ewer, *patera*, *Gorgóneion*, etc. and inscribed Διὶ | Κερανν[ί]ῳ | Ἄρτεμις | ἡ καὶ Σιδωνία | Κυπρία | ἐξ ἐπιταγῆς | ἀνέθηκεν | καὶ Νύνφες (*sic*) | Φορρίνες (*sic*), *i.e.* a dedication to Zeus Κεραύνιος and the Nymphae Forrinae by a Phoenician woman of Kypros, called Artemis the Sidonian. The Gorgon's head perhaps symbolises the *Forrinae* assimilated to the *Furiae*. See further G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 383).

(18) Sicily (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 2407, 3 *a—d*: see *infra* p. 812 ff.).

Of these the most instructive is that of Seleukeia in Syria, the port of Antiocheia. Here—says Appian[1]—Seleukos i Nikator, when founding the city, followed the guidance of a thunderbolt, regarding it as a 'Zeus-sign' (*Diosemía*)[2]. He therefore bade the citizens treat the thunderbolt as a god: which they did, worshipping it with ritual and hymns. Probably the object of their veneration was an actual bolt wrought of gold, like those that were borne along in the great pageant of Ptolemy ii Philadelphos[3]. In favour of this supposition is the fact that at Seleukeia in the reign of Seleukos iv



Fig. 771.



Fig. 772.

Philopator (187—175 B.C.) certain priests were annually appointed to act as *keraunophóroi* or 'thunderbolt-bearers[4].' Silver and bronze coins of Seleukeia from *c.* 108 B.C. onwards have as their reverse type (fig. 771) a large thunderbolt bound with a fillet and placed on a cushioned stool[5]. That this was the missile of Zeus *Keraúnios* appears, not only from a gloss in Hesychios[6], but also from sundry bronze coins on which the same type is accompanied by the name of the god (fig. 772)[7].

[1] Appian. *Syr.* 58. [2] *Supra* p. 4 ff.

[3] Athen. 202 E *κεραυνοὺς χρυσοῦς δεκαπήχεις δύο καὶ στέφανον δρυὸς διάλιθον.*

[4] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4458, 23 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 245, 47 *κεραυνοφόροι* | *κ.τ.λ.*

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. pp. lxxii f., 270 ff. pl. 32, 6—8, 10, pl. 33, 2, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 213 ff. pl. 74, 29, 31, Anson *Num. Gr.* iv. 55 f. nos. 568—578 pl. 10 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 782 f. Fig. 771 is from a tetradrachm in my collection: ΣΕΛΕVΚΕΩΝ ΤΗΣΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑVΤΟΝΟΜΟV; beneath stool ΗΙ (the year 18, reckoned from the beginning of the city's autonomy in 108 or 109 B.C.); in field monogram.

Bronze coins of Demetrios iii Philopator (95—88 B.C.), probably struck at Seleukeia, have *rev.* a thunderbolt bound with a fillet and placed on a low stool (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings etc. p. 101 pl. 26, 11, Anson *Num. Gr.* iv. 55 no. 567, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 114 nos. 2—4, E. Babelon *Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la bibliothèque nationale* Les Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène Paris 1890 p. 207 nos. 1571—1573 pl. 28, 5).

[6] Hesych. *s.v. κεραύνιος·...καὶ Ζεὺς ἐν Σελευκίᾳ.*

[7] Rasche *Lex. Num.* viii. 456 Æ 2 autonomous, 470 Antoninus Pius, 471 Æ 3 Septimius Severus, Æ 2 Caracalla, xi. 1258. W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins*

With these coins of Seleukeia must be compared bronze pieces of Diokaisareia in Kilikia, struck by Iulia Domna (figs. 773, 774)[1] and M. Iulius Philippus the younger[2]. Their reverse type shows a high-backed throne: its foreposts are surmounted by two lions, and on its box-like seat is a winged thunderbolt erect in a *quasi*-human attitude. The lions suggest that Zeus had here taken over the throne of the Anatolian mother-goddess[3] or her consort[4]. And the thunder-



Fig. 773.

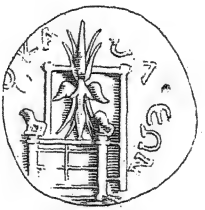


Fig. 774.

bolt was appropriate, not only to Zeus, but also to the reigning representative of the *gens Iulia*[5].

H. Usener has collected analogous designs from the coinage and sculpture of the west[6]. A silver coin of Vespasian issued in the year 77 or 78 A.D. represents a winged thunderbolt lying on a draped stool[7]. This has been regarded[8] as an allusion to Vespasian's rebuilding of the temple of Iupiter *Capitolinus*[9], which contained a golden thunderbolt of fifty pounds' weight presented on the advice of the *decemviri* in 217 B.C.[10] But the type probably hints that Vespasian himself was Iupiter's vicegerent[11]. Titus in 80 A.D. issued gold[12] and silver coins with the same design (fig. 775)[13]. Trajan, a

Galatia, etc. p. 276 no. 56 Caracalla pl. 33, 6 (=my fig. 772) gives a different description of the type ('Large thunderbolt of Zeus Keraunios resting on roof of shrine [within which, sacred stone of Zeus Kasios?]') and is followed by Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 783, Anson *Num. Gr.* iv. 57 no. 587 pl. 11: CЄΛЄVK... [ZЄV]C KΘPAVNIOC.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. pp. lvi, 73 pl. 13, 1 (=my fig. 773), Brüder Egger *Auktions-Katalog xlvi* Griechische Münzen (Sammlung des Herrn Theodor Prowe, Moskau, u.a.) Wien 1914 p. 103 no. 2220 (misread ...OΛBЄΩN) pl. 36 (=my fig. 774). ΑΔΡΔΙΟΚΑΙ CΑΡЄΩN='Αδρ[ιανῶν] Διοκαισαρέων.

[2] Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* iii. 577 f. no. 197.

[3] *Supra* i. 553, ii. 406 ff. n. 0, 552 n. 1.

[4] *Supra* p. 550 ff.

[5] *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 363, 371, *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 286 f., 308 ff.

[6] H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 6 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 475 f.).

[7] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 299 pl. 10, 40, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 400 fig. Not recognised by Cohen, and therefore suspect.

[8] Morell. *loc. cit.*

[9] *Supra* i. 44 f.

[10] Liv. 22. 1.

[11] *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 313.

[12] Morell. *op. cit.* ii. 353 pl. 6, 54, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 455 no. 315.

[13] Morell. *op. cit.* ii. 366 pl. 8, 70, Cohen *op. cit.*[2] i. 455 nos. 314, 316. Fig. 775 is from a specimen in my collection.

would-be Iupiter[1], 'restored' the types of Vespasian[2] and Titus[3] in gold. Domitian, who was often called Iupiter[4] by the poets of his day and sometimes *Tonans*[5], naturally made the device his own[6]. And Antoninus Pius, another pretender to the sky-god's



Fig. 775.



Fig. 776.

honours[7], issued silver coins of similar stamp (fig. 776)[8], on which however the thunderbolt is unwinged. Lastly[9], a relief in the museum at Mantua (fig. 778)[10] portrays the *regalia*, as it were, of

[1] *Supra* p. 100 n. 6.

[2] Morell. *op. cit.* ii. 274 pl. 5, 28, Cohen *op. cit.*[2] i. 419 no. 650, *Collection de Ponton d'Amécourt* Paris 1887 pl. 6, 149.

[3] Cohen *op. cit.*[1] i. 380 no. 318 pl. 16, *ib.*[2] i. 462 no. 403 fig.

[4] Stat. *silv.* i. 6. 27, Mart. *ep.* 9. 28. 10, 9. 86. 8, 14. 1. 2, cp. Dionys. *per.* 210 *οὓς Διὸς οὐκ ἀλέγοντας ἀπώλεσεν Αὐσονὶς αἰχμή*.

[5] Mart. *ep.* 6. 10. 9, 7. 56. 4 (*supra* i. 751 n. 8), 7. 99. 1, 9. 39. 1, 9. 65. 1, 9. 86. 7, 10. 51. 13.

Bronze coins of Domitian, issued 85—95 A.D., show him standing towards the left, in military attire, with a thunderbolt in his right hand and a headless spear in his left, while a palm-bearing Victory places a wreath on his head (Morell. *op. cit.* ii. 461 pl. 15, 23 and 24, Cohen *op. cit.*[2] i. 512 nos. 509—515).

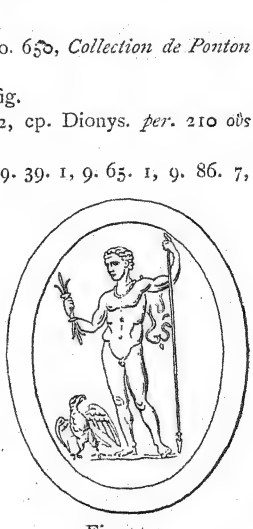


Fig. 777.

An engraved cornelian in my possession (fig. 777. Scale $\frac{2}{1}$) represents Domitian (?) as a youthful Iupiter standing in a similar pose, with the same attributes in his hands, an *aigís* round his neck, and an eagle at his feet.

[6] Morell. *op. cit.* ii. 436 pl. 9, 28 (silver of 81 A.D.), 437 pl. 9, 33 and 37 (silver of 81 A.D.), 438 pl. 10, 7 (silver of 82 A.D.), Cohen *op. cit.*[2] i. 475 nos. 61 (gold of 80 A.D.) and 62 (silver of 80 A.D.), 517 no. 554 (silver of 80 A.D.), 518 nos. 574 (gold of 81 A.D.) and 575 (silver of 81 A.D.), 519 no. 597 (silver of 82 A.D.).

[7] *Supra* p. 101 n. 5.

[8] Cohen *op. cit.*[2] ii. 304 no. 345 (silver of 145 A.D.). I figure a specimen in my collection.

[9] A relief said to have come from the amphitheatre at Rome (Gruter *Inscr. ant. tot. orb. Rom.* i. 7 no. 1 with pl. after Boissard *Antiqq.* iii. 128, Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 32 f. pl. 12 no. 5) amplifies the coin-type: an eagle is perched on the thunderbolt, and the throne is flanked by a pair of globes. The accompanying inscription (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 3139*) purports to record a vow made by Iulius Pudens Severianus to Iupiter *Optimus Maximus* and to Iuno *Regina* for the health of M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus and Iulia Augusta, *i.e.* Caracalla and his mother, or Elagabalos and one of his wives (Iulia Paula? Iulia Aquilia Severa?). But the whole monument appears to be an impudent forgery (cp. *supra* i. 714 n. 4).

[10] D. G. Labus *Museo della Reale Accademia di Mantova* Mantova 1830 i. 69 f. pl. 20 (=my fig. 778), E. Braun *Vorschule der Kunstmythologie* Gotha 1854 p. 5 pl. 6.

the king of gods and men. On a stool or couch, the posts of which were once topped by a pair of kneeling Giants, is spread the royal mantle. Upon this lies a great winged thunderbolt; beyond

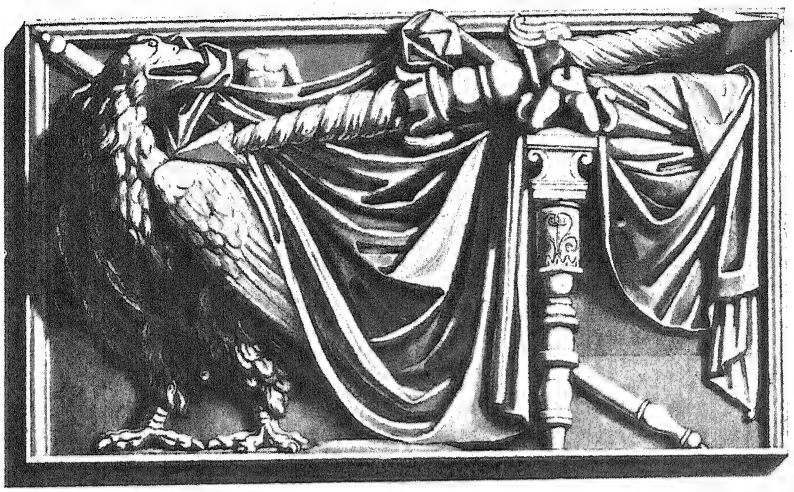


Fig. 778.

it is seen a transverse sceptre; and a powerful eagle mounts guard over all.

Sling bullets of lead marked with a thunderbolt and inscribed—

Victory of Zeus *Keraúnios*—

have occasionally been found in Sicily (fig. 779)[1]. They were doubt-

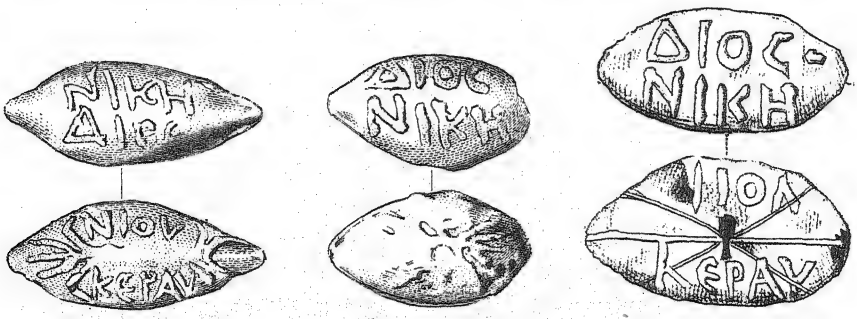


Fig. 779, *a*—*c*.

less used in the second Servile War (103—100 B.C.) by the insurgent

[1] *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 2407, 3 *a*—*d*. See further A. Salinas 'Catalogo di ghiande missili siciliane' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1878 l. 32 f. nos. 6 and 7 pl. F (=my fig. 779, *a*, *b*): ΝΙΚΗ | ΔΙΟC || ΚΕΡΑV|ΝΙΟV and ΔΙΟC | ΝΙΚΗ || [ΚΕΡΑVΝΙΟV]. Both bullets are in the Museum at Palermo. T. Bergk *Inschriften römischer Schleudergeschosse* Leipzig 1876 pp. 95 ff., 134 no. 143 pl. 2, 39 (=my fig. 779, *c*) adds a similar example from Cumae in Campania: ΔΙΟC | ΝΙΚΗ || ΚΕΡΑΥ|ΝΙΟΥ (retrograde).

slaves[1], who attempted thus to invest their puny missiles with the terrors of the thunderbolt[2]. The slave-leader Athenion, who posed



Fig. 780.

[1] G. Kaibel in the *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* p. 608.

[2] For the thunderbolt as a device on sling-bullets see also *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 2407, 4 *b*, *c* (with inscription ΔΙΟC | ΝΙΚΗ), G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1610 fig. 3624 (with inscription ACIPE (?) for *accipe*, retrograde; found in Spain, and probably used in the war of Caesar against Pompey, cp. *bell. Hisp.* 13 and 18), fig. 3628 (with inscription ΔΕΞΑ[Ι], cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8529, a; found on the Akropolis at Athens), *British Museum: A Guide to the exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman Life* London 1908 pp. 99, 105 no. 220 fig. 86 (with inscription ΖΩΙΛΟΥ; found on the battle-field of Marathon), and many others listed by C. Zangemeister 'Glandes plumbeae Latine inscriptae' in the *Ephemeris epigraphica* 1885 vi p. xlv *s.v.* '*fulmen*.'

as king[1] with purple robe, silver sceptre, and regal diadem[2] was a Cilician by birth, and had perhaps brought the cult of the lightning-god with him from Asia Minor.

In view of the foregoing examples it may be maintained that the Graeco-Roman age witnessed, not indeed a recrudescence of the old zoïstic conception of Zeus *Keraunós*[3], but the rise and spread of a new theistic conception—that of Zeus *Keraúnios*, a deity too sublime to be represented in human form[4], whose potency might yet be inferred from the shape of his dreaded weapon. In a word, the thunderbolt, once a primitive fetish, had become, not merely the attribute of a human, but the symbol of a superhuman, power.

At Tegea in Arkadia there have from time to time been found numerous small four-sided pillars of Doliana marble, capped in each case by a diminutive pyramid and often inscribed with the

An eagle on a thunderbolt is the device of a sling-bullet published by W. Vischer 'Antike Schleudergeschosse' in his *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig 1878 ii. 262 f. no. 32 pl. 14=G. Fougères *loc. cit.* fig. 3626 (with inscription [Δ]ΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ, perhaps Demetrios Poliorketes).

[1] Appian. *Mithr.* 59.

[2] Flor. 2. 7. 10.

[3] A fragmentary relief from Emesa (*Homs*), now at Brussels (F. Cumont *Catalogue des sculptures & inscriptions antiques* (*monuments lapidaires*) *des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*[2] Bruxelles 1913 p. 68 ff. no. 55 fig.: height 0·41 m, breadth 0·32 m), represents a series of at least four Syrian deities, from left to right—(*a*) a divinity of whom one foot only remains; (*b*) a god in Roman military costume, with a spear in his right hand, a thunderbolt (?) in his left, and a rayed *nimbus* round his head; (*c*) a veiled goddess, with a javelin or sceptre in her left hand, a necklace round her throat, and an oval shield partly hidden by her head; (*d*) a god in oriental military costume, with a lance in his right hand, a circular shield on his left arm, and a turban (?) round his head. Above (*c*) and (*d*) are the dedications ΑΘΗΝΑ and ΚΕΡΑΥ|ΝΩ. Below (*a*)—(*d*) runs a longer inscription: [----]λῳ, Ἰαρεβώλῳ, Ἀγλιβώλῳ, καὶ Σε[....] | [----] ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ κὲ τ[ῶν ἰδίων]. This has been variously completed. S. Ronzevalle in the *Rev. Arch.* 1902 i. 387 ff. and in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1902 p. 235 ff. with pl. (=my fig. 780), 1903 p. 276 ff. proposes: [θεοῖς πατρῴοις Βή]λῳ, Ἰαριβώλῳ, Ἀγλιβώλῳ καὶ Σεμ[ιράμει]. | [ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος] ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ κὲ τ[ῶν τέκνων (?) ἀνέθηκεν]. Semiramis is here the goddess Semea or Sima, on whom see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 660 ff. R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 143 f., 1904 i. 206 ff., *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 104 ff. fig. 27 (=Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 163 no. 3), *id. Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam* Paris 1907 p. 130 ff. fig. 28 suggests: [θεοῖς πατρῴοις Βή]λῳ Ἰαριβώλῳ, Ἀγλιβώλῳ || Ἀθηνᾷ, Κεραυνῷ || καὶ Σε[ιμίᾳ] | [ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος] ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ κὲ τ[ῶν τέκνων]. F. Cumont *loc. cit.* would read: [θεοῖς πατρίοις Μαλαχβή?]λῳ, Ἰαρεβώλῳ, Ἀγλιβώλῳ καὶ Σε[ιμίᾳ] | [ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος] ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ (*sic*) κὲ τ[ῶν ἰδίων], but hesitates between Μαλαχβήλῳ, Βήλῳ, and Ἐλαγαβάλῳ. He would identify (*b*) with *Iarhibol*, 'Lord of the Months,' an originally lunar but later solar god of Palmyra (*id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 750 f.), (*c*) perhaps with Seimia, and (*d*) possibly—but not very probably—with some form of *Ba'al* heading the dedication. Amid much that remains uncertain it is clear that Keraunos is here conceived as a god of military aspect, equipped with lance and shield,—a great advance upon primitive zoïsm.

[4] See, however, *supra* p. 808 n. o no. (13).

name of a god or goddess[1]. The oldest of the series is the fifth-century pillar of Zeus *Storpâos* (fig. 781)[2], whose appellative denotes the god 'of the Lightning-flash[3].'

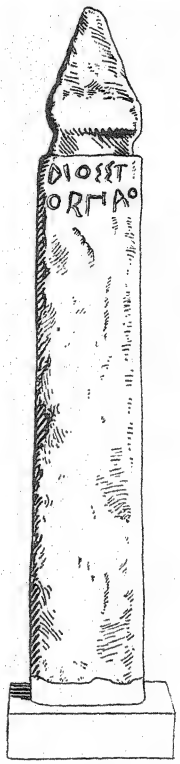


Fig. 781.

Another form of the same title was *Astrapaîos*, applied to Zeus both in literature[4] and in cult. His worship is attested for Bithynia by inscriptions of the second century A.D.[5] At Antandros in Mysia he had a festival lasting more days than one[6]. At Athens there was a hearth (*eschára*) of Zeus *Astrapaîos* on the city wall between the Pythion and the Olympion: here, for three days and nights in each of three successive months, the Pythaïstai watched a place near Phyle known as the Chariot (*Hárma*); if they saw a flash of lightning above it, they had to send a certain sacrifice to Delphoi[7]. The custom must

[1] *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii nos. 59—66, O. Kern *Inscriptiones Graecae* Bonnae 1913 p. x pl. 11, 3, *supra* i. 520 n. 2. Cp. the *kúrbeis* discussed *infra* Append. M.

[2] A. S. Arvanitopoullos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1906 p. 63 f. fig. (inscription only), K. A. Rhomaios *ib.* 1911 p. 150 fig. 1 (=my fig. 781), *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 64 fig. (inscription only). Height: 0·67 m.

[3] Hesych. *s.vv.* στορπάν (so J. Alberti for στορτίαν cod.)· τὴν ἀστραπήν and στροπά (so T. Bergk for στροπή cod.)· ἀστραπή. Παφιοι. See F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Dialekte* Berlin 1921 i. 351.

[4] Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 16 f. (Apul. *de mundo* 37 translates ἀστραπαῖος by *fulgurator*), Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 9, 13 Lang, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 786, 4, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 Ἐπίθετα Διός (6) ἀστραπαίου, 266 Ἐπίθετα Διός (17) ἀστραπαίου. In Orph. *h. Zeus* 15. 9, *h. Zeus Astrápios* 20. 5 metre demands ἀστράπιε, ἀστράπιον for ἀστραπαῖε, ἀστραπαῖον codd.: in the title of the latter hymn E. Abel restored ἀστραπίου for ἀστραπέως codd.

[5] P. E. Legrand in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 539 f. no. 16 (at *Tchelidjik* near Kios) ἀγαθῇι τύχηι, | Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ καὶ Ἀστρα|παίῳ καὶ Δήμητρι Καρ|ποφόρῳ Φίλητος εὐ|χὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν δεσπο|τῶν. καθιερώθη δὲ ὁ | θεὸς ὑπὸ Χαρμιδεανῶν (unknown) | τοῦ δήμου ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ | ἔτει ἐπὶ Τίτου Ἀντωνεί|νου Καίσαρος (138 A.D.), G. Mendel *ib.* 1900 xxiv. 383 f. no. 33 (at *Ieni-Keui* on the northern shore of the lake of Nikaia) [ἀγα]θῇι τύχηι | [---] Ζεὺς Ἀσ(σ)τραπαῖος. | [ὁ] δῆμος ἐτείμησεν Κάσ|σιον Ἀναῖον τὸν ἔκδι|κον κ.τ.λ.

[6] F. Lenormant in the *Rev. Arch.* 1864 ii. 49 ἔδοξε τῇι βουλῇι καὶ τῶι δήμωι | Ἀνταν|δρίων στεφανῶσαι | Πολυκράτην Πολυκράτους | Ἀθηναῖον τῇι πρώτηι τῆς | ἑορτῆς Διὸς Ἀστραπαίου | κ.τ.λ.

[7] Strab. 404 ὡς δ' αὕτως καὶ τὸ Ἄρμα, τῆς Ταναγραϊκῆς κώμη ἔρημος περὶ τὴν Μυκαληττόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου ἅρματος λαβοῦσα τοὔνομα, ἑτέρα οὖσα τοῦ Ἅρματος τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικήν, ὅ ἐστι περὶ Φυλήν, δῆμον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὄμορον τῇ Τανάγρᾳ. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἡ παροιμία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἡ λέγουσα "ὁπόταν δι' Ἅρματος ἀστράψῃ," ἀστραπήν τινα σημειουμένων κατὰ χρησμὸν τῶν λεγομένων Πυθαϊστῶν, βλεπόντων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄρμα καὶ τότε πεμπόντων τὴν θυσίαν εἰς Δελφούς, ὅταν ἀστράψαντα ἴδωσιν· ἐτήρουν δ' ἐπὶ τρεῖς μῆνας, καθ' ἕκαστον μῆνα ἐπὶ τρεῖς

have been an ancient one, for it had already passed into a proverb in the fifth century B.C.[1] Indeed, it not improbably dates back to the time when Zeus the lightning-god was lord of Pytho[2]. Apollon, who took over so much from his predecessors[3], may well have retained the ominous flash of Zeus[4]. As to the ritual of the ensuing sacrifice, inscriptions of the second and first centuries B.C. tell how Pythaïstai of various noble families took first-fruits from Athens to Delphoi, and brought back a sacred tripod on a chariot, together with a priestess called the Fire-bearer[5]. The rites thus practised in

ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας τοῦ Ἀστραπαίου Διός· ἔστι δ' αὕτη ἐν τῷ τείχει μεταξὺ τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου. B. Niese 'Apollodors Commentar zum Schiffskataloge als Quelle Strabo's' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1877 xxxii. 267 ff. showed that Strabon drew his information from Apollodoros' note on the Boeotian Harma (*Il.* 2. 499) in his work *περὶ νεῶν καταλόγου*. Strabon in turn was the source of Steph. Byz. *s.v.* "Αρμα and Eustath. *in Il.* p. 235, 44 ff., p. 266, 33 ff.

[1] *Frag. com. anon.* 110 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 631 f. Meineke) *ap.* Hesych. *ἀστράψῃ διὰ Πυκνός· ἀντὶ τοῦ δι' Ἄρματος.* The subject of *ἀστράψῃ*, as Meineke saw, is probably Perikles in his character of human Zeus: cp. Aristoph. *Ach.* 530 f.

The proverb is recorded by Zenob. 1. 37 (cod. M) *ὅταν δι' Ἄρματος ἀστράψῃ· ἡ παροιμία εἴρηται ἐπὶ τῶν χρονίως γινομένων· ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναῖοι εἰώθασι πέμπειν εἰς Δελφοὺς θυσίαν, τηρήσαντες ἀστραπὴν ἀπό τινος τόπου φανεῖσαν, ὃν Ἄρμα προσαγορεύουσιν* (cp. Souid. *s.v.* "Αρμα, Hesych. *s.vv. ἀστραπὴ δι' Ἄρματος* and *δι' Ἄρματος*, Bekker *anecd.* i. 212, 16 f.), who is known to have epitomised the proverbs of Didymos and Loukillos of Tarrha (Souid. *s.v.* Ζηνόβιος, cp. schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 134). It is used by Plout. *symp.* 5. 5. 2 *οἱ γὰρ σπανίως καὶ "δι' Ἄρματος," ὥς φασιν, ἑστιῶντες κ.τ.λ.*

[2] *Supra* pp. 179 f., 186 ff., 231 ff., 267.

[3] *Supra* pp. 231, 266.

[4] Lightning was occasionally connected with Apollon (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1226 n. 1): see *e.g.* Eur. *Ion* 285 *τιμᾷ σφε* (*sc.* the Long Cliffs on the N. side of the Akropolis at Athens) *Πύθιος ἀστραπαί τε Πύθιαι*; Apollod. 1. 9. 26 *πλέοντες δὲ νυκτὸς σφοδρῷ περιπίπτουσι χειμῶνι. Ἀπόλλων δὲ στὰς ἐπὶ τὰς Μελαντίους δειράς, τοξεύσας τῷ βέλει εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν κατήστραψεν. οἱ δὲ πλησίον ἐθεάσαντο νῆσον, τῷ δὲ παρὰ προσδοκίαν ἀναφανῆναι προσορμισθέντες Ἀνάφην ἐκάλεσαν. ἱδρυσάμενοι δὲ βωμὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Αἰγλήτου καὶ θυσιάσαντες ἐπ' εὐωχίαν ἐτράπησαν* (cp. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1701 ff., Orph. *Arg.* 1353 ff.). Coins of Axos in Crete, struck in *s.* iv. B.C., have *obv.* head of Apollon, *rev.* tripod; but from *c.* 300 B.C. onwards the head of Apollon is replaced usually by a head of Zeus, and the tripod sometimes gives place to a thunderbolt, sometimes has a thunderbolt resting upon it (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 14 f. pl. 3, 12, 17, J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 p. 40 pl. 3, 10 and 11, cp. p. 38 pl. 3, 1, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 459). Similarly a copper of Antiochos xi Epiphanes (? Antiochos viii Grypos) has *rev.* a winged thunderbolt resting on a tripod (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 99 pl. 26, 7).

[5] L. Couve in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 90 ff. no. 10, 2 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 266, 2 ff. = J. Baunack in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* ii. 872 f. no. 2728, 2 ff. = *Fouilles de Delphes* iii. 2 no. 33, 2 ff., cp. *ib.* p. 290, = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 697 *L*, 2 ff. (from the wall of the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphoi, relating to the second Pythaïs, that of 128/7 B.C.) *[ἐπεὶ Ἀλ]κίδαμος Εὐφάνους [ὁ ὑμέτερος] πολίτας, εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὁσίως διακείμενος ποτί τε τὸν θεὸν | [καὶ ποτὶ] τὰν πόλιν ἁμῶν, ἀγαγ[ὼν δὲ κ]αὶ τὸν τρίποδα ἐφ' ἅρματος ἀξίως τοῦ τε θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου | [δάμου κ]αὶ ἁμῶν, τάν τε παρεπιδαμίαν [καὶ] ἀναστροφὰν ἐποιήσατο ὡς ἐνδέχεται κάλλιστα· κ.τ.λ.*

A. Nikitsky in *Hermes* 1893 xxviii. 619 ff. = *Fouilles de Delphes* iii. 2 no. 13, 1 ff., cp. *ib.* p. 290, = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 711 *D*, 22 ff. (from the wall of the Treasury

the Hellenistic age—the offering of first-fruits, the carrying of the tripod, and the fetching of need-fire—were doubtless a later revival of earlier usage. But the only fifth-century evidence is Aischylos' allusion to 'the road-making sons of Hephaistos' as expounded by the scholiast, who informs us that sacred processions from Athens to Delphoi were headed by men bearing double axes[1]. The weapon, whatever its precise usage in the ceremony, confirms us in the impression that we have here to do with an ancient cult of Zeus.

Near Laodikeia Katakekaumene in Lykaonia Zeus was worshipped under the fuller title 'He that Thunders and Lightens[2].' The combination of these alternative epithets is unusual, but occurs again on an oblong altar of Roman date found in Thera[3].

(ζ) Zeus *Zbelsoûrdos*.

G. Seure, who during the last five and twenty years has done more than any man to help forward the study of Thracian archaeology, published in 1913 a whole series of monuments relating to the cult of Zeus *Zbelsoûrdos*, and added an important discussion of

of the Athenians at Delphoi, relating to the third Pythaïs, that in the spring of 105 B.C.) πυρφόρος ἡ ἐγ Δελφῶ[ν]· | Τιμώ. | Πυθαϊσταὶ ἐξ Εὐπατ[ριδῶν]· | four names. | ἐκ Πυρακιδῶν· | one name (a later addition). | ἐκ Κηρύκων· | three names followed by a blank line. | ἐξ Εὐνειδῶν· | three names. | ἐκ Τετραπολέων· | one name. | ὁ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπαρχάς· | Ἀμφικράτης Ἐπ[ιστράτ]ου.

L. Couve in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 87 ff. no. 9, 2 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1285, 2 ff. = *Fouilles de Delphes* iii. 2 no. 32, 2 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 728 *I*, 2 ff. (from the wall of the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphoi, relating to the fourth Pythaïs, that in the spring of 96 B.C.) ἐπὶ Μέντορος ἄρχοντος ἐν Δελφοῖς, ἐν δὲ Ἀθήναις | Ἀργείου, ἔλαβεν τὸν ἱερὸν τρίποδα ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἀπε|κόμισεν, καὶ τὴν πυρφόρον ἤγαγεν Ἀμφικράτης Ἐπι|στράτου Ἀθηναῖος.

The evidence for the Pythaïs has been collected and discussed by J. Toepffer 'Die attischen Pythaisten und Deliasten' in *Hermes* 1888 xxiii. 321 ff., 633, V. von Schoeffer *De Deli insulae rebus* (*Studien für classische Philologie und Archäologie* ix. 1) Berlin 1889 p. 11 f., E. Pfuhl *De Atheniensium pompis sacris* Berolini 1900 p. 104 ff., G. Colin *Le culte d'Apollon Pythien à Athènes* Paris 1905 p. 1 ff., W. S. Ferguson 'Researches in Athenian and Delian Documents. III' in *Klio* 1909 ix. 304 ff., A. Boëthius *Die Pythaïs: Studien zur Geschichte der Verbindungen zwischen Athen und Delphi* Uppsala 1918 pp. 1—172 (a comprehensive and satisfactory handling of an intricate subject). A convenient summary of facts is given by Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] ii. 298—301, and a good popular sketch by Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 32 f. and W. S. Ferguson *Hellenistic Athens* London 1911 p. 372 f. (though Sir J. G. Frazer is probably mistaken in supposing that the need-fire was carried in the tripod: see Boëthius *op. cit.* p. 72 ff.).

[1] *Supra* p. 628.

[2] Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 235 f. no. 1 (*Khadyn Khan*) Μηνόδ[ω]|[ρ]ος ἀρχιε[ρ]|[ε]ὺς Διὶ Βρον|τῶντι καὶ Ἀ|στραπτο[ῦ]|ντι ▨▨▨ | [ε]ὐχή|ν. Menodoros, as Sir William remarks, was perhaps high-priest of an imperial cult.

[3] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1359 Διὸς Βροντῶντος καὶ | Ἀστράπτοντος. Cp. Orph. *h. Zeus Astrápios* 20. 3 ἀστράπτοντα σέλας νεφέων παταγοδρόμῳ αὐδῇ.

his name and nature[1]. The monuments in question comprise seven reliefs, two coins, and three votive inscriptions.

Of the reliefs there are three distinct types. The first, represented by five examples[2], shows a bearded god, usually clad in a



Fig. 782.

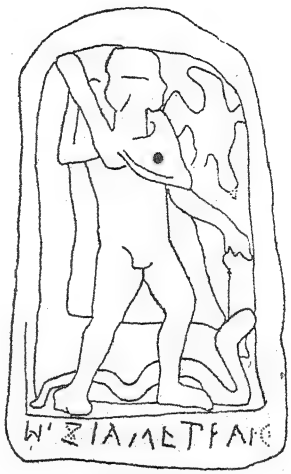


Fig. 783.

chlamýs, advancing from left to right with a thunderbolt in his raised right hand and an eagle on his outstretched left arm. Beneath his left hand there is a pillar (figs. 782, 783) or altar (fig. 784), and at his

[1] G. Seure 'Les images thraces de Zeus Kéraunos ΖΒΕΛΣΟΥΡΔΟΣ, ΓΕΒΕΛΕΙΖΙΣ, ΖΑΛΜΟΞΙΣ' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 225—261.

[2] (1) Relief in white marble, at Sofia (G. Seure *loc. cit.* p. 226 f. fig. 1), inscribed ΡΘΜISΡΔ (?), of which the only traces now legible are ⌊⌋ of the last two letters. The original reading may have been [Ζβε]ρθ[ιού]ρδ[ω] (*id. ib.* p. 242 n. 3): cp. *infra* p. 821 f. Nude bearded (?) god, brandishing bolt (?) in raised right hand and extending left arm, on which an eagle is perched, over a four-sided pillar. Height: 0·16m.

(2) Marble relief from *Pascalevetz* near Nikopolis in Moesia, now at Sofia (Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 157 no. 1 (=my fig. 782), G. Seure *loc. cit.* p. 228 f. fig. 2), inscribed Σούρα εὐχήν. Bearded god, with *chlamýs*, brandishing bolt in raised right hand and extending left arm, on which an eagle is perched, over a pillar (probably not a tree). At his feet, a snake. Height: 0·20m.

(3) Marble relief from *Samovoden* near Nikopolis in Moesia, now at Sofia (G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1908 ii. 52 f. no. 53, *id.* in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 229 f. fig. 3 (=my fig. 783)), with an inscription, which was read by Dobrousky as Δι[ΐ] Ζιαμέγρα, by Seure first as Δ[ΐ] Ζιαμέτρα and later as [θε]ῶι Ζιαμέτρ[α]λις with *compendium* of αλ. Bearded god, with *chlamýs*, brandishing club-like bolt in raised right hand and extending left arm, over which is an eagle, to touch a pillar with moulded top. At his feet, a snake. Height: 0·205m.

(4) Marble relief from *Biéla Tcherkva* near Nikopolis in Moesia, now at Sofia (G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1908 ii. 75 no. 5, *id.* in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 231 ff. fig. 4), uninscribed. Bearded god, with *chlamýs*, brandishing bolt in raised right hand and

feet two of the reliefs give a gliding snake (figs. 782, 783). In the main this type is clearly adapted from a common Hellenic scheme, that of Zeus advancing to the attack[1]. Accordingly, its least barbaric



Fig. 784.

example (fig. 784) is accompanied by the dedication 'To Zeus *Zbelthioûrdos*.'

The second type, of which there is but one specimen (fig. 785)[2],

extending left arm, on which an eagle is perched, to touch a pillar. At his right side, on a smaller scale, stands a draped female figure. Height: 0·17m.

(5) Marble relief from *Bouzadjilar* in the district of *Sliven*, now at Sofia (S. Reinach in the *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 1894 p. 425 f. pl. 20, 1 (=my fig. 784), P. Perdrizet in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1899 p. 23 no. 2, G. Seure in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 235 f. fig. 6), inscribed Διὶ Ζβελθιούρδ[ω] | Μοκάπορις δῶρον. Zeus, bearded and wearing *himátion*, stands towards the right, with a twisted bolt in his raised right hand and an eagle on his extended left, beneath which is a small rectangular altar. Height: 0·35m.

[1] *Supra* p. 739 ff.

[2] Marble relief from *Soukhatché* in the district of *Bidla Slatina*, now at Sofia (G. Seure in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 233 ff. fig. 5 (=my fig. 785)), uninscribed. Height: 0·19m.

shows the same god still brandishing his bolt, but mounted on a two-horse chariot, which carries also a draped and veiled goddess. She holds in both hands attributes hard to determine—in her right perhaps two ears of wheat (? a *cornu copiae*), in her left perhaps a long torch (? a sceptre). The chariot is preceded by the snake, of which the tail alone is visible. This relief, despite its extreme clumsiness, is again composed of Hellenic elements, the *motif* of Zeus fulminant in a chariot with a snaky tail before him being



Fig. 785.

probably drawn from the Gigantomachy[1]. And here it is of interest to remember that in the neighbourhood of Constantinople thunder is nowadays attributed to St Elias, who drives his chariot across the sky in pursuit of a dragon, and that the modern Greek as like as not will say 'The lightning is chasing the snakes[2].'

The third type, again represented by a single relief (fig. 786)[3], shows the Thracian god once more in the guise of a Greek Zeus[4], a nude, bearded figure facing us with sceptre held high and lowered

[1] For an analogous case see *supra* p. 82 f.

[2] *Supra* i. 183.

[3] Marble relief, found in 1875 near the church of S. Eusebio at Rome, *i.e.* on a part of the Esquiline where foreign troops, including Thracians, had their barracks, and now to be seen in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (R. Lanciani in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1880 viii. 12 no. 157 pl. 1 (=my fig. 786), Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 146 no. 3771, P. Perdrizet in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1899 p. 24 no. 4, G. Seure in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 236 ff. fig. 7, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 203 no. 3), inscribed θεῷ Ζβερθούρδῳ καὶ Ἰαμβαδούλῃ ἐπιφα|νεστάτοις Αὐρ(ήλιος) Διονύσιος στρατ(ιώτης) χώ(ρ)της | τοῦ πραιτ(ωριανοῦ) ἑκατοντάρχ(ου) Φλωρεντίνου θέλω[ν] | ἀνέθηκα=*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 981. After χώ(ρ)της there is space for a missing numeral.

[4] *Supra* p. 749 ff.

bolt. But this time he is grouped with a younger god on horseback, recognisable by his effeminate limbs and abundant hair. G. Seure does not hesitate to name him Dionysos, a hypostasis or by-form of the Thracian rider. He points out that the relief was dedicated by one Dionysios (*nomen omen*) 'to the god *Zberthoûrdos* and to *Iambadoúles*'—a title which recalls the horse-riding Dionysos, 'the



Fig. 786.

god *Asdoúles*,' of the Brussels relief[1]. I may add[2] that the curious tradition of *Iámbe* the *doúle*[3] or 'slave,' who beguiled Demeter by her jokes and is herself described as a Thracian[4] or a Bacchant[5], was not improbably founded on a misunderstanding of this cult-epithet.

The coins of Serdike and Pautalia in Thrace adduced by Seure[6] are only variants of a wide-spread numismatic type[7] and do not

[1] *Supra* p. 270 n. 3.

[2] Since this paragraph was penned I find that I have been anticipated in the suggestion by Seure himself (*Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 257 n. 4).

[3] Schol. Eur. *Or.* 964=schol. Nik. *alex.* 130 Ἰάμβη δέ τις δούλη τῆς Μετανείρας κ.τ.λ.

[4] Nik. *alex.* 132 with scholl. *ad loc.* (cited *supra* i. 681 n. 4), schol. Eur. *Or.* 964, Prokl. *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 319 b 17 f.

[5] *Et. mag.* p. 463, 28 f. ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς εὑρούσης γυναικὸς Βάκχης τινός, Ἰάμβης καλουμένης.

[6] G. Seure in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 240.

[7] *Supra* p. 743 n. 7.

increase our knowledge of the Thracian god. But the inscriptions[1] contribute other spellings of his name: Zeus *Zbelsoûrdos*[2], Zeus *Zlethoûrdos*[3], the god *Zberturdus*[4].

The name is presumably a compound. But attempts to fix its meaning are precarious. Tomaschek[5] thought that the first element was akin to the Lithuanian *žaîbas*, 'lightning,' *žiburỹs*, 'light, torch,' etc. and might denote either 'brilliance' or 'lightning.' For the second he suggested some connexion, near or remote, with the Slavonic *sver-d-*, 'to twist, to bore.' On this showing we should, I suppose, obtain a Thracian equivalent of *terpikéraunos*[6]. Baron Nopcsa believes that Zibel-*Thiurdos* lives on in Šn Šurdh, 'Saint Deaf' (*surdus*), whom he describes as the storm-god of the modern Albanians[7]. G. Seure[8], with far greater circumspection, argues that the original form of the Thracian name was **Zibelesoûrdos*, which by a double syncopation became *Zbelsoûrdos*. He finds the same first element in *Zibeleîzis*, a well-attested variant[9] of the Getic *Gebeleîzis*[10], and urges that **Zibelesoûrdos*, *Zibeleîzis*, and *Zalmóxis* were three of the epithets attached to the great national god of Thrace, a Zeus-like deity whose name is unknown[11]. The second element *Soûrdos* he regards as the patronymic of *Soûras* (*Soûris*, *Surus*, *Surio*), pointing out that on one of the reliefs already mentioned (fig. 782) the name *Soûra* may possibly be that of the god[12], and emending a disputed sentence of Cicero's accordingly[13].

[1] G. Seure in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 242 f.

[2] A statue of Domitian erected by a trierarch of the Perinthian fleet was dedicated Διὶ Ζβελσούρδω (A. Dumont—T. Homolle *Inscriptions et monuments figurés de la Thrace* Paris 1876 p. 381 no. 72 a). But the Ashburnham MS. of Ciriaco de' Pizzicolli (Cyriacus of Ancona), to whom we owe the preservation of this title, reads ΔΙΙ ΖΙΒΕΛΣΟΥΡΔΩΙ (Th. Mommsen in the *Ephem. epigr.* 1877 iii. 236 no. 8).

[3] A votive column, found at *Chaprovo* near *Doubnitza*, is inscribed in coarsely cut letters ΔΙΙΖΛϹ|ΘΟΥΡΔΩ| *τῶ κυρίω* | Βολβαβρι|ηνοὶ κω|μῆται *ἀνέθη*|καν (G. Seure in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 242, 247).

[4] A Latin dedication, found at *Ljubanze* near *Uskub* in Makedonia, reads: [d]eo Zb[er]turd[o sacr.][S]ex. Fl. F[la]|mina[lis][v.] l. [p.] (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 8191 with correction on p. 2250, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4077 with correction *ib.* iii. 2 p. clxxxi).

[5] W. Tomaschek in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 cxxx. 11, 60 ff.

[6] *Supra* p. 779.

[7] F. Nopcsa in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1911 xliii. 918: 'Šn Šurdh ist der Gewittergott der heutigen Albaner, *Zibel thiurdos* ein thrakischer Gott. Die Verehrung des Šn Šurdh zeigt thrakische Züge.'

[8] G. Seure in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 247 ff.

[9] So codd. A. B. C. (the older, 'Florentine,' family) in Hdt. 4. 94.

[10] *Supra* p. 227 n. 4.

[11] See, however, *supra* p. 276 f.

[12] Σούρα, if nominative, is the dedicator; if genitive, the dedicator's father; if dative, the god to whom the dedication is made.

[13] In Cic. *in Pis.* 85 a te Iovis Velsuri fanum antiquissimum barbarorum sanctis-

These tentatives, however, are at best unconvincing. Indeed, scientific etymology is hopelessly handicapped by our comparative ignorance of the Thracian tongue. But, if the name of the god escapes us, his nature does not. Zeus *Zbelsoûrdos* was at once a sky-power and an earth-power—witness on the one hand his thunderbolt, on the other his snake. His consort was a goddess perhaps akin to Demeter or to Semele. His offspring was *Iambadoúles*, Dionysos in the likeness of the Thracian rider-god[1]. For further knowledge we must be content to wait till Thrace yields up more of her buried secrets.

Thus much I had written, in some despondency, when I received (Jan. 24, 1922) a most encouraging communication from Mr B. F. C. Atkinson of Magdalene College, Cambridge. Knowing him to have made a special study of things Illyrian, I had challenged him to furnish me with a possible derivation of *Zbelsoûrdos*.

I append his reply: 'With regard to the variant form *Zibel-* of the first part of this compound, it has occurred to me'—he says—'that we may have here simply the root *div-* with suffix *-el-*. There is some reason to believe that original unaspirated voiced stops became in the Thracian and Illyrian dialects spirants; and it is reasonable to suppose that *zeta* was the symbol used by the Greeks to represent this sound (similar to the initial sound of English *then*), which did not normally occur in most Greek dialects. If this is the explanation of the *zeta* used in the Elean dialect in words such as *zíkaia*, *zé* (in three early inscriptions), where *delta* would be normal, we have a parallel use of the sound and of the symbol *zeta* to express it. We may compare the much later similar development of *delta*, which is a spirant in Modern Greek. As to the suffix *-el-*, I suggest that *Zibel-* is a parallel form to *Iûvil-*as, several times occurring in dedicatory inscriptions in Campania (vd. Conway *Italic Dialects* i. 101 ff.). The use of *beta* to express a *w-* or *v*-sound is of course comparatively common.

simumque direptum est Turnebus cj. *Iovis* [*vels*] *Uri*<*i*>, J. H. Mordtmann in the *Rev. Arch.* 1878 ii. 302 cj. *Iovis* <*S*>*velsur*<*d*>*i*; G. Seure in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 243 ff., 249 divides *Iovis vel Suri*—a restoration more ingenious than probable.

[1] This conception of Dionysos may account for the use of the word ἥρως as applied to him in the chant of the Elean women (*carm. pop.* 5 Hiller—Crusius *ap.* Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 36 ἐλθεῖν, ἥρω Διόννσε, | κ.τ.λ.). My former attempt to re-cast the line (in Miss Harrison's *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 205 n. 1 ἐλθεῖν ἦρ', ὦ Διόνυσε, | κ.τ.λ.) was, I now think, ill-advised.

Since Dionysos was essentially a younger form of his own father (*supra* p. 287 ff.), it is not surprising to find that the word ἥρως attached to the older god likewise: (1) *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 7534=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4063 (Tomoi) I. O. M. | Heroi | Q. Trebellius | Q. f. (F)ab. Maxi|mus Roma, | 7 leg. v Mac. | tre|enarius | coh. III pr. | v. s. (2) G. Seure in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 239 n. 10 (Pannonia) I. O. M. Heroni.

This leaves the second half of the compound still to be determined[1]. But it may be observed that it strengthens the conjecture [*supra* p. 277 ff.] that the Thracian form of the name of Zeus was **Di(v)-os*.'

v. The whip of Zeus.

Dr Rendel Harris in a brief but important chapter[2] collects evidence from China, India, and Wallachia of lightning conceived as a whip. He holds that the same conception has left traces of itself in Greek mythology, but does not quote some definite statements, which might be adduced from Greek authors.

Kapaneus, when attacking the Electran gate of Thebes, defied Zeus and compared his lightning to mere midday heat[3]. Thereupon Zeus struck him down with a thunderbolt. The incident was notorious; but Lykophron[4] the pedant adds interest to it by describing Kapaneus as lashed with a lightning-whip:

> The third[5] is son of him who undermined
> With his rude mattock the Ectenian[6] towers.
> The Thunderer[7], Adviser[8], God of Mills[9],

[1] Mr Atkinson subsequently supplied me with a '*Further Note on* Ζβελσοῦρδος. The second part of the compound presents greater difficulty owing to the variant readings. It is hard to resist the conclusion that the sound represented now by σ, now by θ, is the unvoiced dental spirant. The ι which is supposed by some to be present after the θ is, I understand, a doubtful factor. Seure (*Revue des Études Grecques*, 1913 p. 247) rejects it, and thus simplifies matters, making the form a variant between *-σουρδος* and *-θουρδος*. If the initial sound is the unvoiced dental spirant, the form may well be connected with the root appearing in Sanskrit as √*tṛd*, *tṛṇatti*, which is commonly used of Indra "splitting" or "cleaving" with his bolt (*e.g.* vájreṇa khấny atṛṇan nadînām = "with his bolt he split open the clefts of the waters," RV II. 15). The root *tṛd* is commonly supposed to be an extension of the root *tṛ*, I-E. *√*ter*, seen in Greek τείρω, ἔτορε, Lat. *tero*, *terebra*, etc. The Thracian change of *t* to þ, though not resting upon any established or tested sound-law, is not inconsistent with other evidence, scanty as it is, and we may compare the similar change in Avestan especially under the influence of a liquid. If this etymology is well-founded, we thus have as the meaning of the whole compound "Zeus," or "the son of Zeus, the Splitter" (referring of course to the thunderbolt).'

[2] J. Rendel Harris *Picus who is also Zeus* Cambridge 1916 p. 57 ff., cp. *ib.* p. 55.

[3] Aisch. *s. c. Th.* 422 ff.

[4] Lyk. *Al.* 433 ff. *τρίτον δέ, τοῦ μόσσυνας Ἐκτήνων ποτὲ | στερρᾷ δικέλλῃ βούσκαφήσαντος γόνον, | ὃν Γογγυλάτης εἶλε Βουλαῖος Μυλεύς, | ἀγηλάτῳ μάστιγι συνθραύσας κάρα, | ἥμος ξυναίμους πατρὸς αἱ Νυκτὸς κόραι | πρὸς αὐτοφόντην στρῆνον ὥπλισαν μόρου.* The version printed above is by G. W. Mooney.

[5] Sthenelos, son of Kapaneus.

[6] The Ἔκτηνες were the first inhabitants of Thebes, their king Ogygos being autochthonous (Paus. 9. 5. 1).

[7] Mooney follows C. von Holzinger, who on the strength of Hesych. *γογγυλεῖν* (C. G. Cobet cj. *γογγύλλειν*)· *συστρέφειν* (M. Schmidt cj. *συστρέψειν*) translates 'Blitzeschleuderer.' Tzetz. *ad loc.* says *ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Γογγυλάτης, δι' οὗ αἱ γογγύλαι καὶ συνεσφιγμέναι χεῖρες κινοῦνται*—a desperate guess. In all probability (*supra* p. 260) Γογγυλάτης was a local appellative from* Γογγύλη, the 'Round' Rock or Island (cp. Στρογγύλη = *Stromboli*), a site as yet unidentified.

[8] *Supra* p. 258 n. 3.

[9] *Supra* p. 260 *sub fin.*

Crushed in his head with his avenging scourge,
What time Night's daughters[1] armed with fell desire
The father's brothers[2] to shed brother's blood.

The scholiast[3], commenting on Lykophron's word 'scourge,' remarks simply: 'he means "with his thunderbolt."'

Oppian[4] (*c.* 170 A.D.) describes a storm at sea in similar terms:

Beneath the scourge of Zeus etherial fire
Strikes the sea-farer's keel, and the burning stroke
Devours it, while the sea blent with dread flames
Still higher tosses and still onward drives.

Again the scholiast[5] observes: '"scourge," that is, "thunderbolt."'

Now learned poets of the Hellenistic age would hardly have ventured upon such a locution, unless they had (or fancied they had) some warrant for it in earlier Hellenic poetry. Accordingly we find Hesychios noting the Homeric phrase 'by the scourge of Zeus' and carefully explaining that this means 'by the thunderbolt[6].' Unfortunately his explanation is wrong. The phrase occurs twice in the *Iliad*, and in neither passage is there the least allusion to a thunderstorm[7]. The fact is, Homer's language was already old, and this particular expression even in his day had lost much of its original force. 'The scourge of Zeus,' scholiasts[8] and lexicographers[9] notwithstanding, was the merest metaphor for the driving power of the god. For all that, the phrase must have arisen at a time (? Early Iron Age) and in a place (? Thessaly) when and where Zeus was conceived as the driver of a celestial chariot. His cracking whip made the lightning; his echoing wheels, the thunder. Salmoneus, who during the Early Iron Age came from Thessaly to Elis[10], was an adept at the self-same art.

A vague remembrance of Zeus the charioteer with his lightning-lash clings about the tradition of his primeval contests. In representations of the Gigantomachy we frequently see him fulminant on a four-horse chariot[11]. More than that, his lightning-lash was not

[1] The Furies.

[2] Eteokles and Polyneikes, both sons and brothers of Oidipous.

[3] Schol. Lyk. *Al.* 433=*et. mag.* p. 10, 2 λέγει δὲ τῷ κεραυνῷ.

[4] Opp. *de pisc.* 5. 282 ff. ὡς δὲ Διὸς μάστιγι λάβῃ τρόπιν αἰθέριον πῦρ | κ.τ.λ.

[5] Schol. Opp. *de pisc.* 5. 282 μάστιγι· κεραυνός.

[6] Hesych. *s.v.* Διὸς μάστιγι· τῷ κεραυνῷ.

[7] *Il.* 12. 37 f. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ Διὸς μάστιγι δαμέντες | νηυσὶν ἔπι γλαφυρῇσιν ἐελμένοι ἰσχανόωντο, 13. 811 f. οὔ τοί τι μάχης ἀδαήμονές εἰμεν, | ἀλλὰ Διὸς μάστιγι κακῇ ἐδάμημεν Ἀχαιοί.

[8] Schol. A. D. *Il.* 12. 37 Διὸς δὲ μάστιξ ὁ κεραυνός, schol. T. *ib.* τῷ κεραυνῷ.

[9] Hesych. *loc. cit.* J. Alberti *ad loc.* cites 'Gloss. Rutgers. Μάστιξ. κεραυνός.'

[10] Apollod. 1. 9. 7, cp. Strab. 356.

[11] *E.g. supra* p. 82 fig. 44, p. 84 fig. 46, p. 778 fig. 741.

forgotten by poets who told of his fight with Typhoeus. Homer[1] himself works it into the *simile* with which he concludes the list of the Greek combatants before Troy:

> They marched as though the land were all devoured
> With fire. Earth groaned beneath them as when Zeus
> In anger twists his bolt and plies his lash
> About Typhoeus—him who lies abed
> (Men say) i' the land of Arima. Even so
> Beneath their feet, as on they came, earth groaned,
> And speedily they passed across the plain.

Hesiod[2], relating the same myth, is even more explicit:

> Zeus armed his might and all his weapons took,
> Thunder and lightning and fierce levin-bolt,
> Sprang from Olympos, struck, and blasted all
> The wondrous heads of the monster. He at length
> Laid low by strokes of the lash fainted and fell
> Maimed of his power, and monstrous earth made moan.

This old belief in the whip of the lightning-god accounts for a curious dedication in the precinct of Zeus *Nάios*. According to Aristotle[3], there was at Dodona a couple of columns, which supported respectively a caldron (*lébes*) and a boy (*paîs*) grasping a whip. The bronze lashes of the whip, when swayed by the wind, struck the caldron and produced a reverberant sound. Strabon[4], probably following Apollodoros[5], adds that the whip was dedicated by the Corcyraeans, that it consisted of three chains tipped with buttons, and that you could count four hundred before the echo died away. Now Sir James Frazer has conjectured that the Dodonaean gong was 'meant to mimick the thunder that might so often be heard rolling and rumbling in the coombs of the stern and barren mountains which shut in the gloomy valley[6].' If so, the Corcyraean whip, which lashed its silence into sound, was an equally vivid and appropriate emblem of the lightning.

[1] *Il.* 2. 780 ff.

[2] Hes. *theog.* 853 ff. Nonnos on the same theme repeats the metaphor *ad nauseam* (*Dion.* 2. 533, 535, 541, 548).

[3] Aristot. *ap.* Souid. *s.v.* Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον, Apostol. 6. 43, cod. Coislin. 177, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1760, 58 ff. I have quoted and discussed these passages in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 8 f., adding (*ib.* p. 12) a conjectural restoration of the famous gong.

[4] Strab. *lib.* 7 *frag.* 3.

[5] See *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 12.

[6] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 358 f. Sir James Frazer's further conjecture (*ib.* p. 358 n. 4) that 'the bronze statuette...would represent Zeus himself making his thunder' would have to meet the objection that the said statuette is described as παῖς, παιδάριον, or at most νεανίας (see the passages adduced in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 8 f.). But cp. the Zeus Παῖς of Aigion (*supra* p. 742 f.).

§ 4. *Zeus and the Thunder.*

(*a*) Thunder as a sound independent of Zeus.

Thunder was sometimes, perhaps originally[1], venerated as an independent phenomenon, not connected, or at least not expressly connected, with the name of Zeus. Thus at Bathos in Arkadia, where—according to local tradition—the battle of the gods and giants took place, sacrifices were offered to Lightnings, Storms, and Thunders[2]. Similarly the writer of the proëm to the Orphic *Hymns* addresses his prayer to 'Winds, Thunders, and parts of the four-pillared World[3].'

This conception of Lightnings and Thunders as *Augenblicksgötter* has left a trace of itself in a custom common to both Greeks and Romans. When a lightning-flash was seen, folk at once made a loud smacking noise with their lips[4]. Why? Pliny seems to have thought that the worshipper was thus, so to speak, blowing a kiss to his god: 'the nations by common consent,' he says, 'adore the Lightnings with smacking sounds[5].' More probably the sounds in question were prophylactic[6] and meant to avert the danger of being struck by the lightning[7]. To the same primitive stage of formless fear belongs one of the strange taboos[8] by which the wife of the

[1] So H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 13 (= *id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 482). See further *supra* p. 13 n. 1.

[2] Paus. 8. 29. 1 *θύουσιν Ἀστραπαῖς αὐτόθι καὶ Θυέλλαις τε καὶ Βρονταῖς* with the notes of Sir J. G. Frazer, H. Hitzig and H. Blümner. A. G. Bather and V. W. Yorke in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1892—3 xiii. 231 attribute the localisation of the Gigantomachy to the prevalence of earthquakes, the existence of an intermittent spring, the frequent firing of peat-fields, and the finding of mammoth-bones.

[3] Orph. *εὐχὴ πρὸς Μουσαῖον* 38 f. (quoted *supra* p. 141 n. 1).

[4] Aristoph. *vesp.* 626 *κἂν ἀστράψῃ, ποππύζουσιν* with schol. *ἔθος γὰρ ταῖς ἀστραπαῖς ποππύζειν. παρὰ δὲ τὰ εἰωθότα λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑπερβάλλοντος φόβου λέγει, ὅτε βρονταὶ καὶ ἀστραπαὶ γίνονται, παίζων.*

[5] Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 25 fulgetras poppysmis adorare consensus gentium est. So C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 p. 185 interprets the action as a blandishment: 'Der Blitz, meint man, fühlt sich geschmeichelt, wenn der Mensch, statt zu erschrecken, sein Wohlgefallen ausdrückt.'

[6] C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 35 pap. Par. 561 f. *ἔπειτα σύρισον μακρόν ϖ̄ σ̄, ἔπειτα πόππυσον* λέγων κ.τ.λ., *id. Neue griechische Zauberpapyri* Wien 1893 p. 48 pap. 121. 833 ff. *ποππυσμός, στεναγμός, συριγμός*, κ.τ.λ., *alib.* Cp. C. O. Thulin *Die etruskische Disciplin* i *Die Blitzlehre* Göteborg 1906 p. 125.

[7] E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 42 f. (on the strength of Aristot. *anal. post.* 2. 11. 94 b 32 ff. *ὥσπερ εἰ βροντῇ ἀποσβεννυμένου τε τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνάγκη σίζειν καὶ ψοφεῖν, καὶ εἰ ὡς οἱ Πυθαγόρειοί φασιν ἀπειλῆς ἕνεκα τοῖς ἐν τῷ Ταρτάρῳ, ὅπως φοβῶνται* and Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 156 *ὅταν δὲ βροντήσῃ, τῆς γῆς ἅψασθαι παρήγγελλε*) supposes that a thunderstorm was regarded as a repetition of the Titanomachy and that men could help the gods to win by these apotropaeic noises.

[8] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo p. 14.

men Dialis was bound. If she chanced to hear a peal of thunder, e was incapacitated for duty till she had pacified the gods[1].

But Thunder and Lightning early developed into *Sondergötter*. t first, as we might have anticipated, they took shape as divine iimals. For, not only does Hesiod make Pegasos the bearer of under and lightning[2], but Eumelos (*s.* viii B.C.), using the self-same ords, calls two of the sun's horses *Bronte*, 'Thunder,' and *Sterope*, Lightning[3].' Already, however, in Hesiod's time this theriomorphic nception was giving way before the ubiquitous advance of anthropo-orphism. The *Theogony* speaks of 'Brontes and Steropes and rong-souled Arges' as Kyklopes resembling the gods in all points, xcept for the single eye set in their forehead[4]. Even this *non-*uman trait disappeared in due course. Pliny says of Apelles: 'He ainted the unpaintable too—thunders, lightnings, and thunderbolts, ronte, Astrape, and Ceraunobolia, as they are called[5].' The reference ere is certainly[6] to allegorical female figures such as those introduced y Philostratos into his picture of Semele—'stern-looking Thunder nd Lightning with flashing eyes[7].' Finally these daemonic personi-cations are transformed into angels, or at least controlled by ngelic powers. Ioannes of Gaza (*c.* 536 A.D.)[8] in his description f the cosmic picture, which adorned the Winter Bath of that town, epresents Bronte and Sterope surrounded by clouds[9]. Bronte has ier hands held behind her by an angel; Sterope, hurling her flash, s directed by another angel—an ingenious way of suggesting that ve see the lightning before we hear the thunder[10].

The lively imagination that inspired such figures is not yet extinct. A folk-song well known throughout Greek lands[11] involves he following plot. A Dragon (*Drákontas*) threatens to devour a young man. But his victim's lover by claiming to be the daughter of Lightning and Thunder so scares the Dragon[12] that he lets the young man go free. Similarly in a song from Epeiros a Lamia, disguised as a woman, begs a widow's son to recover her ring,

[1] Macrob. *Sat.* i. 16. 8.

[2] Hes. *theog.* 285 f. *Supra* pp. 716, 721, *infra* Append. F *sub fin.*

[3] *Supra* i. 337 n. 3.

[4] Hes. *theog.* 139 ff. *Supra* i. 303 n. 2, 312 n. 1, 314, 317 f.

[5] Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 96. [6] O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1503.

[7] Philostr. mai. *imagg.* i. 14. 1 (*supra* p. 28).

[8] Thiele in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 1747. [9] Io. Gaz. 2. 160 ff.

[10] P. Friedländer *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius* Leipzig—Berlin 1912 p. 202. *Id. ib.* pl. 1 gives a reconstruction of the wall-painting.

[11] N. G. Polites Δημώδεις μετεωρολογικοὶ μῦθοι (extract from Παρνασσός) Athens 1880 p. 9 f. quotes variants from Kypros, Crete, the mainland of Greece, and Korkyra.

[12] Since it is a long-standing belief that snakes are chased by the lightning (*supra* i. 183, ii. 820).

which has dropped inside a willow-tree, all blackened by lightning. She lowers him into the hollow trunk, where he finds nothing but snakes, and refuses to draw him up:

'"Now thou art in, my pretty youth, forth shalt thou come, ah, never!
For I'm the Lamia of the Sea, devourer of the Heroes!"
"And I, I am the Lightning's Son, I'll lighten, and will burn thee!"
She of the Lightning was afraid, and up again she drew him[1].'

Even more suggestive of a *Sondergott* is the question put to Mr J. C. Lawson by an aged crone, who was rain-making on the edge of the cliff in Thera (*Santorini*). She knew 'the god above and the god below,' but 'One thing she could not make out—who was the god that caused the thunder; did I know?[2]'

(*b*) Thunder as a sound uttered by Zeus.

Usually, however, thunder was brought into some direct connexion with Zeus. The modern mind, steeped in Semitic thought[3], readily conceives thunder as the voice of God[4]. But this was not a classical conception. Thunder was at most an ominous sound preceding divine speech. Thus, when Oidipous the aged wanderer of the Sophoclean play is about to be translated, Zeus *Chthónios* thunders; after which there is silence for a while, and then the god cries in ringing tones:

Oidipous, Oidipous, why tarry we
To go? Too long already they delay[5]!

Phaedrus also, describing a scene on the Roman stage, says:

The curtain dropped, the thunder was rolled down,
And the gods spoke as they are wont to speak[6].

But, though the Greeks of the classical age did not regard thunder as the articulate voice of Zeus, they thought of it sometimes in a more homely fashion as an inarticulate sound proceeding from his body[7].

[1] L. M. J. Garnett—J. S. Stuart-Glennie *Greek Folk Poesy* London 1896 i. 103 ff. (from G. Ch. Chasiotes Συλλογὴ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἤπειρον δημοτικῶν ᾀσμάτων Athens 1866 p. 137 f.). Cp. N. G. Polites *loc. cit.* p. 10.

[2] J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 49 f.

[3] Job 37. 5 'God thundereth marvellously with his voice' (cp. *ib.* 37. 4, 40. 9, Ps. 77. 18, 104. 7, John 12. 29, Rev. 10. 3 f., 14. 2, 19. 6). E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*[3] London 1891 ii. 264: 'Among certain Moslem schismatics, it is even the historical Ali, cousin of Mohammed, who is enthroned in the clouds, where the thunder is his voice,' etc.

[4] *E.g.* R. Browning *An Epistle sub fin.*: 'So, through the thunder comes a human voice,' F. W. H. Myers *Saint Paul* London 1887 p. 41 'Lo if some strange intelligible thunder | Sang to the earth the secret of a star.'

[5] Soph. *O. C.* 1604 ff.

[6] Phaedr. 5. 7. 23 f.

[7] See the conversation between Strepsiades and Sokrates in Aristoph. *nub.* 382 ff., which is probably based upon folk-belief (cp. Strab. 675, Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 5. 4. 2).

(*c*) Thunder as a sound caused by the Chariot of Zeus.

According to another popular belief, thunder was the noise made by the chariot of Zeus as it rattled across the sky. Of this conception there is no certain trace in epic verse[1]. But Pindar began one of his lost poems with the words:

'Thunder-driving son of Rhea[2].'

On which Hesychios comments: 'The thunder is thought to be the chariot of Zeus[3].' A second Pindaric exordium was as follows:

'Driver on high of the tireless-footed thunder,
Zeus,' etc.[4].

Hereupon one scholiast remarks: 'Recent writers assign the thunder to Zeus as his chariot and say "O Zeus the Charioteer."' Another: 'Pindar takes the thunder to be the horse of Zeus, and so calls it "tireless-footed."' A third: 'Recent writers after a manner of their own hold the thunderer to be the chariot and horse of Zeus[5].' The reference to recent writers is meant to include such poets as Horace[6]. But we can hardly doubt that the Thunderer's chariot was genuinely Greek. For, not only does it occur elsewhere in literature[7]

[1] Zeus in the *Iliad* has his 'well-wheeled chariot and horses' (*supra* i. 338 n. 1, where —as Mr C. T. Seltman points out to me—I should have noted *Il.* 8. 41 ff. rather than *Il.* 8. 438 ff. as the earliest allusion); but they are not said to cause thunder.

Ὑψίζυγος, an epic epithet of Zeus (*Il.* 4. 166, 7. 69, 11. 544, 18. 185, Hes. *o. d.* 18, Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 373. 1), might conceivably be rendered 'who driveth his team aloft' (though it would describe horse or chariot more naturally than driver) and viewed as a virtual equivalent of ὑψιβρεμέτης, 'who thundereth aloft' (*Il.* 1. 354, 12. 68, 14. 54, 16. 121, *Od.* 5. 4, 23. 331, *h. Herm.* 329, Hes. *o. d.* 8, *theog.* 568, 601, Aristoph. *Lys.* 773, Orph. *Arg.* 1278, Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 95. 3, 6. 210. 2, Tzetz. *alleg. Od.* 5. 75: cp. Orph. *h. Ker.* 19. 1, where J. Pierson cj. ὑψίβρομον for ὑψίδρομον). But ὑψίζυγος is traditionally taken to mean 'who sitteth aloft' (H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1880 ii. 396)—an epithet appropriate to a steersman (Noumenios *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 11. 18. 24, Euseb. *de laud. Const.* 10 p. 223, 12 f. Heikel), which may well have descended to Homer from the days of the 'Minoan' thalassocracy.

[2] Pind. *frag.* 144 Schröder *ap.* Souid. *s.v.* ἐλασίβροντ' ἀναρρηγνὺς ἔπη (=schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 624) "ἐλασίβροντα παῖ Ῥέας."

[3] Hesych. *s.v.* ἐλασίβροντα·...ἐπεὶ δοκεῖ ὄχημα τοῦ Διὸς ἡ βροντὴ εἶναι.

[4] Pind. *Ol.* 4. 1 f. ἑλατὴρ ὑπέρτατε βροντᾶς ἀκαμαντόποδος | Ζεῦ.

[5] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 4. 1 *d*, 1 *k*, 1 *a*.

[6] Hor. *od.* 1. 34. 5 ff. Diespiter | ...per purum tonantis | egit equos volucremque currum (cp. *ib.* 1. 12. 58 ff.) with Porphyrion *ad loc.* dicuntur tonitrua strepitus esse currus et quadrigarum Iovis.

[7] Eur. *H. f.* 177 ff. Διὸς κεραυνὸν δ' ἠρόμην τέθριππά τε, | ἐν οἷς βεβηκὼς τοῖσι γῆς βλαστήμασι | Γίγασι, πλευροῖς πτήν' ἐναρμόσας βέλη, | τὸν καλλίνικον μετὰ θεῶν ἐκώμασε, *Bellerophontes frag.* 312 Nauck[2] ὑφ' ἅρματ' ἐλθὼν Ζηνὸς ἀστραπηφορεῖ (*sc.* Pegasos: *supra* p. 828 n. 2), Quint. Smyrn. 12. 189 ff. Διὸς δ' ἐπὶ πείρασι γαίης | οὐ λάθον ἠὐ νόημα· λιπὼν δ' ἄφαρ ὠκεανοῖο | χεύματ' ἐς οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἀνήιε· τὸν δὲ φέρεσκον | Εὖρος καὶ Βορέης, Ζέφυρος δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι Νότος τε· | τοὺς δ' ὑπὸ θεσπέσιον ζυγὸν αἰόλος ἤγαγεν Ἶρις | ἅρματος αἰὲν ἐόντος, ὅ οἱ κάμεν ἄμβροτος Αἰὼν | χερσὶν ὑπ' ἀκαμάτῃσιν ἀτειρέος ἐξ ἀδάμαντος κ.τ.λ., Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 420 ff. ἐπαιγίζων δὲ θυέλλαις | ἠερόθεν πεφόρητο μετάρσιος αἰγίοχος Ζεύς, | ἑξόμενος πτερό-

Plate XXXVII



Terra-cotta group from Gnathia, now in the British Museum: Zeus in a four-horse chariot.

See page 831 *n.* 1.

and art[1], but it enters into ritual and mythology of long standing.

The inhabitants of Krannon in Thessaly kept as a sacred object

εντι Χρόνου τετράζυγι δίφρῳ | ἵπποι δὲ Κρονίωνος ὁμόζυγες ἦσαν ἀῆται. | καὶ πῇ μὲν στεροπῇσι κορύσσετο, πῇ δὲ κεραυνῷ, | ἄλλοτε δὲ βροντῇσιν ἐπέχραεν, ἄλλοτε δ' ὄμβρων | πηγνυμένης προχέων πετρούμενα νῶτα χαλάζης | ὀμβρηροῖς βελέεσσι, cp. *ib.* 36. 422 f. καὶ τότε τετραπόροιο Χρόνου στροφάλιγγα κυλίνδων, | ἱππεύων ἔτος ἕκτον, ἐλίσσετο καμπύλος Αἰών... M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1496 f. justly notes the Orphic colouring of the passages from Nonnos and compares Eur. *frag.* 943 Nauck[2] *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* i. 17. 59 πυριγενὴς δὲ δράκων ὁδὸν ἡγεῖται [ταῖς] τετραμόρφοις | ὥραις ζευγνὺς ἁρμονίᾳ πολύκαρπον ὄχημα. See also *supra* i. 337 f., and cp. the place Ἅρμα on Mt Parnes (Append. B Attike).

[1] Throughout the whole range of classical art Zeus (Iupiter) is often represented in—sometimes, beside—his chariot, grasping or hurling a thunderbolt. The scene is usually, but not always, a Gigantomachy. I append a few examples:

(1) Gems (Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 5 no. 13 pl. 3, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 18, 6 (=my fig. 760), ii. 87; i pl. 57, 2 (=my fig. 44), ii. 259, *id. Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 229 no. 6255 pl. 43, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 92 no. 591 (*infra* § 9 (c))).

(2) Coins (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 1196 f., Suppl. iii. 266 f., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 387 f. Münztaf. 5, 9 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy pp. 67 Aesernia, 74 Atella, 81 Capua, 331 f. Bruttii, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 22 Aesernia, 26 Atella, 125 Bruttii pl. 9, 6, Head *Hist. num.*[2] pp. 27, 31, 33 f., Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 636 and 654 Index *s.vv.* 'Jupiter,' 'Quadrige.' I give (fig. 787) an autonomous copper of Capua after Garrucci *Mon. It. Ant.* p. 89 pl. 87, 7. The finest numismatic types are, however, those of the Roman medallions: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 11 no. 24 pl. 15, 1 Antoninus Pius, Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 68 fig. Antoninus Pius, p. 157 fig. Septimius Severus, Kubitschek *Röm. Medaillons Wien* p. 5 no. 36 pl. 3 Antoninus Pius, Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* i. 45 no. 1 pl. 22, 2 Septimius Severus, ii. 10 no. 12 pl. 43, 10 Antoninus Pius, ii. 14 f. no. 49 pl. 49, 1 Antoninus Pius, ii. 28 no. 11 pl. 60, 1 M. Aurelius).



Fig. 787.

(3) Vases (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 4 pl. 1—2 the 'François'-vase, ii. 194 pl. 96 a red-figured *amphora* in the Louvre, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 27 pl. 13 a red-figured *amphora* from the Hamilton collection=Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 287, 1, cp. H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 18, 188).

(4) Reliefs (*Fouilles de Delphes* iv pl. 13—14, 2, col. pl. 21—23, 1, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 374 fig. 175, F. Poulsen *Delphi* trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 p. 136 f. fig. 55 north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury; *Die Skulpturen des Pergamon-Museums in Photographien* Berlin 1903 pls. 14, 15, *Pergamon* iii. 2. 48 ff. Atlas pl. 10 f.).

A Hellenistic group in terra cotta, found at Gnathia (*Fasano*) in Apulia and bequeathed by Sir W. Temple to the national collection, is described as follows by H. B. Walters (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 324 no. D 157. My pl. xxxvii is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming): 'Zeus in four-horse chariot, on a large plinth. His figure is visible as far as the knees; his head is inclined to his l., r. hand extended with open palm, and in l. he holds up an apple (?). He has a thick straight beard and curly hair with laurel-wreath; drapery is twisted round his waist and l. arm, covering the l. leg. The body of the chariot is represented by a high narrow box on a base, with an arched railing round the front and sides; the horses together with the pole and yoke of the chariot are much restored, as are the wheels of the chariot, from the axles of which project lions' heads. Ht. of Zeus (with base), 11¼ in... Back of Zeus slightly modelled.'

a bronze car. In time of drought they shook this car and prayed the god for rain. The *parásemon* or 'badge' of their city showed two ravens perched on the car; and enquirers were told that two ravens, never more than two, were to be seen at Krannon. Theopompos stated that these two stayed till they had chicks, and then left[1]. Ktesias told a similar tale about Ekbatana[2]. And Myrsilos of Methymna said that on Lepetymnos, a mountain of Lesbos, there was a temple of Apollon and a shrine of the eponymous hero Lepetymnos, on which again two ravens perched and no more[3].



Fig. 788.



Fig. 789.



Fig. 790.



Fig. 791.



Fig. 792.

All this is duly related by Antigonos of Karystos, a paradoxographer of *s.* iii B.C.; and his account is confirmed by the fourth-century coinage of Krannon. Bronze coins of that town have for their reverse type an *amphora* resting on a car (fig. 788)[4]. Some specimens show a raven seated on the right-hand wheel (figs. 789—791)[5]; others, a pair of ravens on the two wheels (fig. 792)[6]. A. Furtwängler made it probable that the ravens were believed to bring rain from the sky[7], and that water was spilt from the *amphora* as a

[1] Theopomp. *frag.* 85 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 292 Müller) *ap.* Antig. Karyst. *hist. mir.* 15.

[2] Ktes. *ap.* Antig. Karyst. *hist. mir.* 15.

[3] Myrs. Methymn. *frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 459 Müller) *ap.* Antig. Karyst. *hist. mir.* 15.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 16 pl. 2, 13. Fig. 788 is from a specimen in my collection.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 16 nos. 3 and 4, Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 469 n. 7. Fig. 789=W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 European Greece p. 43; fig. 790=*ib.* Fig. 791 is from the McClean collection.

[6] Furtwängler *op. cit.* p. 469 fig. 186. My fig. 792=W. M. Leake *op. cit.* European Greece p. 43 (wrongly described) KPANNOYNIOYN.

[7] He refers to Ail. *de nat. an.* i. 47 (Apollon sent the raven to get water. He found a green cornfield and, wishing to eat the grain, waited till it grew dry, thereby forgetting his errand. Hence he is punished by thirst in the summer, and proclaims his punishment by croaking), pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 41 (When the gods were sacrificing, the raven was sent to get water for a libation from a fountain. He saw beside it a fig-tree and waited for

rain charm[1]. Sir J. G. Frazer added that the rattling of the car was probably meant to imitate thunder[2]. We are not indeed told that this was the car of Zeus: but, since Zeus was the Greek rain-god[3], that is a legitimate assumption; he appears, moreover, on later coins of Krannon[4].

A similar imitation of the thunders of Zeus by means of a rattling chariot is found in the myth of Salmoneus, who likewise hailed from Thessaly[5].

Lastly, it will be remembered that the Thracian Zeus *Zbelsoûrdos* was at once a thunder-god and a charioteer (fig. 785)[6].

(*d*) Zeus *Brontaîos, Brontôn, Brontésios.*

Zeus *Brontaîos*, the god 'of Thunder,' figures in late literature[7] and twice at least on monuments of the Kyzikos district. A marble *stéle* from Mihallitch, preserved at Constantinople[8], is decorated with a relief of *s.* ii or iii A.D. (fig. 793)[9]. It shows Zeus standing on a broad pedestal, with a thunderbolt in his raised right hand, a sceptre in his lowered left, and an eagle at his feet. Near him, on a smaller

the figs to ripen. Then, realising his fault, he caught the water-snake of the fountain, brought it along with the bowl, and explained that the snake daily drank the water of the fountain. Apollon punished him with thirst, as is stated by Aristotle [*frag.* 329 Rose] and Archelaos in his 'Ιδιοφυῆ) [A similar account is given by schol. Arat. *phaen.* 449, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 419, 15 ff. Eyssenhardt, Ov. *fast.* 2. 243 ff., Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 40, Myth. Vat. 1. 115], Cramer *anecd. Paris.* i. 25, 20 ff. = Dionysios *περὶ ὀρνίθων* (When Koronis was bearing Asklepios at Trikke, the raven was told to bring water. Instead of that, he indulged in lust. Apollon in anger turned him black and so shaped his crop that he cannot bring water to his chicks) [Cp. Hyg. *fab.* 202, *poet. astr.* 2. 40, Myth. Vat. 1. 115, 2. 22, 2. 128].

On the raven as a weather-prophet in antiquity see *supra* p. 518 n. 4.

[1] Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 471 suggests the same use for the problematic *Kesselwagen* or 'caldron-chariots' of the late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. These are bowls mounted on carriages of four wheels apiece and frequently decorated with birds or birds' heads. For examples and bibliography see J. Schlemm *Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1908 pp. 282—286. Cp. also R. Kittel *Studien zur hebräischen Archäologie und Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1908 pp. 189—242 ('Die Kesselwagen des salomonischen Tempels'—an interesting discussion leading up to the conclusion: 'Sie sind die Symbole der regenspendenden Gottheit'), J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 284 ff. fig. 107, 442 ff. fig. 183.

[2] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 309.

[3] *Infra* § 9.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 17 pl. 2, 14, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 294.

[5] *Infra* Append. L *sub fin.*

[6] *Supra* p. 820.

[7] Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 17, Orph. *h. Zeus* 15. 9. Cp. Athena Βελονίκη daughter of Βρονταῖος (Eudok. *viol.* 355), Athena Βελενίκη daughter of Βρονταῖος (Favorin. *lex.* p. 750, 19 f.), Athena Βαλενίκη daughter of Βροντέας (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 111).

[8] A. Joubin *Musée impérial ottoman: Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines, byzantines et franques* Constantinople 1893 no. 126, G. Mendel *Musées Impériaux Ottomans: Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines* Constantinople iii ('sous presse').

[9] Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 115 pl. 133, 2 (=my fig. 793).

pedestal, is a terminal Hermes, with a *caduceus* over his right shoulder[1]. Between the two deities appears a flaming altar. And below is the figure of a man lying prone on his face. The inscription



Fig. 793.

underneath runs: 'Tiberius Claudius Syntrophus to Zeus *Hýpsistos*, bidden (by the god), at his own cost dedicated (this), to *Brontaîos*[2].'

[1] This detail is omitted in the drawing by E. Landron here reproduced.

[2] Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος | Σύντροφος Διὶ | Ὑψίστῳ κατ' ἐπιτα|γὴν ἐκ τῶ(ν) ἰδί|ω[ν] ἀνέθηκεν | Βροντα[ίῳ]. Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii no. 1099, J. Schmidt in the *Ath. Mitth.*

Perhaps Syntrophus, like Pythagoras[1], had been 'purified with the thunder-stone' and 'lying prone' in the appointed place had been warned to erect this monument to Zeus *Hýpsistos Brontaîos*. Another marble *stéle*, found between Tchakyrdja and Hadji Paon, represents in relief an altar, the sacrifice of a bull, and four worshippers. Below is the inscription: 'Meleagros and Theoxenos and Menandros, the sons of Protomachos, (discharged) a vow to Zeus *Brontaîos*[2].'

Thunder, says Sir William Ramsay, 'in early summer is exceedingly common on the Phrygian uplands[3].' Hence one of the chief cults of northern and eastern Phrygia was that of Zeus *Brontôn*, 'He that Thunders.' Scores of inscriptions from this[4] and adjoining districts[5] make mention of him; and his worship, thanks to the traffic in Phrygian slaves, spread at a comparatively early date to Rome[6].

As to the character of this deity, apart from vague epithets such

1881 vi. 134 f. no. 3). The order of the words suggests that Βρονταίῳ was added as an afterthought.

[1] *Supra* i. 646.

[2] F. W. Hasluck in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1907 xxvii. 66 no. 12 Μελέαγρος καὶ Θεόξενος | καὶ Μένανδρος οἱ Πρωτομάχου | Διὶ Βροντα[ί]ωι εὐχήν.

[3] Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 124.

[4] At and near Nakoleia (Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 123 f., 1884 v. 257 f.), Dorylaeion (*id. ib.* 1882 iii. 123, 1884 v. 255 ff., *id.* in *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* Aberdeen 1906 p. 276 f. nos. 7, 10, 11, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 3810, Add. no. 3817*b*, A. von Domaszewski in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1883 vii. 174 ff. nos. 14, 16, 18, 29, 33, T. Preger in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 310 f. nos. 9—11. See further *supra* p. 280 n. 1), Prymnessos (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 3819), *Kymak* (*ib.* iii no. 3822), Kotiaeion (G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie* etc. Paris 1872 i. 116 f. no. 77), *Kurtköi* (A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 441 ff. nos. 35—37), *Gümjarik* (*id. ib.* 1899 xxiv. 443 f. no. 38), *Inhissar* (*id. ib.* 1899 xxiv. 446 f. no. 44), *Bunarbashi* (*id. ib.* 1900 xxv. 409 f. no. 19), *Gümbet* (*id. ib.* 1900 xxv. 416 f. no. 29), at and near *Inönü* (*id. ib.* 1900 xxv. 417 f. nos. 27—30).

[5] Bithynia (G. Mendel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 411 no. 103 *Essir-keui*, 413 no. 106 *Koujounlou*), Galatia (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4135 *Ogur* or *Ogut*, Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884 v. 258 Ankyra, J. G. C. Anderson *ib.* 1899 xix. 73 no. 24 *Iki kilisse*), Lykaonia (*supra* p. 817 Laodikeia Katakekaumene).

[6] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5931 = *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 982 (Rome) Γναῖος Κλαύδιος Εὐτύχης θεῷ Μεγάλῳ | Βροντῶντι δῶρον ἀνέθηκεν, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5933 = *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 983 (Rome) θεῷ Ἐπηκόῳ [Βρ]||οντῶντι Α[..][..] Πείσων εὐ[χήν], *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 432 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3046 (Rome) Iovi Sancto Brontonti Aur. Poplius ☉, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 733 = Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 130 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4226 (Rome) deo Soli Invicto Mitrhe (*sic*) | Fl. Septimius Zosimus v.p., | sacerdus dei Brontontis | et Aecate (*sic*), hoc speleum | constituit, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 2241 (Rome) L. Iulius L. f. Clau(dia tribu) | Pollitianus sacer(dos) | dei Brontontis | donum d. d.

The Roman Iupiter *Tonans*, a very different deity, was likewise represented in Greek by Zeus Βροντῶν (Dion Cass. 54. 4) or Βροντήσιος (*res gestae divi Augusti* 19 p. 22 f. Diehl cited *supra* p. 111 n. 0, *ib.* 2 p. 38 f. Diehl).

as 'Great' and 'Holy[1]' and 'Hearer of Prayer,' he is called 'the Father god[2]' and 'the Victorious Father[3],' on the strength of which appellations he has been identified[4] with the Phrygian *Pápas* or *Papâs*[5]. His art-type was that of a late provincial Zeus—witness a crude bust from Dorylaeion (*Eskishehir*) in the British Museum (fig. 794)[6]. A marble altar from *Gümbet* in Phrygia, described by A. Körte[7], makes it clear, however, that Zeus *Brontôn*—like Zeus *Díos* of the same region[8]—had also a Dionysiac aspect. The altar-front is adorned with a lunar crescent, beneath which is a bearded bust of Zeus in relief, with an eagle perched on his right shoulder. The altar-back shows two ox-heads with a plough below them. The small sides of the monument have vases and a vine-stem. Other altars dedicated to Zeus *Brontôn* at or near *Inönü* repeat the elements of this decoration—eagle, plough, vine, etc.[9] And it cannot be a mere coincidence that a whole series of tombstones from *Altyntach* represents the deceased surrounded by the same sacred emblems —eagle, plough, and vine[10]. Presumably Zeus *Brontôn* was not only a celestial but also a terrestrial power. Indeed, his chthonian character is fairly established by the fact that almost every inscription from Phrygia in which he is mentioned occurs on a gravestone[11]. Those who had worshipped him in life would naturally claim his protection in death.

What forms his worship took we are not expressly told. But there is good reason to suppose that he was served with mystic rites in a cave. *Inönü*, a stronghold of his cult, derives its name ('Cave-front') from a great cavern visible in the rock above the village. The cavern comprises an upper and a lower chamber, con-

[1] W. Link *De vocis* "Sanctus" *usu pagano* Königsberg 1910.

[2] Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 123 (Nakoleia) Διὶ Βροντῶντι καὶ Πατρὶ θεῷ.

[3] *Id. ib.* 1882 iii. 124 (Nakoleia) Νεικήτωρ Πατήρ.

[4] *Id. ib.* 1882 iii. 124. But see F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 891.

[5] *Supra* p. 292 n. 4.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 3 no. 1521 inscribed Διὶ Βροντῶντι | Ἀγησίλαος κα|τὰ ἐπιταγήν (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 3817 *ó*). Hard limestone. Height: 2 ft 3 ins. Fig. 794 is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming.

[7] A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 416 f. no. 26.

[8] *Supra* p. 280 f.

[9] A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 417 f. nos. 27, 28, 29.

[10] G. Mendel 'Catalogue des monuments grecs, romains et byzantins du musée impérial ottoman de Brousse' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1909 xxxiii. 283 ff. nos. 45—52 figs. 17—24, G. Rodenwaldt 'Zeus Bronton' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1919 xxxiv. 79 fig. 3.

[11] Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884 v. 257, F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 891. See, however, G. Rodenwaldt in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1919 xxxiv. 82 n. 1.

nected by means of a steep shaft. Close by stood a limestone altar dedicated 'To Zeus from the Cave, Hearer of Prayer[1].' Another



Fig. 794.

[1] A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 419 ff. no. 32 Διὶ ἐξ αὐλῆς ἐ|πηκόῳ θεῷ | κ.τ.λ. *Supra* p. 249 n. 2.

limestone altar, decked with the god's emblems (an eagle, two *bucrania*, a garland, a vine-stem) and bearing an inscription 'to Zeus *Telesphóros*,' is built into a fountain at the north-east end of the village[1]. Moreover, a priest of *Bronton* and Hekate is known to have consecrated a cave (*speleum*) to Mithras at Rome[2]. Hence it is highly probable that the cult of the Phrygian cave-Zeus resembled that of the Cretan cave-Zeus. As the mystics of Zeus *Idaîos* had themselves to make the thunders of nocturnal Zagreus before attaining the sanctity of their god[3], so in all likelihood the devotees of Zeus *Brontôn* by some *mímesis* of his thunder sought to become partakers of his godhead. This assumes, no doubt, that the Phrygians, like the Greeks[4], recognised subterranean thunders. But it will be remembered that in Orphic, and therefore Thraco-Phrygian, story the infant Zagreus sat on a throne grasping the thunderbolt of Zeus[5]. If Zeus was *hypsibremétes*[6], Dionysos at least was *Brómios*[7].

Bearing in mind, then, the Dionysiac and *quasi*-Orphic nature of Zeus *Brontôn*, we are better able to appreciate a votive relief in the Villa Panfili (fig. 795) dedicated to him under the title of Iupiter *Sanctus Bronton*[8]. This monument, purely Greek in its design, shows a youthful lyre-player seated on a rock-cut throne, against the side of which appears a female panther. Before him stand two women carrying a jug and a bowl respectively. Panther, jug, and bowl betoken a Dionysiac company. The rock-cut throne recalls the throne of Zeus in the Idaean Cave[9]. And it is reasonable to surmise that the scene as a whole portrays the ritual enthronement of a worshipper in the cave of Zeus *Brontôn*. If it be urged that the seated figure resembles Apollon rather than Dionysos, we might reply that Dionysos from *s.* v B.C. onwards tends to become Apolline and is sometimes equipped with the lyre[10]. But it would, I think, be

[1] A. von Domaszewski in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1883 vii. 176 no. 22 (incomplete), A. Körte *loc. cit.* 1900 xxv. 418 f. no. 31 Εὔϊλκιος Ἰακίν|θου περὶ αὑτοῦ | καὶ τῶν εἰδίων | Διὶ Τελεσφόρῳ | εὐχῆς χάριν.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 733 (quoted *supra* p. 835 n. 6).

[3] *Supra* i. 648 ff. [4] *Supra* p. 829.

[5] *Supra* i. 398, 647. [6] *Supra* p. 830 n. 1.

[7] I take Βρόμιος to denote 'god of the roaring Thunder' (βρέμω, βρόμος, βροντή < *βρομ-τᾶ: see Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 84, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 132). Other views are noted by O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 888 f.

[8] Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 321 f. pl. 82, 1 (=my fig. 795) (a Bacchic Apollon engaged in the Mysteries), G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti*[2] Roma 1821 i. 63 f. pl. 50 (Orpheus in the Underworld, which is represented by a tiger-like Kerberos and two Danaïdes (!)), Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 147 f. no. 3773 ('Iuppiter Bronton' with two youthful female figures), Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 123 f. ('Apollo Citharoedus...with a panther and two choephoroi'). The dedication is given *supra* p. 835 n. 6.

[9] *Supra* i. 646. [10] *Supra* p. 244 with n. 5.

more relevant to observe that the cult of Zeus *Brontôn* stood in some relation to that of Phoibos. A marble altar found near *Kurshumlu*, between Brouzos and Dorylaeion, was dedicated to Zeus *Brontôn* by two brothers Paulos and Phoibos together with their mother Rufina 'in accordance with a command of the god Phoibos[1].' Here it is clear that the dedicant Phoibos is directed by his namesake god; and it is at least possible that in Phrygia, as at Delphoi[2],

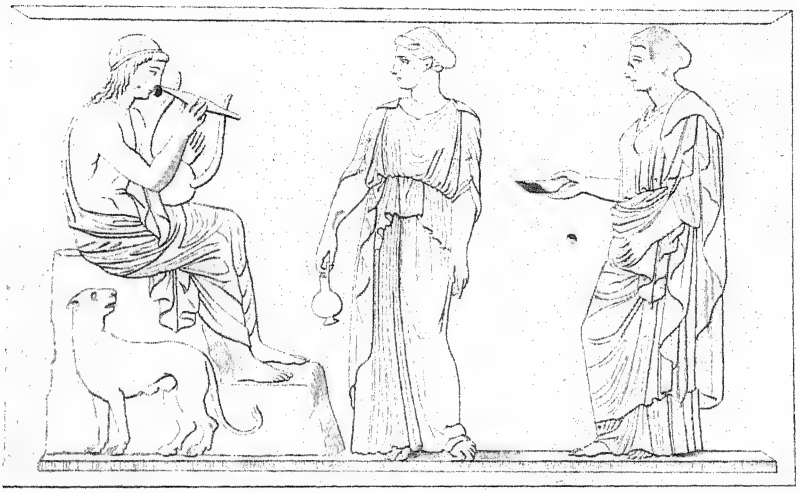


Fig. 795.

Apollon had to some extent displaced Dionysos. It looks as though we should admit a certain mutual influence, not to say contamination, of three cave-gods originally quite distinct—Zeus *Brontôn* whose thunders issued 'from the Cave[3],' Mithras to whom the priest of *Bronton* dedicated a *speleum*[4], and Phoibos the last occupant of the Delphic *ádyton*. In this accommodating system it may well be that the worshipper, playing the lyre of Phoibos 'the Pure[5],' was believed to be making the thunders[6] of the reborn Zeus.

[1] A. von Domaszewski in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1883 vii. 174 no. 14 [ἀγαθῇ] τύχῃ· | Δεὶ Βροντῶντι Ηαῦ|λος καὶ Φοῖβος υ (=οἱ?) ἀ|δελφοὶ κατὰ κέλε|υσιν τοῦ θεοῦ Φο(ί)|βου ἐκ τῶν ἰδίω|ν τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέ|στησαν μετὰ τῆς | μητρὸς Ῥουφείνας.

[2] *Supra* p. 243 ff.

[3] *Supra* p. 837 n. 1.

[4] *Supra* p. 835 n. 6.

[5] *Supra* p. 500.

[6] In Nonn. *Dion.* 1. 427 ff. (*supra* p. 449 n. 2 (2)) Typhoeus describes the thunders of Zeus as a musical instrument (432 ὄργανον αὐτοβόητον Ὀλύμπιον).

Retrospect.

Most of the evidence available for a study of Zeus as god of Thunder and Lightning now lies behind us. But, lest I be accused of inveigling my readers into an irremeable labyrinth of detail, I shall endeavour in a few concluding paragraphs to emphasise afresh the main outlines and salient points of my design.

Zeús, 'the Bright One,' was originally nothing but the day-light Sky, conceived in zoïstic fashion as alive with a life of its own; and traces of that primitive conception could be detected here and there throughout the classical period. But already in Homeric days, indeed long before Homer, the divine Sky had developed into the Sky-god, a weather-making ruler, who dwelt in upper glory (*aithér*). As such he became the recognised head of the Hellenic pantheon, and in the Hellenistic age was brought into connexion with other manifestations of celestial brightness—sun, moon, and stars alike.

So much had been made clear in the first volume of this work. The second, beginning with the obvious reflexion that the sky is not always bright, went on to observe that Zeus god of the bright sky naturally became god of the weather in general[1], any sudden atmospheric change being interpreted as an ominous 'Zeus-sign' (*Diosemía*)[2].

Of such changes the most momentous was the thunder-storm. For it was then, when all was dark, that Zeus would rend the heavens and come down in the form of a bright blinding flash (Zeus *Keraunós*)[3].

Investigation of Zeus *Kataibátes*, 'who descends' in the lightning[4], and of his *elýsia* or *enelýsia*, sacred precincts where none might tread[5], led us to examine into the curious belief that the 'Zeus-struck' man (*Dióbletos*), though he lay blasted and blackened on the ground, was for all that a divinised mortal even now 'in Elysium' (*enelýsios*)[6].

Hence a long but necessary digression on the Elysian Way from earth to heaven, 'the road of Zeus' as Pindar called it, in plain prose the Galaxy, which was regarded by Pythagoreans as a soul-path and associated by Platon in Pythagorising mood with 'a straight light like a pillar' stretched along the axis of the universe[7]. This enquiry disclosed a new and not unimportant conception of the sky as resting on a sky-prop[8]—a conception which helped to explain, not only the Iupiter-columns of Rhenic Germany[9], but also such monuments as the column of Mayence[10], and even the great commemorative columns of Rome and Constantinople[11].

[1] *Supra* p. 1 ff. [2] *Supra* p. 4 ff. [3] *Supra* p. 11 ff. [4] *Supra* p. 13 ff.
[5] *Supra* p. 21 f. [6] *Supra* p. 22 ff. [7] *Supra* p. 36 ff. [8] *Supra* p. 50 ff.
[9] *Supra* p. 57 ff. [10] *Supra* p. 93 ff. [11] *Supra* p. 100 ff.

Further consideration of the sky-prop, as exemplified by the Diana-pillars of Italy[1] and the *Agyieús*-pillars of Greece[2], threw light on some perplexing phenomena of popular cult, *e.g.* the wooden balusters of Diana *Nemorensis*[3] and the *dókana* of the Dioskouroi[4]. Moreover, the occurrence of an *Agyieús*-pillar set on an *omphalós* at Byzantion[5] turned our thoughts to Delphoi[6], where the *omphalós* lately discovered by F. Courby[7] was seen to be the base of an *Agyieús*-post[8] covering the navel-string of Zeus, in accordance with a custom still traceable in various parts of Greece[9], and safeguarded by the eagles that betokened his presence[10]. The Delphic *Agyieús*-pillar was in a manner duplicated by the Delphic tripod with its central stem[11]. On this sat the *Pythía* as bride of Apollon[12]—a usage implying the caldron of apotheosis[13], which an Orphic myth located at Delphoi and connected with the death of Dionysos[14].

And here an attempt was made to determine the stratification of this very complex cult[15]. It appeared that the first Hellenic occupants of the oracular seat were the sky-god Zeus *Aphésios* (?), 'He that lets fly[16],' and the earth-goddess Ge *Thémis* (?), 'She that produces[17],' their respective tokens being the eagles and the *omphalós*. Then followed Dionysos, brought in by a wave of Thracian immigrants[18], who told how their god was done to death by the Titans, boiled in the Delphic tripod, and buried beside it[19]. Thus the *sanctum sanctorum* in the Pythian temple contained, not only the *omphalós* with its eagles attesting the joint worship of Zeus and Ge, but also the tripod and tomb of Dionysos[20]. Finally, Apollon to a large extent displaced Dionysos[21], who however down to the close of antiquity retained at least the wintry quarter of the Delphic year[22]. The latest comer was fittingly affiliated to Zeus as his *prophétes*[23] (if the one was *Aphésios*, the other was *aphétor*[24]) and took over the properties of his various predecessors—the eagles of Zeus, the *omphalós* of Ge, the tripod of Dionysos—importing in addition his own Thessalian bay[25]. His installation was completed before the epic age[26].

Delphoi is vital. Here, if anywhere, we touch the very heart of Greek religion. And the gods whom the Delphic succession associated with Zeus demand closer scrutiny than they have yet received. It seemed worth while therefore to tackle afresh a whole

[1] *Supra* p. 143 ff. [2] *Supra* p. 160 ff. [3] *Supra* p. 143 ff. [4] *Supra* pp. 160, 161.
[5] *Supra* p. 166 ff. [6] *Supra* p. 169 ff. [7] *Supra* p. 174 ff. [8] *Supra* p. 177 f.
[9] *Supra* p. 189 ff. [10] *Supra* p. 179 ff. [11] *Supra* p. 193 ff. [12] *Supra* p. 207 ff.
[13] *Supra* p. 210 ff. [14] *Supra* p. 218 ff. [15] *Supra* p. 266 f.
[16] *Supra* pp. 179 f., 266 f. [17] *Supra* p. 267 f. [18] *Supra* p. 268.
[19] *Supra* p. 218 ff. [20] *Supra* p. 239. [21] *Supra* p. 243 ff. [22] *Supra* p. 235 f.
[23] *Supra* p. 204. [24] *Supra* p. 180. [25] *Supra* p. 486. [26] *Supra* p. 239.

series of problems concerned with the relation of Zeus on the one hand to Dionysos, on the other to Apollon.

Zeus and Ge were purely Hellenic. Their counterparts in the Thraco-Phrygian area proved to be a sky-god Dios and an earth-goddess Zemela, whose son was known as Dios *Nýsos*, that is Dios 'the Younger[1].' From inscriptions and literary sources we learnt that these names were Grecised as Zeus *Díos*, Semele, and Dionysos[2]. Further, it was pointed out that the Thraco-Phrygians conceived Dios the son to be a rebirth of Dios the father. And this conception, to which parallels could be adduced from many backward races[3], served to explain the odd fact that the youthful consort of Kybele was commonly called *Átis*, 'Daddy,' or *Pápas*, 'Papa[4].' It accounted also satisfactorily for a feature of old Anatolian worship often noticed but hitherto not fully understood—the constant grouping of the mother-goddess with a youthful *páredros*, at once her husband and her child[5]. It even suggested a reason for the speed and success with which early Christianity permeated the regions of Phrygia and Thrace[6].

Akin to the Thracian Father and Son were the Samothracian Kabeiroi or Megaloi Theoi[7], consideration of whom led to a discussion of the double Zeus[8] and the Dioskouroi[9].

After dealing with the Phrygian Zeus *Tetráotos*[10], the Celtic Janiform god[11], Iupiter *Ambisagrus* and Iupiter *Dianus* at Aquileia[12], we proceeded to examine the relationship of Ianus to Iupiter[13]. The view here maintained is that an ancient Illyrian (?) sky-god was worshipped on the west of the Adriatic as Ianus or Ian, on the east as Zan. Ianus was in effect an older Iupiter[14], Zan an older Zeus[15]. Neither Zan nor Ianus was, to begin with, anthropomorphic. Zan as being the broad Sky had the title *Mégas*[16], but was left without an effigy[17]. Ianus was represented as a vault or archway with four supporting pillars[18]—a mimic sky which gave rise to the Roman triumphal arch[19]. When Ianus became iconic, he was figured as a double-faced deity standing beneath his arch[20]. The double face, a characteristic of other sky-gods, showed a tendency towards differentiation[21] (beardless *v.* bearded, blonde *v.* black-haired, etc.) and perhaps signified that the divine Sky was bright by day and dark by night[22]. Among differentiated types was that of Virbius as Dianus or Ianus, the consort of Diana at Nemi[23]: he was plastered

[1] *Supra* p. 267 ff. [2] *Supra* p. 277 ff. [3] *Supra* p. 294 n. 1. [4] *Supra* p. 292 ff.
[5] *Supra* p. 294 ff. [6] *Supra* pp. 288 ff., 303 ff. [7] *Supra* p. 313 ff.
[8] *Supra* p. 316 ff. [9] *Supra* p. 422 ff. [10] *Supra* p. 322. [11] *Supra* p. 323 ff.
[12] *Supra* p. 326 ff. [13] *Supra* p. 328 ff. [14] *Supra* p. 335 ff. [15] *Supra* p. 340 ff.
[16] *Supra* p. 344 ff. [17] *Supra* p. 353 f. [18] *Supra* p. 354 ff. [19] *Supra* p. 359 ff.
[20] *Supra* p. 365 ff. [21] *Supra* p. 387 ff. [22] *Supra* p. 378 ff. [23] *Supra* p. 392 ff.

over with oak-leaves because she was an oak-goddess[1], whose sacred tree, or a descendant of the same, was subsisting as late as the eighteenth century[2].

A section on Zeus and the Twins showed first how the supports of the Sky were gradually transformed into its supporters, passing through successive stages as pillars, pillars with personal names, pillars with individual effigies, and pillars in the shape of the Dioskouroi[3]. When the old popular belief in a flat earth overarched by a solid sky resting on side-props gave place to the philosophic idea of a globe enclosed in a sphere half light, half dark, room was still found for the Dioskouroi by a daring personification of the two hemispheres[4]. Next it was contended that the Sky, appearing alternately as Day and Night, is essentially of a twin character. Hence the savage notion that twins in general are 'Children of the Sky[5].' Hence too the contrast between numerous mythical pairs of Twins[6], for instance Kastor and Polydeukes[7], Romulus and Remus[8], Zetes and Kalaïs[9], Zethos and Amphion[10], Herakles and Iphikles[11]. A recurring feature in such cases is the comparative feebleness of one of the Twins, a feebleness sometimes amounting to effeminacy, which therefore paves the way for the recognition of Twins male and female[12]. Lastly, in this connexion we investigated the supposed twinship of Apollon and Artemis[13]. A survey of recent opinions with regard to the *provenance* of Apollon[14] was followed by a detailed discussion of the crucial Hyperborean myth[15]. The 'wondrous way' to the land of the Hyperboreoi mentioned by Pindar was held to be none other than the celestial 'road of Zeus,' but the Hyperborean sacrifice of asses to Apollon suggested rather a terrestrial abode in or near Thrace[16]. And this bilocation squared with other mythical happenings—Herakles' capture of the hind with golden horns among the Hyperboreoi of 'the Istrian land[17],' his introduction of the white-poplar to Olympia from Thesprotia[18], and the metamorphosis of the Heliades into black-poplars on the banks of the Eridanos[19]—the poplar, white or black, being a Borderland or Otherworld tree[20]. Special attention was here drawn to a neglected statement by Apollonios of Rhodes to the effect that the Keltoi took amber to be the tears, not of the poplars, but of Apollon, when banished by Zeus to the Hyperborean haunts[21].

[1] *Supra* p. 400 ff.
[2] *Supra* p. 417 ff.
[3] *Supra* p. 422 ff.
[4] *Supra* p. 432 ff.
[5] *Supra* p. 434 f.
[6] *Supra* p. 435 ff., cp. p. 317.
[7] *Supra* p. 436 ff.
[8] *Supra* p. 440 ff.
[9] *Supra* p. 444 f.
[10] *Supra* p. 445.
[11] *Supra* p. 445 ff.
[12] *Supra* p. 447 ff.
[13] *Supra* p. 452 ff.
[14] *Supra* p. 453 ff.
[15] *Supra* p. 459 ff.
[16] *Supra* p. 462 ff.
[17] *Supra* p. 465 f.
[18] *Supra* p. 467 ff.
[19] *Supra* p. 472 ff.
[20] *Supra* p. 470 ff.
[21] *Supra* p. 484.

Ultimately the following conclusions were reached: (1) that Apollon came to Greece from the land of the Hyperboreoi, dwellers 'Beyond the Mountains,' about the source of the Danube[1]; (2) that the road to their northern home was described sometimes as an earthly, sometimes as a heavenly track, the former being the old trade-route for amber along the eastern shore of the Adriatic, the latter its aërial counterpart the Milky Way[2]; (3) that the *Agyieús*-pillars of Illyria and Epeiros marked out the 'Way' by which the god travelled, and pointed onwards to Delphoi, where his oracle was established by the Hyperboreans Pagasos and Agyieus[3]; (4) that on his journey southward he was associated with different trees in different regions—possibly, as Dr Rendel Harris urges, with the apple-tree[4] in north Europe (Balder?[5], Phol??[6]), probably with the black-poplar (*ápellon*) in the Balkans[7], certainly with the bay in Thessaly[8]; (5) that Phoibos *Apóllon*—for such was his full name—may have been originally a sky-god, who was affiliated to Zeus at Delphoi and specialised by the Greeks into a sun-god[9]; (6) that he met Artemis first in Asia Minor or the Archipelago, where she originated as the younger form of the Anatolian mother-goddess[10]. Thus at the close of a somewhat lengthy excursion we were brought back—like Apollon himself—by the Elysian route to Delphoi.

Resuming the main thread of our argument, we next dealt with lightning as a flash from an eye, the evil eye, of Zeus[11]. The subject afforded an opportunity of explaining the superstition, not only of the evil eye, but of the good eye also[12].

Then followed a study of lightning as the weapon of Zeus—axe, spear, sword, or what not? A notice of neolithic celts, which the Greeks still term 'lightning-axes' (*astrapopelékia*, *astropelékia*)[13], prefaced a collection and discussion of the *data* with regard to the double axe in 'Minoan' and post-'Minoan' times[14]. This implement

[1] *Supra* p. 494 ff. [2] *Supra* p. 496 ff. [3] *Supra* p. 499.

[4] *Supra* p. 487 ff., cp. Addenda *ad loc.*

[5] J. Rendel Harris *The Ascent of Olympus* Manchester 1917 p. 64 f., *id. Origin and Meaning of Apple Cults* (extr. from the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester* August 1918 to March 1919) Manchester 1919 p. 43 ff.

[6] For Phol (Pôl *cod.*) in the Second Merseburg Charm see K. Müllenhoff—W. Scherer *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem viii—xii Jahrhundert*[3] Berlin 1892 p. 16 (Text), J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 224 ff., 1883 ii. 614, iii. 1231 f. (Text), 1268 Index, 1888 iv. 1358, 1882 Index, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 262, E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 324, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 127 f., R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 311 f., R. A. S. Macalister in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 1919 xxxiv. 374 ff. (Text).

[7] *Supra* p. 484 ff. [8] *Supra* p. 486. [9] *Supra* p. 500. [10] *Supra* p. 501.

[11] *Supra* p. 501 ff. [12] *Supra* p. 504 f. [13] *Supra* p. 505 ff. [14] *Supra* p. 513 ff.

was seen falling from heaven to earth, as on a gold ring from Mykenai[1], incorporated with tree- or plant-forms, as on the *sarcophagus* from *Hagia Triada* (here interpreted afresh)[2] and on that from *Palaikastro*[3], stuck into the pillars of a sacred building, as at Knossos[4], or into the stalactite columns of a cave, as on Mount Dikte[5], set up between a pair of bovine horns, as in Cretan art *passim*[6],—*motifs* appropriate each and all to the weapon of a sky-god. A lenticular gem, hitherto unpublished, showed this god posting along through the air with wings on shoulders and heels and a double axe in his hand[7]. We identified him with Kronos, the husband of Rhea, and conjectured that the Greeks took his name to mean 'Chopper[8].' The Homeric Kronos *ankylométes*, 'of the crooked blade' (for so it should be rendered), passed on his *hárpe* to the Italian Saturn[9]. An analogous figure, part deity, part dirk, was recognised among the Hittite carvings at Boghaz-Keui[10]. The multiple wings could be paralleled from the coins of Mallos and Byblos; the double axe and *hárpe*, from the coins of Ake or Ptolemaïs[11].

When the Bronze Age succumbed to the Iron Age, the 'Minoan' Kronos was succeeded by the Hellenic Zeus, another storm-god of like proclivities[12], who became the inheritor of the double axe over a wide area of the ancient world.

At Tarentum 'bolts from heaven forged of bronze,' traditionally connected with early settlers from Crete, were taken over by Zeus *Kataibátes*[13].

In Asia Minor, if we may trust Plutarch, the double axe (*lábrys*) belonged in turn to the Amazons, the Lydians, and the Carians, being eventually placed by Arselis of Mylasa in the hand of Zeus *Labradeús*[14]. The statement is broadly correct. The Amazonian axe was in fact of Hittite origin: it is borne by the youthful god at Boghaz-Keui and by his successor Herakles (Sandas) at Tarsos[15]. On coins of Thyateira and other Lydian towns it is carried by the local hero (Tyrimnos or the like), who in Graeco-Roman times tends to be identified with Apollon and Helios[16]. Similar coin-types prevail in Phrygia, where again the axe-bearing hero (Lairbenos, Lairmenos, etc.) is equated with the same divinities. Not improbably these are all Hellenised forms of the younger Hittite sky-god[17]. As to the Carians, Hekatomnos early in *s.* iv B.C. struck coins with

[1] *Supra* p. 514 ff.
[2] *Supra* p. 516 ff.
[3] *Supra* p. 524 f.
[4] *Supra* p. 528 f.
[5] *Supra* p. 530 ff.
[6] *Supra* p. 535 ff.
[7] *Supra* p. 543 f.
[8] *Supra* p. 548 f.
[9] *Supra* p. 549 f.
[10] *Supra* p. 550 ff.
[11] *Supra* p. 552 ff.
[12] *Supra* p. 554 ff.
[13] *Supra* pp. 29 ff., 559.
[14] *Supra* p. 559 f.
[15] *Supra* p. 560.
[16] *Supra* p. 561 ff.
[17] *Supra* p. 565 ff.

the type of Zeus shouldering a double axe. This was an adaptation from the cult-image of Zeus *Strátios* or *Labráyndos* (*Labrandeús*, *Labrandenós*, etc.), who was worshipped at Labranda near Mylasa[1]. The Mylasians just outside their city had a second sanctuary, that of Zeus *Osogôa*, whose attributes the eagle, the trident, and the crab procured for him the title *Zenoposeidôn*[2].

And here, by way of parenthesis, we contended that the Hellenic Poseidon himself was but a specialised form of Zeus, his name *Potei-Dán*, etc., denoting originally 'Lord Zeus,' just as *pótnia Hére* meant 'lady Hera[3].'

In Karia the cult of Zeus had probably been superposed on that of an indigenous earth-mother, whose characteristics he had to some extent absorbed. Two queer reliefs show the Zeus of Labranda grasping a double axe but equipped with female breasts[4]—an abnormal figure, which recurs at *Suwasa* in Kappadokia[5] and is balanced by a bearded goddess brandishing a thunderbolt at *Zogui* in Pontos[6].

A short section followed in which, accepting M. Mayer's connexion of *lábrys* and *Labýrinthos*, we maintained (1) that the Carian *Labráynda*, *Lábranda* and the Cretan *Labýrinthos* both denoted a place where lightning, the sky-god's *lábrys*, had fallen, and (2) that in Karia and Crete alike the *lábrys* was primarily the attribute of a god and only secondarily, if at all[7], the attribute of a goddess[8].

More space was devoted to E. Conybeare's suggestion that the *labarum* was derived from the *lábrys*, and a fresh attempt was made to trace the steps by which the pagan symbol developed into the Christian monogram[9]. It was shown (1) that the old Anatolian double axe was still recognised as a sacred object or sign throughout the Levant in the opening centuries of our era—witness the coin-types and reliefs discussed above, the reputed axe of Noah[10], the Ophite diagram[11], the Gnostic mystery of the double axe[12], and (2) that the pictograph of the *lábrys*, having already given rise to a variety of syllabic and alphabetic characters, might readily be adapted to other significant uses[13]. Accordingly it was suggested that Constantine, who during his stay in the east had observed the *lábrys* and noted its possibilities, later deliberately transformed it into the *labarum*, an emblem at once old and new, pagan and Christian, in a word thoroughly Constantinian[14].

[1] *Supra* pp. 573 ff., 585 ff.
[2] *Supra* p. 576 ff.
[3] *Supra* p. 582 ff.
[4] *Supra* p. 592 ff.
[5] *Supra* p. 594 f.
[6] *Supra* p. 595 f.
[7] *Supra* p. 622 ff.
[8] *Supra* p. 600 f.
[9] *Supra* p. 601 ff.
[10] *Supra* p. 609 f.
[11] *Supra* p. 610 f.
[12] *Supra* p. 611 ff.
[13] *Supra* p. 613, cp. p. 607 f.
[14] *Supra* p. 613 f.

Further examples of the double axe in the east[1] and in the west[2] did not detain us long; and we passed on to discuss the axes carried by priests and priestesses in Greece and Italy[3]. Traces of the 'Minoan' *lábrys* were detected in the double axe of Athena[4], the double axe of Theseus[5], the double axes taken in procession from Athens to Delphoi[6], etc. Attention was also drawn to Italian pontifical axes[7]. And it was held that the lictor's axe in particular had been a sacred weapon borne before the king as representative of the sky-god: the rods bound round it and so charged with its virtue would be potent to expel evil from a malefactor[8].

Sacred axes, from neolithic times onward, have been distinguished by their colour, or size, or decorative design[9]. The decoration often consists in diagonals and zig-zags probably derived from lashings[10], sometimes in dendritic patterns resembling the 'thunder-besom[11],' or in stylised moths with circular 'eyes[12].' Such embellishment indicated the presence of a soul in the axe, and simultaneously protected it from possible harm. Further progress towards anthropomorphism was discernible in the Early Iron Age, when small axes of bronze became axe-shaped pendants and took on sundry animal or human features[13]. Finally the pendant was modified into a gong and thus endowed with divine utterance[14].

A marked trait in the 'Minoan' axe was its tendency towards duplication. Without denying that a pair of axes might be used to symbolise a pair of deities, we concluded that in general double or multiple blades were intended to augment the striking-power of the god that wielded them[15].

We next handled at some length the difficult but interesting case of Tenedos[16], and saw that to treat the double axe on its coins merely as a barter-unit[17] involved a very partial and inadequate hypothesis, contradicted alike by the coin-types themselves[18] and by the express testimony of the ancients, who record a definite cult of two axes in the island[19]. Rather there was reason to suppose that here the 'Minoan' weapon had passed into the hands of a Dionysiac Zeus or a Zeus-like Dionysos, paired as usual with the earth-goddess[20]. Their local names were Tennes and Hemithea, and their effigies were combined in the male-*plus*-female head, which appeared on the obverse of the Tenedian coins[21].

[1] *Supra* p. 614 ff.
[2] *Supra* p. 617 ff.
[3] *Supra* p. 620 ff.
[4] *Supra* p. 625 f.
[5] *Supra* p. 626 ff.
[6] *Supra* p. 628.
[7] *Supra* p. 630 ff.
[8] *Supra* p. 633 ff.
[9] *Supra* p. 635 ff.
[10] *Supra* p. 639 ff.
[11] *Supra* p. 642 f.
[12] *Supra* p. 643 ff.
[13] *Supra* p. 647 ff.
[14] *Supra* p. 649 ff.
[15] *Supra* p. 652 ff.
[16] *Supra* p. 654 ff.
[17] *Supra* p. 655 n. 1.
[18] *Supra* p. 655 ff
[19] *Supra* p. 668.
[20] *Supra* pp. 662 f., 673.
[21] *Supra* p. 668 ff.

The 'Minoan' conception of the sky-father's weapon imbedded in the earth-mother's tree[1] could be traced here and there in Hellenic cult and myth. In this connexion we discussed the axe of Hellos in the oak at Dodona[2], the sword of Orestes in the tree at Rhegion[3], the sword of Kinyras in the myrrh-tree[4], the axes of Erysichthon's comrades in the oaks at Dotion[5], and the knife of Phylakos in the oak at Phylake[6]. Scandinavian saga and Celtic folk-tale attested a similar relation of weapon to tree[7]; and confirmatory evidence was sought in the megalithic art of western Europe[8]. Penelope's marriage-test perhaps presupposed the same set of half-forgotten ideas[9]. And the sanctity of the sky-god's axe may even be regarded as the ultimate ground of more than one modern superstition[10].

As civilisation advanced, the double axe gave place to spear and sword. Lightning therefore came to be viewed on occasion as the spear of Zeus—a view which facilitated his transition from storm-god to war-god[11]. Zeus *Labráyndos* of Mylasa bore, not only an axe, but a spear and a sword to boot, and was worshipped by the martial Carians as *Strátios*, 'Lord of Hosts[12].' Zeus *Áreios* of Hydisos is represented in military costume, now brandishing a thunderbolt, now resting on a spear[13]. Zeus *Strategós* of Amastris likewise holds a spear[14]. Analogous figures in Roman religion were Iupiter *Militaris*, Iupiter *Imperator*, Iupiter *Victor*, etc.[15]. And the spear in the god's hand was illustrated from an Etruscan mirror, a Gallo-Roman statuette, and the handle of a Roman lamp[16].

More rarely lightning was symbolised by a sword[17]. Comparable with the cult of Zeus *Strátios* at Mylasa was the cult of Zeus *Chrysaoreús* or *Chrysaórios* at Stratonikeia. This title, perhaps of Semitic origin, was presumably taken by the Greeks to mean 'Bearer of a Golden Sword,' that is, of the lightning[18].

Axe, spear, and sword by no means exhausted the armoury of Zeus. Far more frequent than any of them as his attribute in literature and art is the thunderbolt (*keraunós*)[19]. Nevertheless from *s.* vi B.C. onwards this tremendous tool, as O. Gruppe observed, falls gradually into the background[20]. Little by little the thunderbolt gives way to the sceptre, and the impetuous thunderer in time becomes the dignified ruler—a change sufficiently evidenced by vase-paintings[21], statues, and other works of art[22]. To this moral development there was one notable exception. At Olympia Zeus

[1] *Supra* p. 677. [2] *Supra* p. 677 ff. [3] *Supra* p. 680. [4] *Supra* p. 680 ff.
[5] *Supra* p. 683 f. [6] *Supra* p. 684 f. [7] *Supra* p. 682 f. [8] *Supra* p. 685 ff.
[9] *Supra* p. 690 ff. [10] *Supra* p. 698 ff. [11] *Supra* p. 704 f. [12] *Supra* p. 705.
[13] *Supra* p. 705 f. [14] *Supra* p. 707. [15] *Supra* p. 706 ff. [16] *Supra* p. 709 ff.
[17] *Supra* p. 712 ff. [18] *Supra* p. 714 ff. [19] *Supra* p. 722. [20] *Ib.*
[21] *Supra* p. 731 ff. [22] *Supra* p. 737 ff.

Hórkios, 'God of Oaths,' continued to grasp a thunderbolt in either hand. But that primitive insistence on the storm-god's power was not after all devoid of ethical significance; it served, says Pausanias, 'to strike terror into perjurers[1].' In this context we discussed the part played by Zeus in relation to Greek oaths, private and public[2]. We also investigated the disputed personality of Dius *Fidius* and found him to be an old lightning-god with an appellative originally denoting 'the Cleaver' (*findo*) but later misinterpreted as 'Protector of Pledges' (*fides*)[3]. Our survey of the monuments enabled us to follow through several centuries the successive art-types of Zeus—striding, standing, seated—till they culminated in the masterpiece at Olympia. It was shown that Pheidias in all probability took a hint for his great statue from the seated Zeus of the local coinage, replacing the winged thunderbolt by a winged Victory to emphasise tranquil supremacy rather than stormy strength[4]. Further, it appeared that Alexander, ignoring this elevated conception of the godhead, deliberately reverted to an old pre-Pheidiac type and placed upon his silver money a seated Zeus, with eagle and sceptre, closely resembling Zeus *Lýkaios* on the federal coins of Arkadia. His purpose in so doing is problematic: we noted a possible explanation[5]. Finally, on Italian soil Greek art portrayed the sceptred Zeus in a pose suggestive of inward reflexion. The outward symbols of the storm-god had wholly disappeared. The worshipper was confronted with Providence incarnate[6].

The thunderbolt was a conventional representation of lightning and as such underwent modifications of shape from time to time and from place to place. In Mesopotamian art it was first a bipartite and then a tripartite fork, composed of zig-zags or curved lines[7]. These forks, duplicated in *s.* ix B.C., were subsequently (*c.* 700 B.C.) stylised into the shape of a lotos-flower[8]. In that form they made their way through Asia Minor into Greece (650—550 B.C.), appearing there for the first time on vases of Ionian fabric[9]. Among the Greeks the lotiform bolt ran through three changes. Its petals became rays or flames[10]. Its sepals developed into wings—eagle's wings, for the eagle was the lightning-bearer[11]. And its central spike took on a spiral twist, to suggest the lightning's rotatory flight[12]. These changes can all be exemplified from the coinage of the temple-mints at Olympia[13]. Ultimately, in the east the

[1] *Supra* p. 722 ff. [2] *Supra* p. 727 n. 3. [3] *Supra* p. 724 ff. n. o.
[4] *Supra* p. 757 f. [5] *Supra* p. 760 ff. [6] *Supra* p. 762 ff. [7] *Supra* p. 764 ff.
[8] *Supra* p. 767 ff. [9] *Supra* p. 769 ff. [10] *Supra* p. 776 f. [11] *Supra* p. 777 ff.
[12] *Supra* p. 779 f. [13] *Supra* p. 780 f.

thunderbolt was anthropomorphised into a youthful male divinity[1], in the west skeuomorphised into a barbed or hamate missile[2]. In discussing these various transformations we touched incidentally on the symbolism of the lotos[3], collected the names of thunder-flowers[4], and examined the singular cult of Zeus *Apómyios*[5].

Our next business was to consider whether the thunderbolt of Zeus bore any ascertainable relation to the trident of Poseidon, or to the alleged fork of Hades. With regard to the first question we concluded (1) that Greeks and Romans of the classical age doubtless took the trident of Poseidon to be the fish-spear of a sea-god[6], but (2) that originally Poseidon had been a by-form of Zeus[7] and his trident almost certainly a lightning-fork[8]. The latter contention was supported on the one hand by parallels from India[9], on the other by the similarity of the hypaethral trident-mark at Athens to the hypaethral lightning-shrines of Rome[10]. Besides, if Poseidon had been *ab origine* a lightning-god, we can understand why he was represented as fulminant on a fifth-century coin of Zankle[11], and we can see some fitness in the later fusion of Zeus-Poseidon into a single syncretistic type[12].

With regard to the second question it appeared (1) that no valid evidence could be produced for the fork as an attribute of the Greek Hades[13], but (2) that Iupiter *Iutor* was actually depicted with thunderbolt, trident, and fork—this last implement being probably borrowed from an Etruscan god of the Underworld[14].

In short, it was argued that the bident of Italy and the trident of Greece were respectively descended from the bipartite and tripartite forms of Mesopotamian lightning[15].

A bunch of cult-titles designated Zeus as god of the Thunderbolt (*Keraunós*, *Keraunobólos*, *Keraúnios*) or god of Lightning (*Storpâos*, *Astrapaîos*, *Astrápton*)[16]. The cults in question had their features of interest. The Arcadians in *s.* v B.C. worshipped Zeus *Storpâos* under the form of an aniconic pillar topped by a small pyramid[17]. Sling-bullets used in Sicily by the slave-troops of Athenion (103—100 B.C.) bore the device of a thunderbolt and the name of Zeus *Keraúnios*[18]. Coins of Seleukeia in Syria showed his bolt bound with a fillet and resting on a cushioned stool[19]—a type that recurs on the Roman mintages of Vespasian, Titus, and other

[1] *Supra* p. 783 f.
[2] *Supra* p. 784 f.
[3] *Supra* p. 771 ff.
[4] *Supra* p. 774 n. 4.
[5] *Supra* p. 781 ff.
[6] *Supra* p. 786.
[7] *Supra* pp. 582 ff., 786 f.
[8] *Supra* p. 789 ff.
[9] *Supra* p. 790 ff.
[10] *Supra* pp. 789, 792 ff.
[11] *Supra* p. 794 f.
[12] *Supra* p. 796 ff.
[13] *Supra* p. 798 ff.
[14] *Supra* p. 803 ff.
[15] *Supra* p. 806.
[16] *Supra* p. 806 ff.
[17] *Supra* p. 814 f.
[18] *Supra* p. 812 ff.

emperors[1]. Coins of Diokaisareia in Kilikia even figure the thunderbolt enthroned in a would-be human attitude[2].

It remained to deal with the Thracian Zeus *Zbelsoûrdos*, who is represented by several semi-barbaric reliefs as advancing to the attack with a thunderbolt in his right hand, an eagle on his left, and a snake at his feet[3]. One relief showed him in his chariot escorting a draped and veiled goddess[4]. Another grouped him as a standing Zeus with a youthful rider named *Iambadoúles*[5]. The elder god, the goddess, and the younger god give us the familiar Thracian triad of the sky-father, the earth-mother, and their son Dionysos. The two appellations, outlandish enough in appearance, were provocative of further enquiries. *Iambadoúles*, as G. Seure pointed out, can hardly be dissociated from *Iámbe* the *doúle* of Demeter—a mythical figure born of a misconception[6]. And *Zbelsoûrdos*, with which Seure rightly connected *Zibeleîzis*, a Getic name of Salmoxis[7], has been here for the first time elucidated by Mr B. F. C. Atkinson, who takes it to mean 'Zeus' or 'the son of Zeus, the Splitter,' with reference to the thunderbolt in the god's right hand[8].

In conclusion, the lightning, as Dr Rendel Harris surmised, was sometimes deemed the whip of Zeus—a notion which not only left its mark on Greek poetry from Homer to Oppian[9], but called forth at least one memorable dedication, 'the Corcyraean whip' at Dodona[10].

So much for Zeus as lord of the lightning. We had yet to investigate his relation to the thunder[11]. Lightnings and Thunders were on occasion treated by the ancients as momentary gods (Usener's *Augenblicksgötter*) independent of Zeus[12]. From this primitive stage they soon developed into departmental gods (*Sondergötter*), being conceived as divine animals, the horses Bronte and Sterope, or as monstrous giants, the Kyklopes Brontes and Steropes, before they became wholly human figures, the personifications Bronte and Astrape or Sterope. These allegorical powers still survive in the folk-poetry of modern Greece[13]. Commonly, however, thunder was connected with a personal god (*persönlicher Gott*), Zeus the thunderer, not indeed as his voice, but as an inarticulate sound proceeding from him[14], or more often as the rumble of his chariot rolling rapidly across the sky[15]—a belief which, originating perhaps in Thessaly[16], certainly entered into Thessalian ritual[17] and myth[18].

[1] *Supra* p. 810 f. [2] *Supra* p. 810. [3] *Supra* p. 817 ff. [4] *Supra* p. 819 f.
[5] *Supra* p. 820 f. [6] *Supra* p. 821. [7] *Supra* p. 822. [8] *Supra* p. 823 f.
[9] *Supra* p. 824 ff. [10] *Supra* p. 826. [11] *Supra* p. 827 ff. [12] *Supra* p. 827 f.
[13] *Supra* p. 828 f. [14] *Supra* p. 829. [15] *Supra* p. 830 ff. [16] *Supra* p. 825.
[17] *Supra* p. 831 ff. [18] *Supra* p. 833.

Zeus as god of Thunder had a wide vogue in the north-western parts of Asia Minor. He bore the title of *Brontaîos* in the Kyzikos district[1], that of *Brontôn* in northern and eastern Phrygia[2]. As *Brontôn*, if not also as *Brontaîos*, he was served with mystic rites in a cave, being a divinity akin to Zagreus or Dionysos, whose appellative *Brómios* seems to have meant 'god of the roaring Thunder[3].' We gather that in Phrygia, as in Crete, the worshipper, seated on the rocky throne of his god, himself imitated the thunders of the reborn Zeus. Cretan timbrel and Phrygian lyre had between them transformed the thunder into something strangely like music[4].

* *
*

And here we pause. It might have been supposed that the religion of Zeus, a god of Thunder and Lightning, would be throughout a religion of terror. It was not so. The populace, taught by the playwrights, was vaguely conscious that above the shifting scenes of human life somewhere and somehow Zeus sat enthroned to mete out justice with impartial balance. If he used his thunderbolt, it would be to punish the proud and to lay their towering ambitions in the dust. The philosophers with clearer insight perceived that Zeus must be all or nought. Most of them, amid much diversity of detail, grasped the same essential fact that there is a Power Supreme, which in every place and at every moment is engaged on the godlike task of turning chaos into cosmos. Not a few of them—Pherekydes[5], Herakleitos[6], Empedokles[7], Platon[8], the Stoics[9] —spoke of It, spoke of Him, as Zeus. And to these the thunderbolt was but a symbol of his omnipotence.

It would be easy to parade both the popular and the philosophic view by marshalling an array of quotations. I choose rather to exemplify each by a single characteristic product—on the one hand a picture, on the other a poem.

The Dareios-vase is an Apulian *kratér* of magnificent proportions, found at Canusium (*Canosa*) in 1851 and now preserved in the Museum at Naples[10]. Its principal design (pl. xxxviii)[11] represents the tragic downfall of the Great King, as the result of his presumptuous invasion of Greece. Two and twenty figures are disposed

[1] *Supra* p. 833 ff. [2] *Supra* p. 835 ff. [3] *Supra* p. 838 n. 7. [4] *Supra* p. 839.
[5] *Supra* i. 27 f., ii. 315 f. [6] *Supra* i. 28 ff., ii. 12. [7] *Supra* i. 31 f.
[8] *Supra* i. 311, ii. 43 f., 63 n. 0, 100. [9] *Supra* i. 29 ff.
[10] Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 571 ff. no. 3253. Height 1.30^{m}; girth 1.93^{m}.
[11] H. Heydemann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 22 ff. pls. B—C, D, *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pls. 50—51, 52, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 194, 195, 1, 330, 1, 2, A. Conze in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* vii pls. 6^{a}, 6^{b}, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* i. 408 ff. fig. 449, Furtwängler-Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 142 ff. pl. 88 (= my pl. xxxviii).



The main design on a [illegible] Collection now in the Museum at Naples: the doom of Darius.

in three registers, of which the lowest shows the vast resources available for the expedition. The royal treasurer is seated at a table, on which are letters corresponding with our £ *s. d.*[1] His right hand arranges the pebbles in their proper columns. His left holds an open wax-diptych inscribed '100 talents[2].' From both sides approach the satraps: one brings a pile of golden bowls, another a sack full of money, while three others empty-handed prostrate themselves in attitudes of grovelling submission. We gather that tribute will be exacted to the uttermost farthing: the royal project must be carried out, cost what it may. The second register reveals the king in council. In the centre is Dareios himself, serene and splendid. He is seated, with tiara, sceptre, and sword, on a throne worthy of a god. Indeed we recall how Aischylos described him as 'peer of the gods[3]' and how Gorgias called his son 'the Persian Zeus[4].' To left and right are grouped five of his chosen councillors, partly in Greek, partly in oriental, attire: their faces display eager interest and concern, not unmixed with doubt. Before Dareios on a circular plinth of gold stands an anxious-looking man in traveller's dress, who uplifts a warning hand. He alone dares to dissuade the king from his purpose. If successful, he will receive the brick of gold as his reward, but will be scourged for opposing the king's expressed intent[5]. If unsuccessful,—there waits the executioner with a drawn sword in his hand. In the council-chamber, then, there is debate and foreboding. The third register transports us to a higher level, where the issue has been already determined. We see the gods assembled on the summit of Olympos, here indicated simply by the rising ground-line and a couple of stars. Above the head of Dareios is seated the genuine Zeus, a thunderbolt winged for swift service at his side. Nike, leaning on his lap, points to a stately draped figure led forward by Athena. She is Hellas, presented to Zeus as the coming victor.

[1] The letters are M (*μύριοι*), Ψ (*χίλιοι*), H (*ἑκατόν*), ▷ (*δέκα*), Γ (*πέντε*), O (*ὀβολός*), < (*ἡμιωβέλιον*), T (*τεταρτημόριον*). The western Ψ is retained as a numeral, though superseded for alphabetic purposes by the eastern X (Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 148).

[2] The inscription should be read TAΛN | TA: H, that is *τάλ(α)ν τα* : (*ἑκατόν*) (P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 213).

[3] Aisch. *Pers.* 633 *μακαρίτας ἰσοδαίμων βασιλεύς.*

[4] Gorg. *frag.* 2 Thompson *ap.* Longin. *de sublim.* 3. 2 *Ξέρξης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν Ζεύς* (*supra* i. 338 n. 2).

[5] Ail. *var. hist.* 12. 62. So Com. Quaranta in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* Nuova Serie 1854 ii. 170, H. Heydemann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 30, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* i. 408. But A. Furtwängler *op. cit.* ii. 146f. objects that the circular plinth is of the wrong shape for a brick of gold and must be viewed as an orator's platform (*βῆμα*). Furtwängler's objection would, I think, apply at least as forcibly to his own proposal.

On the left are Artemis riding a horned doe[1] and Apollon with a swan on his knee. Artemis may hint at Marathon, where the battle took place on her festival[2], or may anticipate the sea-fight off Artemision[3], and the full moon that shone on Salamis[4]. Apollon recalls the Delian confederacy. On the right Asia, with crown and sceptre, has fled for refuge to the altar of a terminal goddess, perhaps Aphrodite *Ourania*[5]. Before her stands a sinister figure in the guise of a Fury with a panther-skin round her shoulders, snakes in her hair, and a pair of torches in her hands. This is *Apa*[*te*] 'Deception,' a lying spirit[6] whose mission is to lure Asia away from the protection of the Asiatic goddess[7]. So the three zones of decoration present us with three acts from one historic drama. The vase-painter must have been inspired by some lost tragedy, not improbably the *Persians* of Phrynichos[8], for on the circular plinth in the very centre of his design is written the single word *Pérsai*.

The populace, assembled in the theatre, regarded Zeus god of Thunder and Lightning as a power that on sundry momentous occasions had intervened to punish pride. And what of the philosophers? They saw in the 'ever-living bolt' a pledge and promise of continuous divine activity—witness one nearly contemporary document, the Stoic *Hymn to Zeus*[9]. Let us, before closing the volume, join Kleanthes in that great ascription of praise:

[1] *Supra* p. 465 f.

[2] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 175 ff.

[3] G. Hirschfeld in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1443.

[4] Plout. *de glor. Ath.* 7, cited by H. Heydemann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 42 and in his *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 578 n. 9.

[5] H. Heydemann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 38 f., A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* i. 409.

[6] Cp. 1 Kings 22. 22.

[7] A. Furtwängler *op. cit.* ii. 149 aptly quotes Aisch. *Pers.* 93 f. δολόμητιν δ' ἀπάταν θεοῦ | τίς ἀνὴρ θνατὸς ἀλύξει; *Id. ib.* ii. 148 interprets the action of Apate aright ('Die Bewegung der Apate ist wohl so zu erklären, dass sie Asia auffordert, aufzustehen und ihr zu folgen dahinüber, wo sie hinschielt, nach der Hellas').

[8] O. Jahn in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1860 xviii. 41 ff. suggested the Δίκαιοι ἢ Πέρσαι ἢ Σίνθωκοι of Phrynichos (Souid. *s.v.* Φρύνιχος); A. Furtwängler *op. cit.* ii. 149, a later adaptation of the same.

[9] Kleanthes *frag.* 48 Pearson *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* i. 1. 12 p. 25, 3 ff. Wachsmuth. For the text I follow the excellent edition of A. C. Pearson *The Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes* London 1891 p. 274 ff. There is much useful matter in the earlier commentaries of G. C. F. Mohnike *Kleanthes der Stoiker* Greifswald 1814 i. 3 ff., J. F. H. Schwabe *Specimen theologiae comparativae exhibens* ΚΛΕΑΝΘΟΥΣ ΤΜΝΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΔΙΑ, *cum disciplina Christiana comparatum*, etc. Jenae 1819 p. 7 ff., C. Petersen *Cleanthis Stoici Hymnus in Jovem auctori suo vindicatus ad eiusque doctrinam enarratus* Hamburgi 1829 p. 1 ff. See also U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Commentariolum grammaticum* III (1. Cleanthes) Gottingae 1889 p. 3 ff., W. L. Newman, 'Cleanthes' Hymn to Zeus' in the *Class. Rev.* 1892 vi. 181, J. von Arnim *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta* Leipzig 1905 i. 121 ff. o. 537, *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 558 ff.

κύδιστ' ἀθανάτων, πολυώνυμε, παγκρατὲς αἰεί,
Ζεῦ, φύσεως ἀρχηγέ, νόμου μέτα πάντα κυβερνῶν,
χαῖρε· σὲ γὰρ πάντεσσι θέμις θνητοῖσι προσαυδᾶν.
ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν, † ἤχου[1] μίμημα λαχόντες
μοῦνοι, ὅσα ζώει τε καὶ ἕρπει θνήτ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν·
τῷ σε καθυμνήσω καὶ σὸν κράτος αἰὲν ἀείσω.

Most glorious of immortals, many-named[2],
Almighty Zeus, creation's primal lord,
Whose lawful government is over all,
Hail!—for we mortals unto thee may speak.
We are thine offspring[3]; we alone of all things
That live and move on earth can copy God.
Thee therefore I will praise, thy power will sing.

[1] Corrections either save or sacrifice *γένος ἐσμέν*. On the one hand, J. J. Scaliger cj. *ὄχου* ('corpus enim *ὄχημα ψυχῆς*'), R. F. P. Brunck cj. *ἰῆς*, C. W. Ahlwardt cj. *ἴσου* ('wir sind theilhaftig geworden des Bildes deiner Gleichheit, des Bildes von dir selber'), C. Petersen cj. *ὃ σοῦ*, T. Bergk cj. *ὅλου*, H. Usener cj. **ὑδῆς* (cp. *ὑδεῖν* etc.), C. Wachsmuth cj. *νοῦ σοῦ τιμῆμα* or *ἃ δὴ σοῦ τιμῆμα*, W. L. Newman cj. *ἀγοῦ* ('leader'), E. B. Birks cj. *ἴχνους*. On the other hand, F. Gedike cj. *ἐκ σοῦ*, A. Meineke cj. *γενόμεσθα λόγου*, C. Wachsmuth cj. *ἤχου τίμημα* ('linguae honorem'), A. C. Pearson formerly cj. *γενόμεσθα μόνου* or *ἐκ σοῦ*, J. von Arnim cj. *γένος εἴσ' ἤχου μίμημα*.

I am indebted to Prof. Pearson for the following new and attractive solution (June 17, 1922): 'I have looked up my notes and find that I have suggested *θεοῦ* to Powell and E. V. Arnold... I should account for the mysterious *ἤχου* as a supra-linear gloss *i.e.* ἢ Χου =ἢ Χριστοῦ. That this would be a natural Christian gloss may perhaps be supported by 1 Cor. xi. 1 *μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε καθὼς κἀγὼ* Χριστοῦ, Eph. v. 1 *γίνεσθε οὖν μιμηταὶ τοῦ θεοῦ*, 1 Th. i. 6 *μιμηταὶ ἡμῶν ἐγενήθητε καὶ τοῦ* Κυρίου. Now from the Stoic point of view *cf.* Musonius *ap.* Stob. *flor.* 117. 8 *ἄνθρωπος μίμημα θεοῦ μόνον τῶν ἐπιγείων*, which sounds like an echo of Cleanthes. The only objection I see is that it involves the adoption of *γενόμεσθα*, and I don't like to suggest confusion with Aratus.'

[2] E. Zeller *The Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics*[2] trans. O. J. Reichel London 1880 p. 358: 'To the Stoics, as to their predecessor Heraclitus, Zeus is the one primary Being, who has engendered, and again absorbs into himself, all things and all Gods. He is the universe as a unity, the primary fire, the ether, the spirit of the world, the universal reason, the general law or destiny. All other Gods, as being parts of the world, are only parts and manifestations of Zeus—only special names of the one God who has many names.' *Id. ib.* p. 358 n. 2 cp. Diog. Laert. 7. 147 *θεὸν δ' εἶναι ζῷον ἀθάνατον, λογικόν, τέλειον ἢ νοερὸν ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ, κακοῦ παντὸς ἀνεπίδεκτον, προνοητικὸν κόσμου τε καὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ· μὴ εἶναι μέντοι ἀνθρωπόμορφον. εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων καὶ ὥσπερ πατέρα πάντων κοινῶς τε καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ τὸ διῆκον διὰ πάντων, ὃ πολλαῖς προσηγορίαις προσονομάζεσθαι κατὰ τὰς δυνάμεις. Δία μὲν γάρ φασι δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα, Ζῆνα δὲ καλοῦσι παρ' ὅσον τοῦ ζῆν αἴτιός ἐστιν ἢ διὰ τοῦ ζῆν κεχώρηκεν, κ.τ.λ.* For Kleanthes in particular see Plout. *de comm. not.* 31 *ἀλλὰ Χρύσιππος καὶ Κλεάνθης ἐμπεπληκότες, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τῷ λόγῳ θεῶν τὸν οὐρανόν, τὴν γῆν, τὸν ἀέρα, τὴν θάλατταν, οὐδένα τῶν τοσούτων ἄφθαρτον οὐδ' ἀΐδιον ἀπολελοίπασι, πλὴν μόνου τοῦ Διός, εἰς ὃν πάντας καταναλίσκουσι τοὺς ἄλλους*, Plout. *de aud. poet.* 11 *δεῖ δὲ μηδὲ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀμελῶς ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν* Κλεάνθους *παιδιὰν παραιτεῖσθαι. κατειρωνεύεται γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε προσποιούμενος ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὸ (*Il. 3. 320*) "Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἰδηθεν μεδέων" καὶ τὸ (*Il. 16. 233*) "Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναῖε," κελεύων ἀναγιγνώσκειν ὑφ' ἕν, ὡς τὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναθυμιώμενον ἀέρα διὰ τὴν ἀνάδοσιν ἀναδωδωναῖον ὄντα*, schol. B. L. T. *Il.* 16. 233 *τινὲς δὲ "ἀναδωδωναῖε" ὑφ' ἕν, παρὰ τὴν ἀνάδοσιν τῶν ἀγαθῶν.*

[3] *Supra* i. 664 n. 3.

σοὶ δὴ πᾶς ὅδε κόσμος, ἑλισσόμενος περὶ γαῖαν,
πείθεται, ᾗ κεν ἄγῃς, καὶ ἑκὼν ὑπὸ σεῖο κρατεῖται·
τοῖον ἔχεις ὑποεργὸν ἀνικήτοις ἐνὶ[1] χερσὶν
ἀμφήκη, πυρόεντ', ἀειζώοντα[2] κεραυνόν·
τοῦ γὰρ ὑπὸ πληγῆς φύσεως πάντ' ἐρρίγα<σιν>[3]·
ᾧ σὺ κατευθύνεις κοινὸν λόγον, ὃς διὰ πάντων
φοιτᾷ, μιγνύμενος μεγάλοις μικροῖς τε φάεσσι·
[ὡς τόσσος γεγαὼς ὕπατος βασιλεὺς διὰ παντός,][4]
οὐδέ τι γίγνεται ἔργον ἐπὶ χθονὶ σοῦ δίχα, δαῖμον,
οὔτε κατ' αἰθέριον θεῖον πόλον οὔτ' ἐνὶ[5] πόντῳ,
πλὴν ὁπόσα ῥέζουσι κακοὶ σφετέρῃσιν[6] ἀνοίαις·

Lo, the whole world[7] revolving round the earth
Obeys thy lead and wills to do thy will[8].
Such the strong help thou hast in hands supreme,
A two-edged, fiery, ever-living bolt[9].
Beneath its blows all nature shuddering reels.
Herewith thou makest one great law to rule
The universe, larger and lesser lights.
[So vast the power of thy kingly sway.]
Nay, nought on earth befalls apart from thee,
Nor in the heaven above, nor in the deep,
Save folly wrought by the wicked[10]. Yet here too

[1] J. von Arnim keeps *ὑπὸ* as read by cod. F. R. F. P. Brunck cj. *ἐνὶ*, A. Meineke cj. *μετὰ*.

[2] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and J. von Arnim keep the *πυρόεντα ἀειζώοντα* of cod. F, the hiatus notwithstanding. C. Wachsmuth corr. *πυρόεντ', αἰειζώοντα*. A. C. Pearson's *ἀειζώοντα* might be defended by *Od.* 13. 109 *ἀενάοντα* and the like.

[3] Cod. F has *ἔρηγα* followed by space for ten letters. Fulvius Ursinus cj. *ἐρρίγασιν*. C. Wachsmuth says: 'num fuit *Ζεῦ, πάντ' ἔρριγεν*?' U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff cj. *πληγῇ φύσεως ἔρριγε τὰ πάντα*. A. C. Pearson cj. *ἔργα <δαμάσθη>*. J. von Arnim cj. *πάντ' ἔργα <τελεῖται>*.

[4] A. Meineke assumed a lacuna before this line. A. C. Pearson condemned the line as spurious or corrupt. J. von Arnim cj. *ᾧ σὺ τόσος γεγαὼς ὕπατος βασιλεὺς διὰ παντός*.

[5] So R. F. P. Brunck for *ἐπὶ* cod. F.

[6] Cod. F, followed by J. von Arnim, reads *σφετέραισιν*.

[7] Diog. Laert. 7. 138 *καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν διακόσμησιν τῶν ἀστέρων κόσμον εἶναι λέγουσι*.

[8] Cp. Kleanthes *frag.* 91 Pearson *ap.* Epiktet. *man.* 53 *ἄγου δέ μ', ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ σύγ' ἡ πεπρωμένη, | οποι ποθ' ὑμῖν εἰμὶ διατεταγμένος, | ὡς ἕψομαί γ' ἄοκνος· ἢν δὲ μὴ θέλω | κακὸς γενόμενος, οὐδὲν ἧττον ἕψομαι* with A. C. Pearson's commentary.

[9] Kleanthes is building on the foundations of Herakleitos (*supra* i. 28 n. 6).

[10] A. C. Pearson *ad loc.*: 'The explanations given by the Stoics of this weak point in their system are hopelessly confused and contradictory, as may be seen from an examination of the passages cited in the notes to Zeller, p. 189—193.... we may perhaps suppose that Cleanthes accounted for the existence of moral evil somewhat as follows:—evil is not directly due to God, but is a necessary accompaniment of the process, whereby he created the world out of himself. At the same time, the omnipotence of God is vindicated by the consideration that evil is ultimately swallowed up in good,

ἀλλὰ σὺ καὶ τὰ περισσά <τ'[1]> ἐπίστασαι ἄρτια θεῖναι,
καὶ κοσμεῖν τἄκοσμα καὶ οὐ φίλα σοὶ φίλα ἐστίν[2],
ὧδε γὰρ εἰς ἓν πάντα[3] συνήρμοκας ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν,
ὥσθ' ἕνα γίγνεσθαι πάντων λόγον αἰὲν ἐόντα,
ὃν φεύγοντες ἐῶσιν[4] ὅσοι θνητῶν κακοί εἰσι,
δύσμοροι, οἵ τ' ἀγαθῶν μὲν ἀεὶ κτῆσιν ποθέοντες
οὔτ' ἐσορῶσι θεοῦ κοινὸν νόμον, οὔτε κλύουσιν,
ᾧ κεν πειθόμενοι σὺν νῷ βίον ἐσθλὸν ἔχοιεν.
αὐτοὶ δ' αὖθ' ὁρμῶσιν ἄνοι κακὸν ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλο[5],
οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ δόξης σπουδὴν δυσέριστον ἔχοντες,
οἱ δ' ἐπὶ κερδοσύνας τετραμμένοι οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ,
ἄλλοι δ' εἰς ἄνεσιν καὶ σώματος ἡδέα ἔργα

Thou knowest how to even up the odd,
Order disorder, and turn hate to love[6].
Thou hast so welded all things into one,
Joined good with evil, that there runs for ever
One law through all, which bad men scorn and scape.
Ill-fated folk! They hanker after wealth,
And neither see God's universal law,
Nor hear it and in wise obedience
Attain the life worth living. But themselves
Speed their own witless way to diverse ills—
Some sunk in desperate strife for glory vain,
Some bent on money-making's reckless quest,
Others on ease and bodily delights.

and that the apparent irregularity of nature is in reality only a phase in the working of a higher law.'

[1] So H. Sauppe for περισσὰ ἐπίστασαι cod. F, which is kept by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.

[2] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff cj. τεύχειν for ἐστίν, to escape the hiatus.

[3] R. F. P. Brunck cj. ἅπαντα.

[4] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff suspects ἐῶσιν.

[5] Cod. F has ἄνευ κακοῦ ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλα. Fulvius Ursinus cj. καλοῦ. H. Sauppe corr. κακὸν and ἄλλο. C. Wachsmuth restored ἄνοι κακὸν ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλο. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, on the ground that honours, wealth, and pleasure were not κακὰ but ἀδιάφορα, would read ἄνευ λόγου ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλα.

[6] It is interesting to remember that Kleanthes hailed from Assos, where there was a cult of Zeus Ὁμονῶος (J. R. S. Sterrett in the *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1882—1883 i. 35 ff. no. 15, 1 ff. ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ θ|εοῦ Καίσαρος, ὁ δὲ αὐ[τ]|ὸς καὶ πάτριος βασιλεὺ|ς καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τ|οῦ Ὁμονώ(ι)ου, καὶ γυμ|νασίαρχος, Κοΐντος Αὀλλιος Φιλέταιρος τὴν | στοὰν ἀνέθηκεν θεῷ Κ|αίσαρι Σεβαστῷ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ κ.τ.λ.), whose title—perhaps a variant form of Ὁμολώϊος, Ὁμολῶος (A. Boeckh on the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3569, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 309 n. 9, 1117 n. 1, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2263 f., 2269. See further *infra* Append. B Boiotia)—was probably connected by folk-etymology with ὁμόνοια (cp. Istros *ap.* Phot. *lex.*, Souid. *s.v.* Ὁμολώϊος Ζεύς·... Ἴστρος δὲ ἐν τῇ ιβ' τῆς Συναγωγῆς, διὰ τὸ παρ' Αἰολεῦσι τὸ ὁμονοητικὸν καὶ εἰρηνικὸν ὅμολον λέγεσθαι).

ARCHAEOL

.....ἐπ' ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλα φέροντες[1],
σπεύδοντες μάλα πάμπαν ἐναντία τῶνδε γενέσθαι.
ἀλλὰ Ζεῦ πάνδωρε, κελαινεφές, ἀργικέραυνε[2],
ἀνθρώπους <μὲν[3]*> ῥύου ἀπειροσύνης ἀπὸ λυγρῆς,*
ἣν σύ, πάτερ, σκέδασον ψυχῆς ἄπο, δὸς δὲ κυρῆσαι
γνώμης, ᾗ πίσυνος σὺ δίκης μέτα πάντα κυβερνᾷς[4],
ὄφρ' ἂν τιμηθέντες ἀμειβώμεσθά σε τιμῇ,
ὑμνοῦντες τὰ σὰ ἔργα διηνεκές, ὡς ἐπέοικε
θνητὸν ἐόντ', ἐπεὶ οὔτε βροτοῖς γέρας ἄλλο τι μεῖζον,
οὔτε θεοῖς, ἢ κοινὸν ἀεὶ νόμον ἐν δίκῃ ὑμνεῖν.

Yea, diverse ills they reap, now this, now that,
Though fain to win the very opposite.
But thou, Zeus, giver of all, with thy black cloud
And glittering bolt[5], save men from folly's bane.
O Father, cleanse our soul, grant us to find
Wisdom wherewith thou governest all aright[6],
That honoured thus we too may honour thee,
Hymning thy deeds for ever, as befits
A mortal man; for, mortal or immortal,
None hath a greater guerdon than to hymn
The common rule rightly for evermore.

[1] So cod. F with space for sixteen letters at the beginning of the line. A. H. L. Heeren cj. *ἄλλοτέ γ'*. H. Usener cj. *ἄλλοτεν*. A. Meineke cj. *φέρονται*. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff prints *<οὐδέ ποτ' ἐς τέλος ἦλθον,> ἐπ' ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλα φέρονται*. J. von Arnim 'exempli causa' supplies *<ἀλλὰ κακοῖς ἐπέκυρσαν>, ἐπ' ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλα φέρονται*.

[2] So A. Meineke for *ἀρχικέραυνε* cod. F, which is kept by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.

[3] J. J. Scaliger add. *μὲν*. C. Petersen cj. *εἴρυσσαι*. A. C. Pearson cj. *ἐκρύου*. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff transposes *ῥύου μέν*, which may be right.

[4] C. Wachsmuth, A. C. Pearson, and J. von Arnim prefer the spelling *κυβερνᾶς*.

[5] *Supra* i. 31 n. 4.

[6] Herakleitos again (*frag.* 19 Bywater, 41 Diels *ap.* Diog. Laert. 9. 1 *εἶναι γὰρ ἓν τὸ σοφόν, ἐπίστασθαι γνώμην, ὁτέη ἐκυβέρνησε πάντα διὰ πάντων*).

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